00082912

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-1.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 10 August, 2018

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-1.

THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

82912 ac

No. XII.

SESSION 1905–1906

PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF BY
MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

PATRON.—HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1905—1906.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D.Litt., *Chairman.*
} *Trustees.*

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.
J. E. SANDYS, ESQ., Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
SIDNEY COLVIN, ESQ., M.A. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
REGINALD BLOMFIELD, ESQ., F.S.A.
ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., D.Litt., LL.D.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D.
D. G. HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A.
W. LORING, ESQ., M.A.
R. J. G. MAYOR, ESQ., M.A.
J. LYNTON MYRES, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR J. S. REID, Litt.D.
CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.
Appointed by the Subscribers.

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 22, Albemarle Street, W

DIRECTOR, 1905—1906.

R. CARR BOSANQUET, ESQ., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Librarian.—F. W. HASLUCK, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

00082912

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

			PAGE
1.	R. M. Dawkins.	Excavations at Palaikastro. V	1
2.	S. Xanthoudides.	Cretan Kernoi	9
3.	J. P. Droop.	Some Geometric Pottery from Crete . . .	24
4.	F. H. Marshall.	Tombs of Hellenic Date at Praesos . . .	63
5.	J. L. Stokes.	Stamped Pithos-Fragments from Cameiros. .	71
6.	J. P. Droop.	Dipylon Vases from the Kynosarges Site . .	80
7.	A. C. B. Brown.	Excavations at Schimatari and Dilisi in Boeotia.	93
8.	H. J. W. Tillyard.	Two Watch Towers in the Megarid . . .	101
9.	G. Dickins.	Damophon of Messene	109
10.	J. P. Droop.	Messapian Inscriptions	137
11.	R. M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace.	Notes from the Sporades; Astypalaea, Telos, Nisyros, Leros	151
12.	R. M. Dawkins and F. W. Hasluck.	Inscriptions from Bizye	175
13.	F. W. Hasluck.	A Roman Bridge on the Aesepus . . .	184
14.	K. T. Frost.	Boats on the Euphrates and Tigris . . .	190
15.	F. W. Hasluck.	Notes on MSS. in the British Museum relating to Levant Geography and Travel. (Plate I).	196
16.	D. Mackenzie.	Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilization. II.	216
17.	Laconia :—		
	R. Traquair	I.—The Mediaeval Fortresses. (Plates II–VI)	258
		II.—Excavations at Sparta, 1906. (Plates VII–XII).	277

		PAGE
R. C. BOSANQUET.	§ 1.—The Season's Work	277
A. J. B. WACE.	§ 2.—The City Wall (Plate VII.) . .	284
„ „	§ 3.—The Heroön (Plate IX.) . . .	288
G. DICKINS.	§ 4.—The Great Altar near the Eurotas . .	295
R. C. BOSANQUET.	§ 5.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. (Plate VIII. 1, 2.)	303
R. M. DAWKINS.	§ 6.—Archaic Finds from the Artemisium. (Plates VIII. 1, 2. XI, XII.) . .	318
R. C. BOSANQUET.	§ 7.—The Cult of Orthia as illustrated by the Finds. (Plates X, XI, XII.) . .	331
A. J. B. WACE.	§ 8.—The Stamped Tiles	344
H. J. W. TILLYARD.	§ 9.—Inscriptions from the Artemisium . .	351
G. DICKINS.	§ 10.—The Theatre and adjoining Area , .	394
A. J. B. WACE.	§ 11.—The Roman Baths (Arapissa) . .	407
R. TRAQUAIR.	§ 12.—The Roman Stoa and the Fortifications of the Acropolis. (Plate VIII. 3) . .	415
G. DICKINS.	§ 13.—Topographical Conclusions . . .	431
H. J. W. TILLYARD.	§ 14.—Inscriptions from the Altar, the Acropolis, and other Sites	441

Annual Meeting of Subscribers	481
Income and Expenditure, 1905–1906	495
Donations and Subscriptions, 1905–1906	497
List of Subscribers	502
List of Directors, Honorary Students, Students, and Associates . .	508
Methods of Work and Teaching	516
Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens . . .	517
Index	521

LIST OF PLATES.

I. Maps of (1) Crete, (2) Constantinople from XV cent. MSS. in the British Museum.

II. Mediaeval Fortresses of Laconia. Views of Geraki and Monemvasia.

III. Mediaeval Fortresses of Laconia. Views of Monemvasia, Passava, and Maina.

IV. Mediaeval Fortresses of Laconia. Niche in the Church of St. George, Geraki.

V. Mediaeval Fortresses of Laconia. Plan and Sections of Church of Our Lady of Crete, Monemvasia.

VI. Mediaeval Fortresses of Laconia. Plans and Elevations of Churches of St. Nicholas and St. Sophia, Monemvasia.

VII. Sparta. General Plan.

VIII. Sparta. Enlarged Plans: (1) Artemisium, and (2) Section along Trench A: (3) Acropolis.

IX. Sparta. Moulded Pithos.

X. Sparta. Terracotta Mask from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

XI. Sparta. Terracotta Masks from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

XII. Sparta. Terracotta Masks from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO, V:—

PAGE

Fig. 1. Section of Cave containing *Larnakes* 3
Fig. 2. *Larnakes* 2 and 3 *in situ* in the Cave 4
Fig. 3. The Cave after the Excavation 5
Fig. 4. Vase from the Cave-Burials 6
Fig. 5. Perforated Cover from Cave 7

CRETAN KERNOI:—

Fig. 1. *Kernos* from Koumássa 11
Fig. 2. Stone Vessels from Koumássa 16
Fig. 3. *Kernos* from Koúrtes 16
Fig. 4. *Kernos* from Haghios Nikolaos 16
Fig. 5. „ „ „ „ , seen from above 17
Fig. 6 Modern *Kernos* at Toplù 22

SOME GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM CRETE:—

Fig. 1. Group of Vases from Vavelloi and from Tomb C, Praesos . 25
Fig. 2. Iron Sword-Blade from Tomb C, Praesos 28
Fig. 3. Group of Vases from Tomb 53, Praesos 28
Fig. 4. Detail of Decoration of Amphora from Tomb 53, Praesos . 29
Fig. 5. Hydria from Tomb 53, Praesos 30
Figs. 6, 7, 8. Details of Decoration of Vases from Tomb 53, Praesos . 31
Fig. 9. Miniature Amphora from Tomb 53, Praesos 32
Fig. 10. Other Objects from Tomb 53, Praesos 33
Fig. 11. Group of Vases from Praesos 34
Figs. 12, 13, 14. Fragments showing Details of Decoration . . . 35
Fig. 15. Vases from Mirabello 37
Fig. 16. Dish with Ornament in Relief 38
Fig. 17. *a*, *b*. Fragments showing Frieze of Birds 40
Figs. 18, 19. „ „ Details of Decoration . . . 41
Fig. 20. „ „ Siren 42
Fig. 21. Group of Vases from Adhromyloi 44

SOME GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM CRETE (*continued*):—

PAGE
Fig. 22. Group of Vases from Adhromyloi 45
Fig. 23. „ „ „ „ 46
Fig. 24. Dancing Figures decorating Miniature Amphora . . . 47
Figs. 25, *a*, *b*. Details of Decoration of Cups. 49
Figs. 26, 27. „ „ „ „ Jugs 50
Fig. 28. Jugs of Aryballos Shape 52
Figs. 29, 30. Decoration of Unguent-Vases 54
Fig. 31. „ „ Gourd-shaped Vase 54
Fig. 32. „ „ Hydria 56

TOMBS OF HELLENIC DATE AT PRAESOS:—

Fig. 1. Gold Ornament from Tomb 28 65
Fig. 2. Silver Reliefs from Tomb 28, Bronze Ornament, and Bronze and Silver Rings 67
Fig. 3. Scull from Tomb 31 with Silver Roundels and Earrings . . 68
Fig. 4. Silver Ornaments, chiefly from Tomb 31 69

STAMPED PITHOS-FRAGMENTS FROM CAMEIROS:—

Fig. 1. Fragment No. I 72
Fig. 2. „ No. II 73
Fig. 3. Detail from Decoration of a Vase in Athens 73

DIPYLON VASES FROM THE KYNOSARGES SITE:—

Fig. 1. Jug (restored) 81
Fig. 2*a*. Procession of Warriors, Decoration of Amphora (*q*) 31 . . 82
Fig. 2*b*. Detail of Decoration of Fig. 1 82
Figs. 3, 4, 5. Jugs and Bowl 84
Fig. 6. Group of Bowls 85
Figs. 7, 8. Fragments of Amphorae 87
Figs. 9, 10. Flat Dish and Clay Sieve 88
Fig. 11. Vases showing Eastern Influence 89
Fig. 12. Metal Objects from the Site 91

EXCAVATIONS AT SCHIMATARI AND DILISI IN BOEOTIA:—

Fig. 1. Plan of a Mycenaean House 94
Fig. 2. Drum of Poros Column 96
Fig. 3. Stone Seat 96

TWO WATCH TOWERS IN THE MEGARID:—

PAGE

Fig. 1. The Square Tower 102
Fig. 2. Plan and Elevation of the Square Tower. 103
Fig. 3. The Round Tower 106
Fig. 4. Plan of the Round Tower 107

DAMOPHON OF MESSENE:—

Fig. 1. Remains of Temple of Despoina, looking Eastwards . . 112
Fig. 2. Front View of Statue-Basis, Temple of Despoina . . . 112
Fig. 3. West Wall of Cella, „ „ . . . 113
Fig. 4. Marble Cornice and Palmettes, „ „ . . . 114
Fig. 5. „ Fragment from Throne of Goddesses, Temple of Despoina 116
Fig. 6. Corner-Block of Geison, Temple of Despoina . . . 117
Fig. 7. Sections of Walls and Bases at Lycosura and Olympia . . 119
Fig. 8. Inscription from Messene 132
Fig. 9. „ „ Lycosura 133
Fig. 10. „ „ Megalopolis 134
Fig. 11. Part of Inscribed Herm from Megalopolis 135

MESSAPIAN INSCRIPTIONS:—

Fig. 1. Facsimiles of Inscriptions from Oria, Ceglie Messapica, and Lecce 139
Fig. 2. Facsimiles of Inscriptions from Lecce, Arnesano, and Muro Leccese 142
Fig. 3. Facsimiles of Inscriptions from Muro Leccese . . . 144
Fig. 4. „ „ „ Vaste, Castrignano del Capo, and Ugento 145
Fig. 5. Facsimiles of Inscriptions from Taranto, Arnesano, and Brindisi 147

NOTES FROM THE SPORADES:—

Fig. 1. Astypalaea, the Town and Castle 153
Fig. 2. „ Tower at Vathý 155
Fig. 3. Ground Plan of Tower at Vathý 156
Figs. 4, 5. Amorgos, Tower at Haghia Triadha 157
Fig. 6. Telos, The Acropolis Gate 160
Fig. 7. „ Steps on Acropolis 161
Fig. 8. „ Polygonal Wall 162
Fig. 9. „ City Wall 163

NOTES FROM THE SPORADES (*continued*):—

PAGE

Fig. 10. Telos, Terrace Wall 164
Fig. 11. Nisyros, The Gate 166
Fig. 12. „ Plan of Gate 167
Fig. 13. „ Wall from inside, showing Stairs and Gate . . . 168
Fig. 14. „ Mandráki and Castle of Knights of St. John . . 169
Fig. 15. „ The Crater 171
Fig. 16. Leros, Tower at Partheni 172
Fig. 17. „ Fort at Xerokambo 173
Fig. 18. „ Plan of Fort at Xerokambo 173

A ROMAN BRIDGE ON THE AESEPUS:—

Fig. 1. Elevation of Bridge 185
Fig. 2. View from W. End, showing Vaults supporting Roadway . . 185
Fig. 3. Four Views of Bridge 186

BOATS ON THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS:—

Fig. 1. A *Shahtoor* 191
Fig. 2. A *Kufa* 193
Fig. 3. A *Dhow* 194

NOTES ON MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, RELATING TO LEVANT GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL:—

Fig. 1. Map of Chios from MS. *Lansdowne*, 792, f. 61 201

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION:—

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Cretan Seal Impressions showing Development of Costume 241

LACONIA:—

I.—THE MEDIAEVAL FORTRESSES.

Fig. 1. Details of Fortifications of the Castle of Geraki, and Armorial Bearings over Door of Church of St. George . . . 260
Fig. 2. Map of Geraki, showing Castle and Churches 262
Fig. 3. Plan of Castle of Passava 262
Fig. 4. „ „ Kelefá 262

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 2.—THE CITY WALL.

Fig. 1. Earlier Wall below the City Wall, Sparta 285
Fig. 2. The City Wall, Sparta 286

LACONIA (EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906) (*continued*):—

PAGE

§ 3.—THE HEROÖN.

Fig. 3. Terracotta Hero-relief 'Libation' type 289
Figs. 4, 5. „ „ „ „ 289
Fig. 6. „ „ Male Figure before Snake 290
Fig. 7. Painted Terracotta Cornice 293

§ 4.—THE GREAT ALTAR NEAR THE EUROTAS.

Fig. 1. East Front of Altar in Bed of Eurotas 296
Fig. 2. Surface of Altar looking Eastwards 297
Fig. 3. Ground Plan, Section and Elevation of Altar . . 298

§ 5.—THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA.

Fig. 1. The Bank of the Eurotas at the Artemisium 304
Fig. 2. The Theatre as seen by the French Expedition . . . 309
Fig. 3. Piers of the Roman Theatre 312
Fig. 4. The New Retaining Wall. Part of Roman Substructure . . 313

§ 6.—ARCHAIC FINDS FROM THE ARTEMISIUM.

Fig. 1. Inner Face of Temenos-Wall 319
Fig. 2. Ivory Figures of Animals 320
Fig. 3. Lead Figurines 323
Fig. 4. Terracotta Mask 326
Fig. 5. Ivories 328

§ 7.—THE CULT OF ORTHIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FINDS.

Fig. 1. Limestone Relief of Horse with Archaic Inscription . . 334
Figs. 2, 3. „ „ Horse and Hound 335
Fig. 4. „ Statuette 337
Fig. 5. Upper part of Terracotta Mask 340
Fig. 6. „ „ „ 341
Figs. 7, 8. Wrinkled Masks 342
Fig. 9. Noses from Masks 343

§ 10.—THE THEATRE AND ADJOINING AREA.

Fig. 1. Trial-Pits (A—G) near Theatre 396
Fig. 2. Marble blocks adorned with Bucrania, Festoons, and Bosses . 397
Fig. 3. Ground Plan of Theatre and Trench 399
Fig. 4. Masons' Marks 403

LACONIA (EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906) (*continued*) :—

§ 11.—THE ROMAN BATHS (ARAPISSA).

PAGE
Fig. 1. Arapissa. Western Portion 408
Fig. 2. Upper part of Heracles Herm 412

§ 12.—THE ROMAN STOA AND LATER FORTIFICATIONS.

Fig. 1. Springing of Vaults in Central Compartment of Stoa . . 416
Fig. 2. Brick construction of Cross Vaults in Stoa 417
Fig. 3. Details of Construction of Niche in Stoa 418
Fig. 4. Set-back of the Springing of the Arch 419
Figs. 5, 6. South Gate of Roman Fortress: Plan and View . . . 421
Fig. 7. South Wall faced with Inscribed and Moulded Marbles . . 422
Fig. 8. Water-pipes at Stoa Wall 424
Fig. 9. Foundations of S. Wall 424
Fig. 10. Fragment of E. Wall 427

§ 13.—TOPOGRAPHICAL CONCLUSIONS.

Fig. 1. Late Roman Wall with Inscriptions built in 434
Fig. 2. Statue of Asclepios 436
Fig. 3. Facing Wall near Site of Ancient Bridge 438

EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO. V

ALTHOUGH it had been intended to close the excavation in 1905, a few days were spent in 1906 in clearing up doubtful points. Work was carried on for only eight days with about ten men, but in spite of this small scale of operations a good deal of fresh light was thrown on the nature of Late Minoan II. burials. I was assisted throughout by Mr. J. P. Droop, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Our first object was to test the field in which were found some years ago two stone moulds[1] for making castings of female figures, double axes, and other objects. The field lies on the left of the road from Siteia to Palaikastro, just before the first houses of the hamlet of Haghia Triadha are reached. The results were disappointing: a day and a half's trenching exposed the scanty remains of a Minoan (probably Late Minoan III.) house, but as no signs of wealth were found, the work was discontinued.

The next site tried was Pláko, a mountain dairy a little south of Palaikastro, high up between the hill of Petsofá and Cape Pláka. Two years before the owner had cleared out a hollow underneath a projecting ledge of limestone, in order to make a cistern, and in the small deep cave so opened had found two 'blossom' bowls,[2] a fine lentoid gem, a bronze ring and human remains. The objects, except the ring, which had been destroyed, were secured for the Candia Museum. As this burial seemed from the evidence of the bowls, which are rare later, to be Late Minoan II. it was

[1] Published by Xanthoudides, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 25, Pls. 3 and 4, and 1903, p. 187. They are preserved in the Candia Museum.

[2] This is a type of stone bowl decorated outside with five or six petals in relief, so that the bowl resembles a half-opened flower. They are common in Crete, and were found at Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, p. 197, Figs. 166, 167).

worth while to search for more evidence. The rest of the cave was accordingly cleared, but only a few sherds were found; one of these, however, painted with stripes pointed to the Late Minoan II. period. The other trial-pits led to no results. A cave to the south, overlooking a precipitous gorge opening on the sea, yielded only a cup associated with a very late burial.

The indication afforded by the cave at Pláko, that in the Late Minoan II. period hollows in the rock were, at all events occasionally, used for tombs, led us to examine a cave on the steep face of Petsofá, just south of Roussolakkos. Almost immediately two coarse amphorae were found, and at a lower level a few Minoan sherds.

In the hope of finding the hitherto almost lacking Late Minoan I. or II. tombs, some trial-pits were made on the lower slopes of Petsofá, to the south of the site of the town at Roussolakkos. The hollow in which *larnakes* were found in 1905[1] seemed exhausted, so we tried a little further to the west, between the next pair of ribs of the mountain-side. After a few failures, in the course of which a part of a Late Minoan I. or II. house was found, work was concentrated on a place, where in 1904 Mr. Currelly found a stone libation-table with a Minoan inscription and a cover for a lamp (Fig. 5 below) resembling the one from Block Δ, published in *B.S.A.* x. p. 224, Fig. 7 *a*. A ridge of conglomerate running up the hill is broken off on the western side, and Mr. Currelly, suspecting a cave below it, cleared a large hole, penetrating a little way beneath the brow of rock. After the libation-table was found, the place was left, but this year bones were observed in the face of earth below the rock, and it was decided to clear the place as much as possible, with the result that a cave six metres deep was found, of which a sectional drawing is shewn in Fig. 1. The cave was entirely filled with soft earth containing bones and pottery.

The bones at first visible proved to belong to a great mass of remains mixed with earth, and crushed by the fall of one or more layers of now resolidified conglomerate, which have broken away from the roof of the cave. The bones were in complete disorder and the smaller ones almost entirely missing, a condition which points to reinterment; there were a number of skulls, the better specimens of which were preserved in plaster for future examination. Very little pottery was at first found, but near the

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. p. 290.

mouth of the cave a fragment of Late Minoan III. ware occurred, and further in, a distinctly Late Minoan II. painted sherd. The rest was plain and indeterminate. At about six metres in from the mouth of the cave was a painted *larnax*, and presently, at a slightly higher level, another, but unpainted; the first contained two skulls and some big bones, and the second bones and one skull, resting on a stone. When they had both been removed, a wall was built to support the roof of the cave, which was now entirely cleared on the left side. Digging on the right-hand side presently revealed a third *larnax* (shewn in section in Fig. 1), also painted; it rested on a layer of bones, and itself contained a skull and the longer bones of a

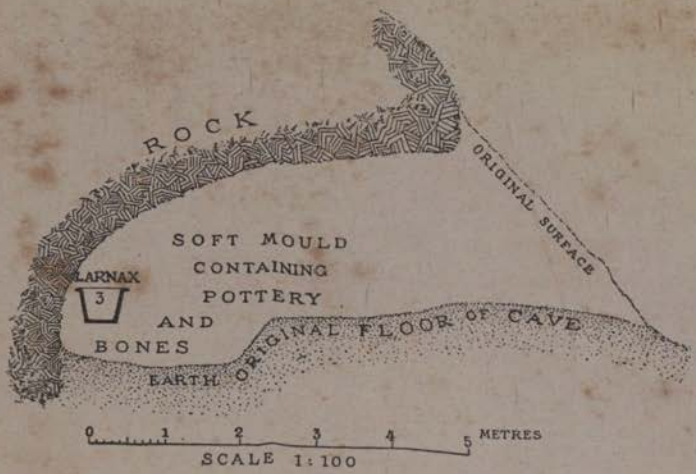


FIG. 1.—SECTION OF CAVE CONTAINING LARNAKES.

skeleton. The floor of the cave was about ·50 m. below the *larnakes*. Fig. 2 shows larnakes 2 and 3 *in situ* with the skulls inside them. Outside, and to the right of this last *larnax*, was a great mass of bones and pottery with a few stone objects. About 1·00 m. to the right of the third *larnax* the crushed remains of a fourth were found and the pottery became scarce. At this point digging had to be abandoned; the true roof of the cave was very difficult to find, and what we had taken for solid roof, while removing the earth, proved to be merely resolidified *débris* supported by our wall. In cutting this away its insecurity was noticed, and at the same time a doubt was felt as to whether the brow of the cave was really

solid with the rest of the roof. To stay this up effectually with a wall and clear the roof thoroughly was more than we were ready to undertake, as further work would have involved removing a great deal of earth to widen the entrance, in order to admit sufficient light. It therefore seemed best to stop the work, especially as anything that may still be left is effectually protected by its inaccessibility from any marauders. Fig. 3 shows the cave after the excavation, with our wall shoring up the roof.

Like nearly all those found at Palaikastro, the *larnakes* are of the 'tub' shape, a form characteristic of East Crete.[1] Though, as will be seen below, apparently somewhat earlier, in form they do not differ

FIG. 2.—LARNAKES 2 AND 3 *in situ* IN THE CAVE.

from the other examples, except in being a little deeper in proportion to their length and width. Their measurements are:—No. 1: length, 1·27 m.; width, ·58 m. to ·59 m.; depth, ·45 m.; No. 2: length, 1·04 m.; width, ·58 m.; depth, ·42 m.; No. 3: length, 1·15 m.; width, ·57 m.; depth, ·47 m.

The objects recovered make these burials of considerable interest. They were all found outside the *larnakes*, and comprise a pair of bronze earrings, a large bronze vessel with a spurred handle, too much shattered for

[1] Described in *B.S.A.* x. p. 227 and figured on p. 230, Fig. 11, where the *larnax* on the right-hand of the photograph is of this type.

its form to be distinguishable, a 'blossom' bowl, a stone lamp, three small stone bowls, two plain circular bronze mirrors and a large clay bead. Besides these there were a number of vases in style intermediate between Late Minoan II. and Late Minoan III. Two 'fireboxes,'[1] an earthenware scoop and a large deep lamp resemble objects belonging to the earlier period. The lamp in particular is a rare form, hitherto only found in the Late Minoan II. deposit in B 13.[2] A fragment also was found with the Late Minoan II. floral pattern. Most of the painted ware, however, had the heavy, creamy white slip of the Late Minoan

FIG. 3.—THE CAVE AFTER THE EXCAVATION.

III. period, though the patterns were generally earlier in style. The distinctly late Minoan III. sherd was found very far out, and from its position was of later date than the rest. The strainer shown in Fig. 4 is typical. The pattern round the neck and the double axes are in the Late Minoan II. style, as is also the form, of which only one

[1] These are earthenware objects that from often being much burned inside, are likely to have been tinder-boxes. They occur on all Cretan sites (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 323, Fig. 23, gives two examples), and they were found at Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, p. 211, Fig. 188).

[2] *B.S.A.* viii. p. 314, and ix. p. 282, Fig. 3, 21.

example was found with the *larnax*-burials at Aspa,[1] whereas earlier, it is common. The pattern round the neck occurs also on the Late Minoan II. oenochoe from Block X, published in *B.S.A.* xi., p. 280, Fig. 11. Combined with these are the friable slip and paint never found on Late Minoan II. ware, and the pattern of closely-set leaves so characteristic of Late Minoan III. Other Late Minoan III. features, such as paste beads, and, above all, *bügelkannen*, are notably absent. The plain linear patterns on the two painted *larnakes* are distinctly Late Minoan II.; one has a design found on one of the fillers from Block Δ,[2] and the pattern of

FIG. 4.—VASE FROM CAVE-BURIALS.

waving octopus tentacles, common on the later Palaikastro *larnakes*, does not occur. From these considerations it is certain that these are the earliest *larnakes*, with the exception of the one published in *B.S.A.* viii., Pls. XVIII., XIX., yet found at Palaikastro.

The absence of the characteristic Late Minoan II. glaze-paint dates them to a period after the destruction of the town at the close of that period, but their reminiscences of it are so numerous and their differences from the later *larnakes* and the Late Minoan III. deposits in the houses

[1] *B.S.A.* x. p. 225, Fig. 8 *a*, and p. 229.

[2] *B.S.A.* ix. pp. 293 and 311. The vase here referred to has not yet been published.

so marked, as to put them very early in this latter period. Their links, both before and behind, prove a local continuity of the two styles and that the ruin of the town, however brought about, did not cause the site ever to be deserted. Further, if so soon after this destruction, *larnakes* were in use, it seems reasonable to conclude that this was a method of interment used, at all events occasionally, during the preceding period of which the *larnax* published in *B.S.A.* viii. Pls. XVIII., XIX. is an example. This find, therefore, by filling up a gap in our knowledge of burial customs and in the series of pottery, bound to be incomplete if represented only by floor-deposits unsupplemented by tombs, has an interest much greater than appears at first sight. It also gives evidence

FIG. 5.—PERFORATED COVER FROM CAVE.
(Scale 1 : 2.)

of continuity between two periods, the products of which had hitherto seemed to stand widely apart.

The discovery of the inscribed libation-table is of importance in this connexion. Whilst it is conceivable that it may belong to an earlier use of the cave, all the evidence points to its being of the same date as the rest of the objects. It is thus an example of the survival of the linear script into the period which follows the fall of the Palace of Knossos and the destruction of the town of Palaikastro. Another such survival has been found at Knossos in the House of the Fetish Shrine (*B.S.A.* xi. p. 16).

The cover mentioned above as having been found at this place and shewn in Fig. 5 agrees in style with the rest of the pottery. It is decorated with a band of detached spirals and a pair of 'horns of consecration.' If it

is, as seems likely, a cover for a lamp set in a *kernos*, it is a further indication of the use of this vessel in funeral rites, and the sacred horns on it may have some such significance.[1] That it was found close to the inscribed table is strong evidence that this latter is not earlier than, but contemporary with, the pottery.

The last three days of the eight, during which the excavation lasted, were spent in making trial-pits, first on the lower slopes of the Kastrí, in the hope of finding more early Minoan ossuaries. and secondly in a further examination of the small plateau on the summit. The latter led to no results, and the former only to the discovery of one Early Minoan jug.

R. M. DAWKINS.

[1] For this question see Mr. Xanthoudides' paper on Cretan *kernoi* in this volume, and the account of the ritual objects found in Block Δ in *B.S.A.* x. pp. 216 *sqq.* The account there given needs the correction, that the figure in the centre of the dance (Fig. 6, *k*, p. 217), having now been carefully cleaned, is recognised to be carrying, not a snake, but a broken lyre, of the same shape as the one on the great painted *larnax* from Haghia Triadha near Phaistos.

CRETAN KERNOI.

§ 1.—Form and Use of the Kernos.

It is only recently that the ritual object *κέρνος* or *κέρχνος*[1] described by Athenaeus[2] has been discovered, recognized, and explained by the labours of Philios,[3] Kourouniotes,[4] and Rubensohn.[5] It was a clay vessel, to which were attached a number of small cups containing various grains and liquids, offered as first fruits of the harvest, especially in the Eleusinian worship, to the divinity. It was carried in procession on the head of the priestess (*κερνοφορεῖν*, *κερνοφορία*), to the accompaniment of ritual dancing (*κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα*). Besides the grains, the liquids and the unwashed wool, in the central bowl of the *kernos* was placed the *παλάθιον*, upon which was set a lighted lamp or candle.[6]

There is thus no doubt about the form and use of the *kernos* of the Greek period. But its existence and use have been traced also to the prehistoric period by Mr. Bosanquet, who has described similar Pre-Mycenaean vessels found many years ago in Melos, and now preserved in various European museums.[7] He has also described and explained as a *kernos* another vessel consisting of three small vases, found in a tomb at *'σ τὸν Κάπρο* near Phylakopi in Melos, and belonging to the so-called Cycladic (Early Minoan) period,[8] and also in the excavations of the British School

[1] *Κέρνος* in Athenaeus and the inventories of ancient writers, *κέρχνος* in inscriptions, *e.g.* of the Eleusinian *epistatai*, 408–407 B.C. *'Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1894, pp. 192 *sqq.* and 1895, pp. 61 *sqq.*

[2] xi. 476 f and 478 d.

[3] *'Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1885, pp. 171–174, Pl. 9, Nos. 5–9.

[4] *'Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1898, pp. 21–28.

[5] *Athen. Mitt.* xxiii. (1898), pp. 271–306.

[6] See also L. Couve in *Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. κέρνος.*

[7] *B.S.A.* iii. p. 57, Pl. IV.

[8] *B.S.A.* iii. p. 54, Fig. 5. In the article *κέρνος* (Dar. et Saglio) quoted above, L. Couve wrongly regards the Phylakopi *kernoi* as Post-Mycenaean, and the one from *'σ τὸν Κάπρο* as Mycenaean.

at Phylakopi prehistoric *kernoi* were found.[1] Further, Mr. Dawkins considers that forty-four conical cups, which he found broken off some such complex vessels, together with idols and other ritual objects, in a Minoan house at Palaikastro in Crete, belonged to *kernoi*.[2] If indeed these vessels are a kind of *kernos*, and I at least cannot doubt it, we have this sacred vessel, and the accompanying ritual of offering grain and first-fruits, existing thousands of years before the historical period, and one more witness to the unbroken continuity of cult and custom, inherited by the historic Greeks from the prehistoric inhabitants of Greece and the islands.

We are also led to the same belief in the continuity of religious ideas by recent excavations in Crete, and I have elsewhere emphasized the unique importance of the Cretan finds for the elucidation of ancient religion.[3] In the present question also, Cretan discoveries hold the first place, for the Cretan *kernoi* published below will shew that this sacred vessel occurs in Crete in all periods from the earliest Cretan or Cycladic to the latest historical times, and, what is still more remarkable, continues in use even at the present time, only slightly altered and adapted to the new religion, in the services of the Greek Orthodox Church.

§ 2.—KERNOI FROM KOUMASSA.

In December 1904 I excavated a series of tombs of the Cycladic period near the modern village of Koumássa, about ten kilometres south of Gortys,[4] consisting of one square and three built beehive tombs. In the smallest of the beehive tombs was found the vessel shewn in Fig. 1. It is hand-made of dark clay, and consists of a hollow cylindrical foot closed above and below by discs, the lower of which forms the slightly spreading base, whilst the upper one is flat and supports three small spherical receptacles, fixed to the edge of the disc and to one another, without however any interior connexion. Each receptacle has on the shoulder two opposite projections pierced with two vertical holes, and a domed cover with two pairs of holes corresponding to those on the shoulder, and at its apex a small knob with an indentation above. From the point where the three

[1] *Phylakopi*, p. 102, Pl. VIII, 14. [2] *B.S.A.* x. pp. 221 *sqq.*

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1903, pp. 188–189. Ἀθηνᾶ, vol. ΙΣΤ', pp. 411 *seqq.*

[4] See a brief account in Παναθήναια 103 (Jan. 15, 1905), and A. J. Evans, *Essai de classification*, p. 6.

receptacles join, a bar runs up, pierced at the top with a large hole. The only decoration consists of concentric circles and herring-bone pattern (*Grätenmuster*) incised on the necks, projections, and lids. The total height is ·14 m., of the base ·065 m., and of each receptacle with the cover ·075 m., and the diameter is ·06 m. It is entirely hand-made without the use of the wheel, and the general appearance is thus not very regular. The hole in the central rod served for suspension, and those in the projections and lids for strings to tie the latter firmly down.

This Koumássa *kernos* bears a great resemblance to the one from *'σ τὸν Κάπρο* near Phylakopi described by Mr. Bosanquet.[1] Both were found in tombs of the Cycladic period, both have the same clay, size, components

FIG. 1.—KERNOS FROM KOUMASSA. (Scale 1 : 3.)

and form, and were doubtless intended for the same purpose. There are slight differences only in the foot and especially in the receptacles, which in the *kernos* from Phylakopi are deep and pitcher-shaped rather than spherical, and without lids, although these may probably have existed and not have been preserved by the peasant who found the vessel; nor do they, as in the *kernos* from Koumássa, rest on a disc, but are fastened half-way up to the ring with which the stem of the vessel terminates.

It is not easy, at all events at present, to be certain of the exact use of these remarkably similar funeral objects from Phylakopi and Koumássa. It seems most probable that they had some ritual use, serving perhaps for

[1] *B.S.A.* iii. p. 54, Fig. 3.

funereal *χοαὶ τρίσπονδοι*, such as were offered in Homeric and historic times to the dead and to the chthonic divinities.[1] We shall see below that these two vessels do not differ essentially, on the one hand from Greek *kernoi*, and on the other from those prehistoric objects of stone and clay usually called tables-of-offering and libation-tables.

In these same tombs at Koumássa, each of which, it should be observed, was a common sepulchre in which many bodies were buried, a great number of small vessels were found, usually of local steatite, which, being of very small capacity, do not seem suited for any practical purpose.

The discovery in these tombs of many obsidian blades, and a considerable number of the small stone plaques which Tsountas[2] has explained as palettes for mixing colours for painting the body, traces of pigment having been found on one of them, led me for some time to believe that these small vessels also were for toilette purposes, and held paints and cosmetics for the face and exposed parts of the body. But this explanation I presently observed did not fit two facts:—first, that no trace of pigment was ever found, although hundreds of these vessels are known and such substances are very durable, and second, that some of those from Koumássa are formed of two pieces not firmly connected, and are thus incapable of holding a fluid for any length of time. There seems therefore to be no other probable explanation than that they were used for ritual offerings; especially as these little vessels are receptacles fitted either actually to contain, or to symbolize, the funeral offerings made to the dead at the time of burial, or from time to time afterwards. Some of these receptacles are compound, having more than one hollow. Of those found in the tombs of Koumássa, one is quadruple with four hollows, eight are double, and the remainder, about a hundred, have one hollow only. There were also other examples, but too rotten for preservation. From the great number found we may conclude that it was the custom to make an offering to each of the dead in one of these little vessels, and then to deposit it in the tomb. Some of them, and especially the compound examples, are decorated with incised lines, and have holes for strings for suspension, whilst the quadruple

[1] *B.S.A.* iii. p. 59.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, p. 163, Pl. 10, Nos. 11–15. I do not think that the use of these stone plaques as palettes is as yet proved. The traces of red colour found on one of them by Tsountas may be accidental. I rather suspect that they also are sacred tables-of-offering carried in the hand or fixed to the floor, and that for this reason the lower surface is generally convex, which does not suit the explanation as palettes.

one has holes beneath for nails to fasten it to some other object. Some of the shapes are shewn in Fig. 2. Similar stone objects have been found in many other parts of Crete, both by chance, and also in the excavation of tombs and prehistoric settlements. During the excavations of the British School at Palaikastro, for example, one example with eight receptacles, one with four, one with three, three with one, and a considerable number with one only, were found.[1] In the circular house at Chamézi, in the province of Siteia, there were about twenty-five complete, and a considerable number of rotten and broken examples, all single. About twenty come from the *tholos* at Haghia Triadha,[2] and others, one double, from the palace of Phaistos.

These objects, whether with one or more receptacles, do not essentially differ from certain other stone vessels, which, from the circumstances of their discovery, have been with certainty regarded as tables-of-offering or libation-tables. Such, for example, are four small vessels from the Palace of Knossos, of cubical form tapering below to a foot, with a circular shallow receptacle surrounded by a projecting lip on the upper face;[3] their ritual use as libation-tables is deduced from their having been found with other sacred objects in the Palace. Of similar form and use are the small stone libation-tables found by Hogarth in the Diktaean cave, most of which are square, with a round hollow above for offerings, and narrrowing below to a foot either gradually or by a succession of steps.[4] From the same cave came the libation-table with a Cretan inscription and three receptacles for a triple libation, described by Evans,[5] according to whom these small stone tables are copies of Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian tables-of-offering.[6] Also in the earliest (Kamáres) shrine of the Palace of Phaistos a similar libation-table with one receptacle and incised decoration was found.[7] Since it is now clearly shewn that these stone vessels from Knossos, the Diktaean cave and Phaistos are tables-of-offering or libation-tables, there is no doubt that other similar objects, such as the steatite examples from Palaikastro, served the same purpose. One of these is large and

[1] To be published in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.

[2] *Rendiconti d. Real. Acc. dei Lincei*, xiv. fasc. 12, pp. 30 *sqq.*, and *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo*, xxi.–xxii. della serie iii. fasc. v. 1905, pp. 248–252.

[3] *B.S.A.* ix. p. 41, Fig. 20 *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*. [4] *B.S.A.* vi. p. 114, Fig. 50, Pl. XI.

[5] *J.H.S.* xvii. pp. 350 *sqq.* Fig. 25, and xxi. p. 113, and Fig. 7. See also Karo, *Altkretische Cultstätten*, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, vii. p. 121, Fig. 2.

[6] *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 357. [7] *Mon. Ant.* xiv. pp. 167 *sqq.* Figg. 77–82.

square with a round hollow and projecting lip, narrowing by four steps to a base below. Another has a low cylindrical foot and is cruciform above with a rather deep hollow. A third has a round base, a high cylindrical foot and a disk above with no receptacle.[1] At Gournià Miss Boyd found five large stone tables-of-offering with low cylindrical feet, of which one has the upper surface level, two have a round hollow and two have a large deep hollow in the middle, communicating with three or four smaller hollows set round the edge.[2] Examples made of clay have also been found at Phaistos and Gournià, usually large disks standing upon a low cylindrical foot, with a round hollow above to receive the offerings. Related to these and of similar use are the large clay tables-of-offering of the Palace of Phaistos, one of which with a hemispherical hollow was found in the early (Kamáres) shrine.[3] Two others are shaped like a squared plank, with incised spirals and a row of small vessels fastened to it to receive the various prescribed kinds of grain and liquids offered.[4] Surely these Phaistos tables with the little vessels fastened to them are forerunners of the Greek *kernoi* with their little cups; and the Palaikastro *kernoi*, as restored by Dawkins from the cups he describes,[5] differ but very little from the Greek *kernoi*. Of their ritual use and their association with idols and sacred doves we have spoken above.

Considering all these objects from the *kernoi* of Koumássa, and *'σ τὸν Κάπρο* to those of Palaikastro, we see that although they are of various forms, yet in use they do not essentially differ, all being sacred objects from shrines or tombs, used to hold the offerings of the faithful to the gods, or of the living to the divinely honoured dead. Also the flat-topped round altars of baked or unbaked clay from the shrine of Knossos, Gournià, the Knossos tombs, and the house at Chamézi served the same purpose as tables-of-offering. In all these cases there is only variation in the form, size, and material according to the place of use and the objects offered. For fruit or the *παλάθιον* a flat surface was enough; for cereals, and especially for liquids, a receptacle was necessary, and so the hollows and *kotuliskoi* were added.

[1] All these are preserved in the Candia Museum, and are to be published by the British School.

[2] These are shortly to be published.

[3] *Mon. Ant.* xiv. pp. 101–108, Fig. 38, Pl. X.

[4] *Mon. Ant.* xii. Pl. VIII.; Karo, *op. cit.* Fig. 20.

[5] *B.S.A.* x. pp. 220 *sqq.* A restoration of such a *kernos* consisting of a bowl with four of these cups fastened to its lip, a part of which is ancient, has now been placed in the Candia Museum.

If a single substance or a mixed libation was offered, one receptacle was enough, whilst if several substances were to be offered separately at the same time, several were needed, and tables-of-offering with many hollows and *kernoi* with many little cups would be made. I believe therefore that altars, tables-of-offering and libation-tables, and *kernoi* were originally all alike, and that these different forms arose simply from the various places and manner of making offerings, and their material, composition and quantity. Of all these, the table with vases fastened to it and the *kernos* with *kotuliskoi*, are the most complicated developments of the sacred table or altar. This latter type in Hellenic times gained a special sanctity and took a foremost place in certain centres of worship, especially in the mysteries of Eleusis, and was given the special name κέρνος or κέρχνος.

The *kernos* of Koumássa and most of the small stone vessels which I have here interpreted as tables, belong to the first two prehistoric periods, the 'Cycladic' and the 'Kamáres' (the Early and Middle Minoan of Evans' system), whilst others, especially those from Gournià, Palaikastro, Phaistos and Knossos come down to the beginning of the third or Mycenaean Period (Late Minoan I.), and thus are contemporary with the most flourishing period of these places. The use of tables-of-offering thus began in the most ancient times, continued in the Mycenaean period, and a complicated type must now be described which will shew that it lasted still longer.

§ 3.—THE KERNOS OF KOURTES (FIG. 3).

This *kernos* was found with hundreds of vases of the latest Mycenaean period (late Minoan III.) in the Cemetery of Koúrtes in Crete. The systematic pillage of this cemetery began a little before the revolution of 1896, and was completed during the three years it lasted. The majority of the vases found were lost by the peasants, but a considerable number were bought by the Archaeological Society of Candia, and some few that had been preserved by the peasants were taken by the present Government at the end of the revolution.[1] Amongst these is the *kernos* referred to by Dawkins[2] and here published (Fig. 3). There is therefore nothing known

[1] For these tombs and vases see Halbherr in *Am. Journ. Arch.* v. pp. 287 *sqq.*; Taramelli, *ibid.* v. pp. 294 *sqq.*; and Mariani, *ibid.* v. pp. 302 *sqq.*

[2] *B.S.A.* x. p. 224.

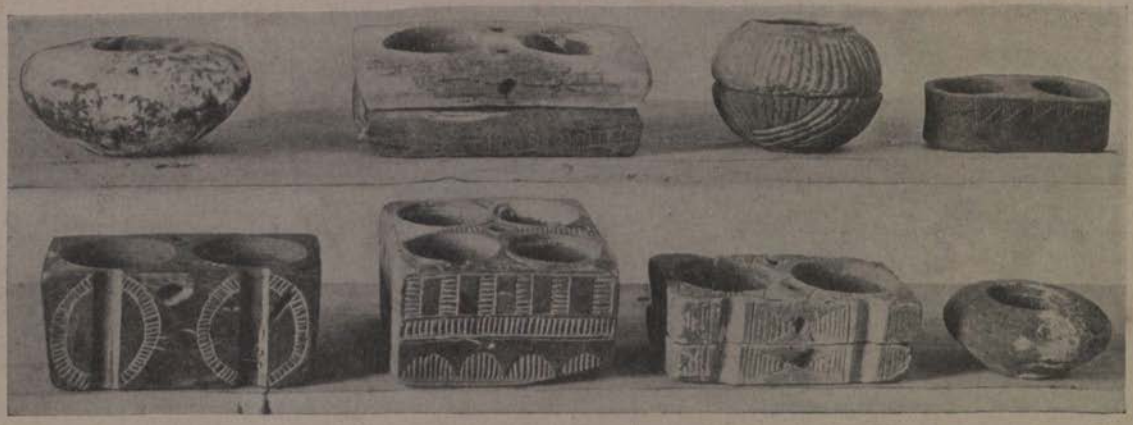


FIG. 2.—STONE VESSELS FROM KOUMASSA. (Scale 1 : 3.)

FIG. 3.—KERNOS FROM KOURTES. (Scale about 1 : 3.)

FIG. 4.—KERNOS FROM HAGHIOS NIKOLAOS. (Scale about 1 : 3.)

of its discovery, except that it comes from one of the numerous small tombs of this cemetery.

It is made of well-baked red clay, and consists of a stout hollow ring, to the upper part of which six little vases or cups are fastened. These are pierced below, and thus communicate with the hollow of the ring, the lower surface of which is flattened to provide a steady base. The external diameter of the ring is ·19 m., the internal, ·12 m.; the vases are ·67 m.

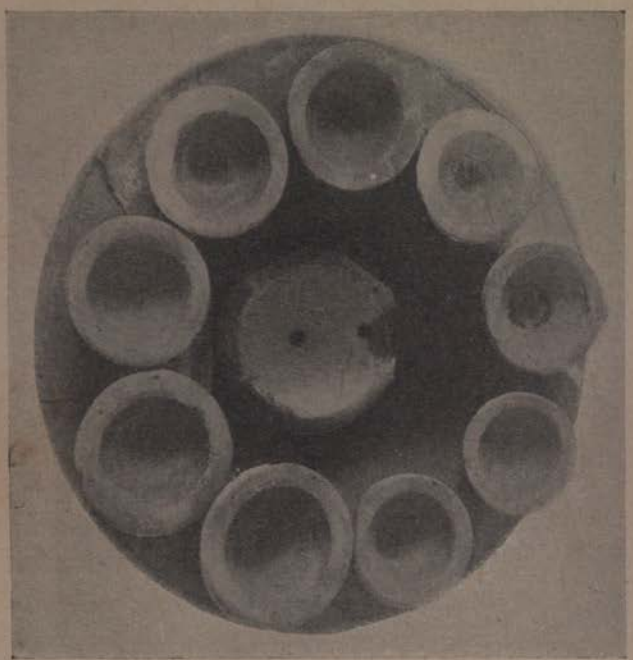


FIG. 5.—KERNOS FROM HAGHIOS NIKOLAOS, SEEN FROM ABOVE. (Scale about 1 : 3.)

high, and have a narrow neck and spreading mouth, wider in one than in the others, and two rising handles half-way up; it also bears three coarsely made human figures set alternately between the vases. One holds the hands to the head, another to the breast, and the third grasps the handles of the vases next to him. There are traces of a decoration of brown paint.

There is no doubt that this object also served the same sacred purpose as the *kernoi* of Koumássa, the Melian *kernoi* described by Bosanquet, and

the *kernoi* of the Greek period. Nor is its form, a hollow ring supporting small vases, unknown, fragments of such *kernoi*, also prehistoric, having been observed at Eleusis[1] and elsewhere.[2] The *kernos* of Koúrtes is not broken anywhere, but is nevertheless possibly not complete. It is probable that the ring and cups were set upon a *kylix* or bowl, in which the *palathion* and a lamp or candles also were placed, making such a fully equipped *kernos* as was used in Greek times.

The three human figures between the vases have never been observed on any other *kernos*, and give this example a peculiar importance. I believe that they represent in an archaic way women taking part in the sacred *Kernophoria*, or perhaps the potter wished thus to shew the κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα referred to by Pollux as accompanying this rite.[3] The dancing female figures from Palaikastro, published by Dawkins,[4] which were found with sacred doves and the conical cups of *kernoi*, have perhaps some connexion with this dance.

The Koúrtes *kernos* closes the series from prehistoric Crete, but by a strange coincidence, for until lately these vases were rare and no Greek example had occurred in Crete, a *kernos* of the Greek period, described below, has lately been found there.

§ 4.—THE KERNOS OF HAGHIOS NIKOLAOS.

This *kernos* (Figs. 4 and 5) was found in 1903 by a man digging behind a house called Trígonon belonging to the Moudhátsos family in the modern settlement of Haghios Nikolaos in the province of Mirabello. It was sent by the demarch to the Candia Museum, where it is now preserved. From its provenance it may be regarded as coming from the ancient city of *Lato pros Kamara*, which undoubtedly was situated here.

Except for a slight restoration the vessel is complete, and consists of a large deep bowl, into which opens the low foot. Two thick handles are placed below the broad, level and projecting rim, upon the outside edge of which are symmetrically arranged nine small handleless bell-shaped cups. These are separately made and all of the same shape, though not all

[1] *Athen. Mitt.* xxiii. pp. 304–305.

[2] *Dar. et Saglio*, *s. v.* Kernos, p. 825. For the discovery of another in a late Mycenaean tomb in Skyros, see *B.S.A.* xi. p. 79.

[3] Pollux, iv. 103.

[4] *B.S.A.* x. p. 217, Fig. 6.

exactly the same size. The height of the bowl is ·11 m., its diameter ·25 m.; the height of the cups ·02—·025 m., their mean diameter ·06 m., and that of the base ·11 m. The clay is red and well baked. No decoration is now visible, except faint traces of whitish paint on the outer surface. Round the base there is a moulding in relief. The absence of ornament makes it impossible to be certain of its date, but it is probably late Greek or Roman. Its use was without doubt the same as that of the *kernoi* described by Athenaeus, and found at Eleusis and Athens.

The most important point about the discovery of this *kernos* is that inside it was found a clay lamp with one wick and two holes in the cover, thus confirming the scholiast on Nikander, '*κερνοφόρος ἡ τοὺς κρατῆρας φέρουσα ἱέρεια· κέρνος γάρ φασι τοὺς μυστικοὺς κρατῆρας, ἐφ' ὧν λύχνους τιθέασιν.*'[1] It is supposed that in the *Kernophoria* the lamp was placed upon the *palathion* in the *kernos*.[2] That lights were placed upon *kernoi* is known from other sources; the *kernoi* on theatre tickets are surmounted by rodlike projections explained as candles;[3] a vase in the Hermitage Museum shows a *kernos*, from which flames are seen to rise;[4] and the covers for *kernoi* that have been found, are perforated.[5] It is also known that on the sacrificial cake (*παλάθιον* or *πλακούντιον*) were placed lighted candles, for which reason these cakes were called *ἀμφιφῶντες* at the feast of Artemis at Munychia.[6]

From the discovery of the *kernos* at Lato pros Kamara another conclusion may be drawn, namely that, as was previously thought probable, the *kernos* was a sacred vessel not used exclusively at the Eleusinian mysteries, but also in the worship of other gods, as is known from the cults of Rhea Cybele, Attis, and the Corybantes.[7] From the discovery of this *kernos*, we ought perhaps to extend its use to another divinity, probably to the Cretan goddess of agriculture Diktynna or Britomartis, who, as we know from ancient sources, was worshipped in many parts of Crete and among them in this district (Olous and Chersonnesos[8]); from her nature

[1] Ἀλεξιφάρμακα, 217 f. [2] *Dar. et Saglio*, *s. v.* Kernos.

[3] *Athen. Mitt.* xxiii. p. 290, and Svoronos, *Journ. Int. de numism.* i. p. 55.

[4] *Athen. Mitt.* xxiii. p. 291. [5] *Ibid.* Pl. XIII. and Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 172, Pl. 9.

[6] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, Pl. 5; *Athen. Mitt.* xxiii. p. 289; *B.S.A.* x. p. 221.

[7] Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 158 *sqq.*; *Dar. et Saglio*, *s. v.* Kernos; *Athen. Mitt.* xxiii. pp. 272 *sqq.*

[8] Meursius, *Creta*, pp. 27, 50, 201–207. The worship of Britomartis at Lato is proved by the inscription of the treaty between Lato and Olous. Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* i. 141; Collitz-Bechtel, iii. 2. Hälfte, p. 333.

as goddess of agriculture it is extremely probable that she was given offerings of the first-fruits of the earth. This *kernos* is referred to by Dawkins to explain certain pierced clay covers from Palaikastro, which he regards as covers for the lamps placed in *kernoi*.[1]

§ 4.—THE KERNOS IN THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH.

It has been shewn above that the use of the *kernos* as a sacred vessel for the offering of first-fruits to Olympian and Chthonic gods lasted through all antiquity, from the earliest prehistoric to Roman times and the victory of the Christian faith. But it seems that in the new worship also, amongst other surviving heathen customs, a place was found for the *kernos* and its offering of the fruits of the earth, adapted naturally to the new cult, and so somewhat altered, but not in my opinion so much as to prevent us from recognizing the ancient *Kernophoria*. It is at present the custom for the faithful, and especially for cultivators of the soil, to bring to the church first-fruits of the earth, grapes for example and figs, which are blessed by the priest, and, after a prayer for fertility and abundance, distributed to those present at the end of the service and eaten. But the most usual and characteristic example of the offering of first-fruits is the rite called the *Artoklasia*. This is celebrated on many occasions during the year, both at the great festivals of our Lord or the Virgin (Δεσποτικαὶ ἢ Θεομητορικαὶ ἑορταί), and on the days of the more important saints of the Greek Church, either by individuals or, in towns by societies (ῥουφέτια). The offerer brings to the church large loaves, usually five,[2] and with them a little wine, oil, and often corn, and the rite of blessing the fruits of the earth proceeds as follows according to the ceremonial of the Orthodox Greek Church.

The deacon and priest come out from the north side of the Sanctuary, and stand holding candles in the middle of the church, where the loaves, wine, oil, etc. are set out. The priest walks round the loaves incensing them and singing the verse Θεοτόκε Παρθένε κ.τ.λ., and blesses the loaves, wine, and oil with the prayer: Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐλογήσας

[1] *B.S.A.* x. p. 221. See also above, p. 7, Fig. 5.

[2] In memory of the multiplication of the five loaves by our Lord. In the Jewish worship also loaves were offered, and the *artoklasia* is perhaps a mixture of Jewish and Greek religious usages. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iv. p. 311, and I Kings, vii. *v.* 48.

τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πεντακισχιλίους ἄνδρας χορτάσας χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, αὐτός, Κύριε, εὐλόγησον καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους, τὸν σῖτον, τὸν οἶνον, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, καὶ πλήθυνον αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντας πιστοὺς δούλους σου ἁγίασον κ.τ.λ.[1] Then one of the loaves is given to the offerer and the rest are broken, and at the end of the rite distributed to those present, and the wine also.

Corn, wine, and oil are the most important fruits of the earth, for whose fertility and multiplication the priest prays on behalf of the faithful, and especially of the offerer. The loaves to be blessed are placed in a basket on a table in the middle of the church, and the corn, wine and oil in separate vessels. On the loaves are placed seven lights, by means of a metal object with small sockets for holding seven lighted candles.[2] In some old monasteries and churches this sevenfold candlestick is furnished with special receptacles or little cups to hold the corn and wine and oil, and thus the whole arrangement with the candles and offerings bears an extraordinary resemblance to the *kernos* of ancient Greek religion. By way of illustration a figure is given here of such a Christian *kernos*, now in use for the rite of the *artoklasia* in the monastery of Toplù (our Lady of the Promontory) in the province of Siteia in Crete (Fig. 6). It is of metal, and consists of seven sockets for the candles and in front of these, three small cylindrical cups, which hold small phials for the corn, wine and oil. The total height, exclusive of the candles, is ·35 m. It terminates below in three spikes, which are fixed into one of the loaves. Comparing this with the ancient *kernos*, we see, instead of the *palathion* and the lamp or candles, the loaves and the seven lights due no doubt to Jewish influence, and, instead of the little cups, described by Athenaeus, containing various grains and fluids, three little cups only, containing the three most important products of the Greek soil, corn, wine and oil; but in its general appearance, as is seen from the example at Toplù, but little difference from the ancient *kernos*. It should be observed that Christian *kernoi* do not usually rest on spikes, as this example does, but resemble the ancient type in having an open bell-shaped foot, as for instance the one in the Metropolitan church of Haghios

[1] Τυπικὸν Μεγ. Ἐκκλησίας, edition of Ἀν. Κωνσταντινίδης, Athens, 1901, p. 10.

[2] An imitation of Jewish ἐπτάφωτος λυχνία. See Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* pp. 311 *sqq.* Figs. 160–163. The loaves with lighted candles above recall the above mentioned ἀμφιφῶντες.

Minás in Candia; also most Christian sevenfold candlesticks do not have the sockets in a row, like the Jewish seven-branched candlestick and the Toplù specimen, but have one candle in the middle, surrounded by the other six, an arrangement which separates them from the Jewish model and approximates to the ancient *kernos* with its circle of small cups.

Loaves, corn, wine and oil are offered to-day in the Christian church to God or to a Saint on behalf of the living worshippers, who offer these gifts as first-fruits to be blessed in the church; but the ancients, besides first-fruits to the gods, offered also libations, and, as is inferred from

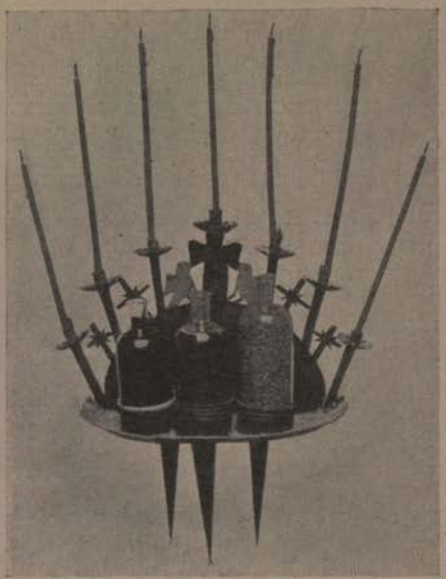


FIG. 6.—MODERN KERNOS AT TOPLU. (Scale 1 : 8.)

the discovery of prehistoric *kernoi* in tombs, first-fruits to the dead and to the infernal powers. I believe that this last custom has been preserved by the Greek Church in the memorial of the dead which is made on the third, ninth, thirtieth, etc. days after death (ancient τρίτα, ἔνατα, τριακάδες), when loaves, wine, oil, and the preparation of boiled wheat and other grains, sugar, raisins, pomegranate and other seeds called κόλλυβα, are brought to the church and distributed and eaten in memory of the dead, after being blessed in the church and at the grave. Finally I would observe that the procession of the priest round the loaves singing the verse Θεοτόκε Παρθένε,

recalls, and is probably a relic of, the *κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα* of ancient cult, whilst the *Κερνοφορία*, the carrying on the head of the priest or priestess of the sacred *kernos* with its various fruits, is represented to-day in the Greek Church by the oblation of the Eucharistic elements, when the priests come out of the Sanctuary carrying the elements and sacred vessels; bearing on their heads the chalice and paten with the holy Bread, they thus pass among the people exhibiting to them the divine Gifts of the bloodless Sacrifice.

STEPHANOS XANTHOUDIDES.

SOME GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM CRETE.

IN the spring of 1906 I spent some time in the Museum at Candia, studying the Cretan Geometric pottery. In particular my attention was devoted to two large groups hitherto unpublished, the one from Praesos excavated by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet and Mr. J. H. Marshall in 1901 and the other discovered by a local tomb-hunter, Ἰωάννης Χατζιλάρης in 1902, in a tomb near Adhromyloi, two hours south-west of Praesos, and confiscated by the local authorities.

To these I added two groups, the one of five vases from Vavelloi, a village almost on the site of ancient Praesos, and the other, consisting of four vases, from a field on the road between Haghios Nikolaos and Mirabello, which latter group I have to thank Dr. Joseph Hazzidakes for permission to publish.

The clay of the large majority of the vases is of a rather soft nature and buff in colour, often, however, especially in the Adhromyloi group, slightly tinged with pink. The paint used is generally a sepia without much glaze, varying in shade according to its thickness and the amount of baking which it received. This normal clay and paint is to be assumed in what follows, unless there be a note.

THE PRAESOS VASES.

The Praesos vases remained almost entirely unpublished, in the first instance owing to the illness and subsequent departure for India of Mr. J. H. Marshall, and afterwards because they were overshadowed by the interest of the later Minoan discoveries at Palaikastro; moreover the earth at

Praesos is of particular stickiness, so that the vases are in such a bad state of preservation, that work on them, except for the purpose of a special study of Geometric ware, would seem to be wasted, and such a study was prevented by the pressure of work in other directions.

The Geometric Vases consist of a group from Tomb C, a large group from Tomb 53, and one or two from Tomb 20. There are also a considerable number of which it is not known from which tombs they come.

Besides these there are a few pieces, mostly fragments of large vases, which, though they come under the heading 'Geometric,' yet show signs of being later in date than the rest, and less pure in style; in fact they correspond with the Proto-Attic Class.

TOMB C.[1]

From Tomb C nineteen vases are preserved in the Museum of Candia. Of these seven have already been published.[2] The two lower rows of Fig. 1

FIG. 1.

show the remaining twelve. These are, from left to right, beginning with the upper row:—

[1] A square shaft-grave excavated by Mr. Bosanquet. See plan and section, and description of its arrangement and contents in *B.S.A.* viii. pp. 249 ff. The chief interment contained an unburied skeleton with an iron sword at the right side, and upwards of thirty vases.

[2] *B.S.A.* viii. 250, and Pl. IX.

No. 2007.[1] A bowl of a shape that is quite common in Crete, though usually the foot is less stunted. The technique, white paint laid on a ground of black, or rather of very dark grey, is interesting, as I believe it to be confined to the Geometric ware of East Crete and to be a survival of the similar Minoan technique.

The pattern in white paint consists of a broad line below the lip, then between the handles on each side, three sets of concentric circles. Below, a dozen horizontal lines. Ht. ·06 m.

2002. A small hydria in the same technique.

Here, too, the decoration consists of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder on each side, four sets of concentric circles. Ht. ·1 m.

2016. A tiny aryballos.

On the shoulder is a pattern of perpendicular bars, and below, a series of horizontal lines. This vase seems to be a stranger and a sojourner belonging to the so-called Proto-Corinthian ware, and is not even so far naturalised as to be only an imitation of that style.

The presence of this vase in the earlier interment in this tomb suggests that the Geometric style lasted longer in Crete than elsewhere. Ht. ·04 m.

3850. A small pot in the shape of a circular tube.

The spout projects, and the handle, now broken, starting from the lip, met the circle at a tangent. The ornament was mostly in parallel lines, but on the outside was a field of oblongs, decorated with perpendiculars alternating with diagonal lines. The use of this pot it is hard to conjecture. Diam. ·19 m.

2005. A large cup made in a grey clay.

The paint is a greyish-brown and is applied to the whole. Ht. ·12 m.

2001. A jug in the same technique as 2005.

This shape either with, or without, the trefoil lip is not uncommon in Crete.[2] Ht. ·145 m.

2006. A cup of the same ware with a single ear-shaped handle. Ht. ·08 m. Two others like it were found.

[1] The numbers are those of the Museum Catalogue.

[2] Cf. Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 1903.

2018. A bowl of the 'skyphos' shape.

The clay is a coarse blue grey and there is no attempt at decoration. Ht. ·05 m.

1989. (Lower Row) A large basin.

The pinkish clay is covered with a thin buff slip to take the paint. Below the lip there is a deep groove, and below that again a projecting ridge; so far from the lip downwards there is paint, but below the ridge there is a pattern of arched lines.[1] On the bottom there is a sun pattern, the rays extending to the edge, which suggests ornamental suspension rather than use. There are two handles of the horizontal type. Ht. ·135 m.

3847. A plate of crisp red clay.

Outside is a coat of red paint, while inside are three concentric circles of red paint, one of which is on the rim. On one side, close together, are two holes for suspension. Diam. ·23 m. A second like it was found.

2101. A round vase of which the sides are rounded over inwards. It has one horizontal handle (so-called *κώθων*).

The ornament was apparently in parallel lines except round the middle, where there is a maeander, an ornament that seems rather unusual in Crete. Diam. ·1 m.

1988. A wash-basin with a flat rim below which is a deep groove.

Round the lower part are parallel bands; between the handles is a square field of paint; round the upper part are traces of a white wave pattern over the dark paint. Ht. ·12 m.

The other vases found with the first interment in this tomb were two skypho, one of buff, and one of grey clay, ht. ·13 m.; a krater of grey clay, ht. ·16 m., diam. ·12 m.; a plain amphora, badly broken and not brought to Candia; and a small jug, neck lost, cylindrical body with horizontal stripes in brown, shoulder at angle of 45°, ht. ·06 m. These I have not been able to identify. The large basin (1989) contained eight smaller vases, the miniature bowl (2007), and seven lekythos-like vessels which were completely crushed; see the description in *B.S.A.* viii. 250.

With these vases were found ten clay beads of about ·03 m. diam., two clay spindle whorls, diam. ·05 m., two obsidian blades (in box 304), two fragments of a bronze vessel, and four fragments of three slate palettes.

[1] Compare the illustration of 1992, Fig. 6, where, however, the pattern is inverted.

There is also an iron sword-blade in seven fragments much corroded (Mus. No. 29). Fig. 2.

The length is ·054 m., and the blade rises in the centre to a ridge on a

FIG. 2.

bevel; a hilt was attached by means of bronze studs, traces of two of which still remain.

TOMB 53.

Vases that certainly come from Tomb 53, which was excavated by Mr. Marshall,[1] are preserved at Candia to the number of fourteen. More than these it was impossible to identify with the descriptions briefly noted at the time of their finding, but it may well be that some of those vases to

FIG. 3.

which I have not been able to assign a certain tomb of origin really belong to the thirty-nine which were originally found in this tomb. Doubtless many fragments among the number were not thought worth preserving.

Fig. 3 shows the extant vases from this tomb.

[1] This was a small chamber tomb cut in the hard sub-soil on the west side of the gravel ridge, which lies on the west side of the path from Vavelloi to the site of Praesos, the only Geometric tomb found on that side of the ridge. It had a low floorway formed of three blocks of free stone. The roof and sides had crumbled inwards, and it was difficult to ascertain its original form.

Beginning from the top left corner they are :—

1991. Amphora. Ht. ·345 m.

The decoration consists of a groove where the neck joins the shoulder, and a series of broad horizontal lines round the belly.

1994. Amphora. Ht. ·443 m.

The decoration marks a difference between the front of the vase and the back. The back is painted over to well below the shoulder, then

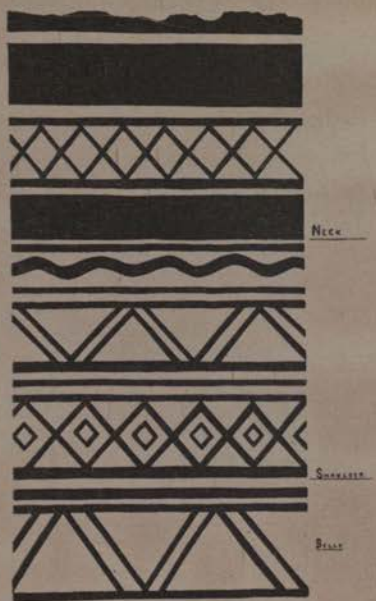


FIG. 4.

after a space come three narrow lines followed by two broader lines above the painted base. The decoration is shown in Fig. 4.

1993. Hydria. Ht. ·557 m.

The clay is particularly fine and soft. The most interesting point in the decoration, given in Fig. 5, is the bee which occurs three times (the third, not shown in the illustration, is above the other handle) and is strangely naturalistic for this class of pottery. The arch on the shoulder is also to be noted. Inside it the pattern is quite uncertain and the illustration only shows what can be made out. I think that the interior curves should be completed into S-shaped spirals.

1992. Hydria. Ht. ·44 m.

Not only shape and technique, but also the decoration (see Fig. 6), bear so strong a resemblance to those of the preceding vase that there can be no doubt that both pots come from the same hand. The bee here occurs twice on opposite sides of the belly and it might almost be fancied that some Cretan Whistler used it for his signature. The shoulder ornament is new and decorative; altogether this is a finer vase than 1993.

FIG 5.

FIG. 6.

The same running spiral should be noted on the neck of both vases; in both, too, the horizontal handles are decorated with a broad line above and below, joined by thin slanting lines, while the perpendicular handle, which in each case is flat, has a line up each side, and the outside is decorated with cross lines between perpendiculars except near the top, where there are two long diagonals. This handle pattern finds a parallel on an amphora from the Kynosarges site at Athens.

2050. Amphora. Ht. ·305 m.

The clay is of the colour of red brick, and the decoration consists entirely of horizontal lines round the vase, except for a row either of spirals or the so-called 'running dog' pattern round the shoulder. Only traces remain, and it is impossible to tell which.

2054. Amphora. Ht. ·272 m.

The decoration is entirely in horizontal lines.

2057. Amphora. Ht. ·285 m.

The decoration, which is the same on both sides, consists of a field between the handles (see Fig. 7) and parallel lines round the pot. The

FIG. 7.

shape and distribution of the decoration calls to mind the neckless amphorae from Thera.

2051. Amphora. Ht. ·3 m.

The clay is coarse and blue-grey in colour, and no paint is used. The decoration consists merely of a line in relief high up on the neck, and a groove where the neck joins the shoulder.

On this vase is a lid (·145 m. diam.) with a concave knob rising to a point of eight facets; it is pierced with two holes on each side for attachment and is covered with greyish-purple paint. Whether it really belongs to this vase is doubtful.

2060. Long-necked jug. Ht. ·32 m.

The lip is broken off but was probably trefoil. The decoration is entirely in parallel lines.

2063. Miniature Amphora. Ht. ·128 m.

The most interesting feature in the decoration (Fig. 9) is the band of circles on the neck, which shoot forth rays. The bare wedges on the shoulder may each have contained a perpendicular row of dots, of one of which traces remain.

2056. Amphora. Ht. ·213 m.

There is no neck, but the jutting rim and the line in high relief on the shoulder should be noticed. The clay is thinner than in most of these pots,

FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

and the vase very light. The decoration consists of alternating bands, and groups of three horizontal lines, but on the shoulder is the field shown in Fig. 8.

No Museum Number. A one-handled vase. Ht. ·06 m.

Originally it had a lid, but this has disappeared. The sides are bent right over, the rim turning downwards into the vase.

A buff slip covers the pinkish clay and the decoration consists of thin parallel lines.

2061. Miniature Amphora. Ht. ·117 m. Completely painted over.

In the corner of the figure is the neck of a jug of the type of No. 2060.

Besides the pots there were also found in Tomb 53 the fragments of two bow fibulae, a pair of pliers, and the end of a spoon with fragments of the handle. These are of bronze; with them, but inside 1991, was found

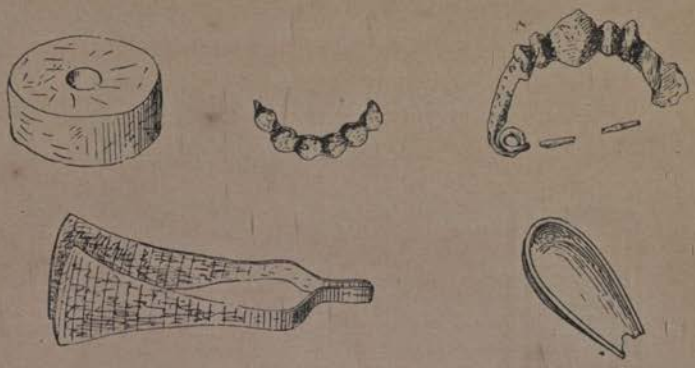


FIG. 10.

a round whorl ·031 m. in diameter, of fine brick red clay covered with sepia paint. See Fig. 10. Two pieces of obsidian were found together with bones in one of the vases of this tomb.

PRAESOS. UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE.

Those vases which come from Praesos, and belong to the 'Geometric' period, but which cannot be assigned with certainty to definite tombs, are grouped together in Fig. 11. As some lack a Museum number I lettered them under the heading of 'Praesos Uncertain,' but the exigencies of grouping have upset the alphabetical sequence.

From the top left hand corner they run :—

2055 (K). Amphora. Ht. ·244 m.

Three broad belts are its sole decoration.

(D). A small bowl completely covered with paint. Ht. ·03 m.

2062 (H). Small slender amphora. Ht. ·252 m.

Paint on the rim, handles and foot, three lines round the shoulder.

2052 (I). Amphora. Ht. ·317 m.

The clay is a grey-green in colour, and the decoration consists of four broad lines round the pot and perpendiculars on the rectangular rim.

(E). Bowl similar to D. Ht. ·039 m.

2058 (L). Amphora. Ht. ·28 m.

The decoration consists of groups of horizontal lines. There is also between the handles a square, bare field flanked on each side by three perpendicular lines.

(A). A jug whose flat handle no doubt reached well above the rim. Only fragments remain, but enough to give the height, ·136 m. The ornament is given in Fig. 12.

The shape of the vase and the crowding of the ornament call to mind the Dipylon jugs, but in the ornament itself there is a look which is foreign to the Dipylon style, yet is hardly the look of the Praesos ware.

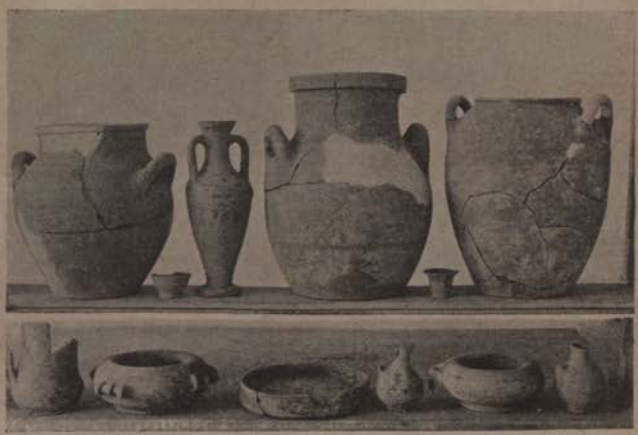


FIG. 11.

This, however, may be due to the congestion of ornament. I look on this vase as an attempt at an imitation of a Dipylon jug.

2067 (F). A 'Toilet Vase.' Diam. ·175 m.

The sides are rolled inwards like those of 2101. Of the four handles, three have three volutes and two bolsters, the fourth handle is divided into two, each with two projecting sides and a concave dip between. These are indistinctly shown to the right in the illustration. The ornament is in parallel bands, two being crossed by vertical lines. Compare the Corinthian vase in the British Museum A 1387.

(G). Probably the lid to a low bowl. Diam. ·175 m.

The top bears traces on the outside of two concentric circles, which same pattern remains distinct on the inside. The sides are painted inside on

the rim, while outside between two broad bands they bear the 'running dog' pattern. At each side there is a hole for attachment.

(B). A small jug with trefoil lip and one handle. Ht. ·105 m.

The decoration consists of parallel lines of varying breadth, broken by a series of seven hatched triangles on the shoulder.

2068 (S). This vase, which has been held to be a copy of Corinthian ware—a supposition which, if true, speaks for a comparatively late date for the burial to which it belonged—was found in Tomb 20. Its resemblance in shape to 2101 and 2067, as well as its decoration, warrants its inclusion with Geometric pots. Diam. ·153 m. There is one horizontal handle.

FIG. 12.

FIG. 13.

FIG. 14.

The decoration is given in Fig. 13. In the row along the top the chevrons only continue a short way, the zigzags completing the circle.

(C). This is a jug of the same type as B, but less well made. The decoration is in parallel lines, between two of which on the shoulder are traces of a spiral pattern.

(M) Fig. 14 shows the fragments of a bowl which were found inside K. It was of finer ware than most and resembles A in style and technique. The height was about ·11 m. This vase, like A, although it lacks the strong argument of shape, I am inclined to think a local imitation of Dipylon ware.

There are four other vases from Praesos, of which there is no illustration.

(N). A sieve in form like an amphora. Diam. base ·135 m. The bottom is pierced with large holes and the decoration is in horizontal bands.

(O). A fragment of a lid to one of the neckless amphorae common at this time and place. The decoration takes the form of a row of equilateral triangles round the edge and a series of lines parallel to their bases. The knob for lifting is painted over.

(P). This fragment of a flat dish, or lid, requires consideration in connexion with dishes such as G, one from a house near Knossos published by Orsi,[1] and one found on the road to Mirabello, which will be discussed later.[2] The pattern on the circular bottom consists of four parallel lines, between the inner two of which runs a treble zigzag, then comes a leaf pattern, one end of a big leaf appearing, and to the right, part of a palmette. The bottom inside is decorated with a pattern which strongly resembles the 'egg and dart.' The diameter was about ·15 m., and the only remaining handle is of the type common in Dipylon bowls with ends projecting after the point of contact, suggesting an imitation of wood technique.

(Q). The handle and part of the shoulder of a jug. It is an absolute duplicate of a fragment that belongs to the Adhromyloi group, viz. A 9, where a description and illustration are given. See Fig. 27.

VAVELLOI.

Here, as belonging entirely to the Geometric period, follow five vases from Vavelloi village. They were found in a sheepfold about three-quarters of a mile N.E. of the village which lies near the site of old Praesos. The shepherd was enlarging his pen, and in breaking away a ledge of rock found an interment under it, and these vases, which Mr. R. C. Bosanquet bought from him a few months later in June 1904. The body was laid at full length and had not been burned. The vases are shown in Fig. 1, top row.

A. Bowl. Ht. ·142 m.

B. Cup. Ht. ·1 m. This rude pot shows traces of one vertical handle. Coarse wheel-marks are very plain.

C. This clay object has a small hollow foot and an aperture in the spout shown to the right in the illustration; at the two extremities of the

[1] *A.J.A.* 1897, p. 260. [2] See p. 38.

ridge along the back are traces of a break, indicating probably a semi-circular handle. Length ·08 m. The ornament consists of perpendicular parallels down the sides. It seems probable that the vessel held oil or some slow-pouring liquid. It may have been used as a lamp, but I know of no parallel to the shape.

D. A cup completely covered with paint. Ht. ·075 m.

E. A bowl. Ht. ·115 m. The decoration is the same on both sides.

PISKOKEPHALO.

There is also a small amphora (Ht. ·20 m.) which was found a few years back near the village of Piskokephalo, in the valley that leads up from Siteia to Praesos. The most noticeable point in the ornamentation is a series of hanging loops meeting a series of standing hoops, the space between them being cross-hatched. Between the hatching and the loops there runs a bare border.

MIRABELLO.

Fig. 15 shows four vases found a few years back on the road from Neapolis to Mirabello. On the left:

516. Neckless Amphora. Ht. ·275 m.

This vase has a buff slip over the pink clay. The double concentric circles below the first broad band do not come out clearly in the photo-

FIG. 15.

graph, which moreover does not show above the handles the diagonals, whose lower ends are carried perpendicularly downwards on each side of them.

514. Neckless Amphora. Ht. ·50 m.

The fine shape is not uncommon in Crete.[1] It should be noted that the two rows of double concentric circles, which also run up each side between the shoulder-field and the handles, are in applied white paint.

517. Amphora. Ht. ·347 m.

This vase also has a buff slip. The photograph can do no more unfortunately than display the extremely clumsy shape of the pot. The

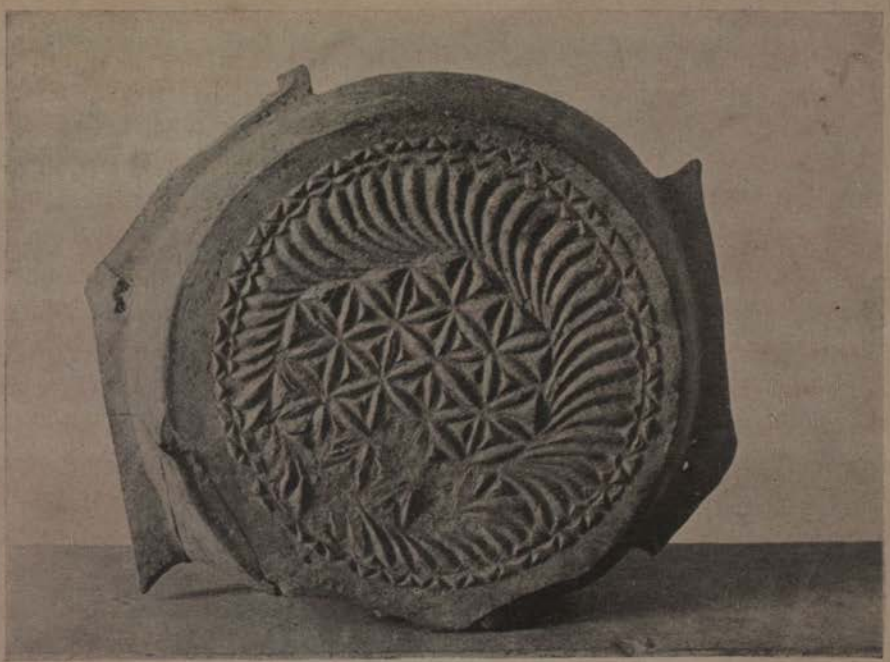


FIG. 16.

decoration consists of paint over the neck and handles, between which latter is a field containing six double concentric circles arranged in two groups; below are three bands of paint on the shoulder, one band round the belly, and a thinner band round the base.

1013. The most interesting of these four is the dish in front, the bottom of which is shown in Fig. 16. Diam. ·195 m. The strangely shaped handles are each pierced with two holes for the attachment of a

[1] See Wide, '*Nachleben Mykenischer Ornamente.*'

lid; there is no paint, and the decoration, which is in relief, is confined to the bottom.

In all these flat dishes the bottom is decorated more or less elaborately, a fact which suggests either, that they were more for show than use and were kept hung up, or, that they may rather have served as lids. In this case the decoration is interesting, because it reproduces the scroll pattern which is frequent in the later periods of Minoan pottery. That this is a survival in style, and not merely a survival of one individual specimen, is probable, not only because other instances exist of the survival of Minoan methods, such as the technique of white paint applied to a black ground, but also from a comparison of this dish (α) with three others (β, γ, δ). β is 594, a fragment published by Orsi,[1] of which the decoration is a leaf pattern in relief; the handle is similar to that of 1013, but more resembles the shape affected by the Attic bowls. Next (γ) is 'Praesos. Uncertain' (P), where the shape of handle is that of 594, but the decoration is a leaf pattern painted. The last of the series (δ) is 'Praesos. Uncertain' (G), where the handles are absent and the decoration is in paint. Thus (α) connects with (β) through the pattern in relief, (β) with (γ) through the handles and common leaf pattern, and (γ) with (δ) through the decoration in paint. All four, it has been seen, were found in the company of Geometric vases, and in any case there would be no reason for suspecting that the last two do not belong to that period.

It seemed best that the four vases from Mirabello should follow the five vases from Vavelloi, of which the place, for geographical reasons, was clearly with those of Praesos. The reason, however, why these nine vases are here classed among the Praesos set is because, in date they belong to the same Geometric period as those Praesos vases already dealt with; those now to be discussed belong to a time which, while it may still perhaps be called 'Geometric,' is distinctly later, at least in style, and are rather to be compared with the Proto-Attic than with the Dipylon vases.

PRAESOS. LATER STYLE.

These are fragments belonging to five vases:—

1. Part of the shoulder of a large vase, probably an amphora. The neck must have had a diameter of ·09 m. The decoration shows

[1] *A.J.A.* 1897, p. 260.

a 'Geometric' bird in a high state of development; it is almost thoroughbred.

2. Three fragments fit together and may come from the same vase

FIGS. 17 *a* and *b*.

as 1. There is a slight difference in the birds, and the two fragments probably came from different sides of the vase, the two processions being separated by the handles. (Figs. 17 *a* and *b*.)

Elsewhere than in Crete the rope pattern, which comes below, would be, in a vase seemingly Geometric, a sure index of a later date; here it can only be corroborative of the impression made by the birds. Both these fragments came from the Tholos-tomb A described *B.S.A.* viii. 240–245.

The three (Figs. 18, 19, 20), which follow, were found on the Altar-hill (Third Acropolis).

3. A fragment of a large jar, the clay being quite ·02 m. thick. The decoration is apparently part of a perpendicular pattern which probably

FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

divided the vase into two fields. The heart-shaped pattern seems a survival from the Mycenaean age. (Fig. 18.)

4 (2573). Part of the neck of a large amphora found on the Third Acropolis. It measures ·19 m. × ·16 m. (Fig. 19.)

5 (2574). (Fig. 20) Part of the neck and one flat perpendicular handle of an amphora. This fragment perhaps belongs more clearly than the rest to the later so-called 'orientalising' period. It is interesting as a

very early representation of the Siren, bird-woman, type, though it is hardly so early as the example from Thera,[1] nor perhaps as that in the British Museum (A 438), which I think came from Rhodes.

A long search through the boxes of Praesos fragments produced two fragments that joined on to 'Later Style' 2, and one fragment belonging to 'Later Style' 5, but did not reveal any piece that in itself was worthy either of publication or of preservation; yet in the aggregate this mass of sherds is very eloquent of the nature of the Geometric pottery of Praesos; what was chiefly noticeable was the great number of fragments

FIG. 20.

coming from huge pithoi, either in red clay painted in loops and spirals, or in a buff clay ornamented in relief.

A fashionable shape seems also to have been the neckless amphora with a raised rim, and there were many 'toilet' vases, such as 'Uncertain' (G). Vases of this kind, varying in proportions, were in use at Praesos from the later Geometric period down to the fourth or third century. One or more were found in almost every tomb. The decoration consisted chiefly of spirals, zigzags and hatchings, while a line in relief is not uncommon, but at Praesos, at least, the maeander and circle occur comparatively seldom.

[1] See Dragendorff, *Thera*, Vol. ii. Abb. 8.

ADHROMYLOI.

Figs. 21, 22, 23, 28 show the group of vases which were found in one tomb near the village of Adhromyloi. These vases in general exhibit marked coarseness of manufacture, which is due perhaps rather to the smallness of the majority, fineness of make being especially missed in small pots; they are not actually ruder than the vases found at Praesos itself. There are two or three instances of applied white, and the clay

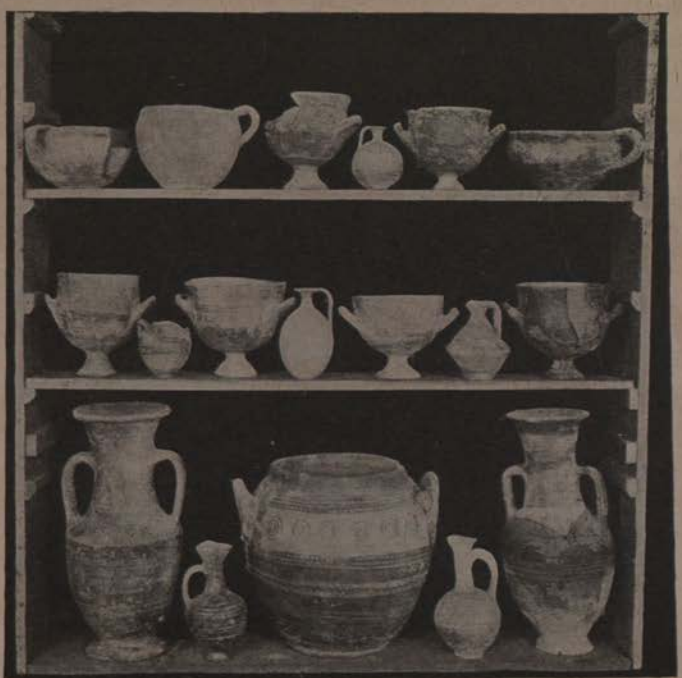


FIG. 21.

3235, 3231, 2225, 3199, 2224, 3227; 2223, 3212, 3221, 3206, 3218, 3197, 2222; 3183, 3192, 3186, 3187, 3184.

shows the pink tinge more often than does that of the Praesos group. Certain vases, similar in type to those discussed, are omitted in what follows from considerations of space.

The inventory numbers are printed beneath each illustration, and those without a number are referred to under the heading A.

In all, this grave yielded one hundred and one vases, which are here grouped under shapes.

The numbers in brackets give the numbers of extant vases of each shape.

AMPHORAE (13).

3180 (Fig. 28). Ht. ·42 m.

The shape is noteworthy for its distinct aversion to curves, and the handles are peculiar, being double, each having a second handle inside it, separate, but just touching.

3186 (Fig. 21). Neckless amphora. Ht. ·237 m.

3182 (Fig. 23). Ht. ·37 m.

The illustration unluckily fails to show clearly a peculiar row of hooks on the shoulder. The flat handles have a broad line up each edge and on the back, between a perpendicular 'running dog' pattern.

3184 (Fig. 21). High-necked amphora. Ht. ·3 m.

The three rows of short curved lines on the neck are particularly to be noted.

3183 (Fig. 21). High-necked amphora. Ht. ·313 m.

Unfortunately the field of decoration on the neck between the handles does not come out clearly in the photograph. It consists of two half circles concentric on either side, while between them is a lozenge divided into four by two cross lines parallel to its sides.

The space between this lozenge and the circles is filled by shading, the lines running parallel to the sides of the lozenge.

3212 (Fig. 21). Miniature amphora. Ht. ·07 m.

This vase probably had a neck, for there is a breakage, and a mere rim is not likely to have been knocked off. The concentric circles on the shoulder are the only salient feature.

A 1. Miniature amphora. Of the same shape as 3212. Ht. ·12 m.

The paint is dark grey with white applied. Round the broken neck ran three white lines, below came a field apparently divided into perpendicular oblongs by perpendicular lines in sets of three, one of which is loosely cross-hatched. Below come horizontal lines of varying thickness.

3251. Stumpy amphora. Ht. ·135 m.

Between the handles was a field, along the top and bottom of which

was a thick zigzag line, while a loose, wavy line ran between. Below came a broad band.

A 2. Ht. ·155 m.

The clay is coarse and red and is covered with a buff slip. The vase seems to have been completely painted over, except for the space between

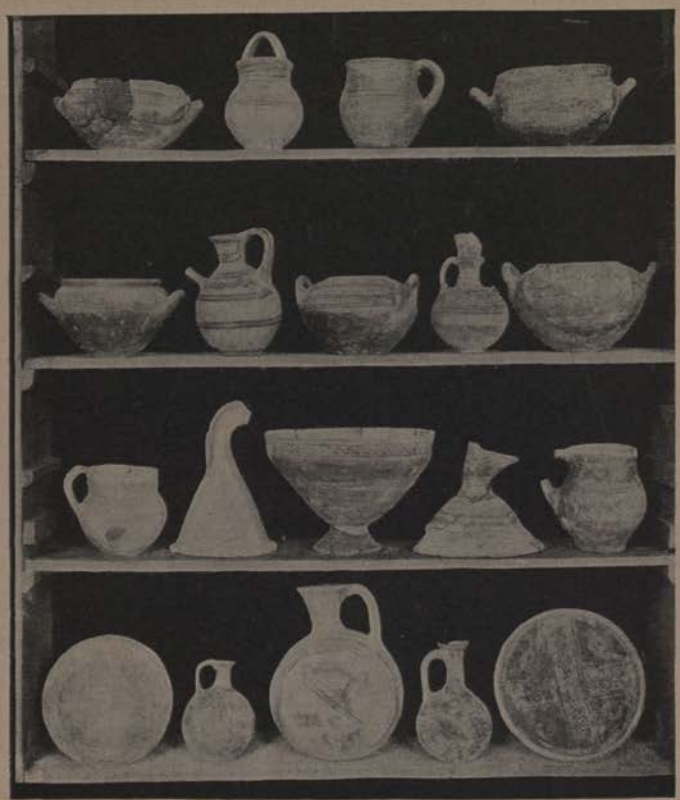


FIG. 22.

3249, 3210, 3253, 3245; 3244, 3211, 3248, 3205, 3246; 2254, 3256, 3252, 3257, 2255; 3259, 3217, 3214, 3216, 3258.

the handles, which had an A-shaped pattern, and for a line of 'wave' pattern round the neck and a line of hanging loops round the belly.

A 3. Fragments of an amphora of very fine work. It is possible to calculate the height, ·265 m.

The clay is very hard and fine, and of a buff colour shading to a very pale grey; the paint is dark grey. The decoration consists entirely of horizontal bands, except for a line in relief where the neck joins the shoulder, and for a row of nine triple concentric circles between the handles. The shape had a good sweeping curve.

3209. A small amphora of peculiar shape. Ht. ·16 m.

The paint is a dark grey, and the decoration is purely linear, consisting of parallel bands all down the pot. Where the neck joins the shoulder are a groove and a line in relief.

A 4. Ht. ·13 m.

A small amphora without handles. The shape is of singular symmetry,

FIG. 23.

3243, 3182, 3185.

the foot corresponding to the neck in size and shape, while the belly is a perfect oval.

Paint is on the rim, then comes a row of slanting lines followed by three thin horizontal lines.

Lower down are two rows of 'running dog' pattern with a dot between the curves.

3205 (Fig. 22). Miniature amphora. Ht. ·135 m.

The decoration is in horizontal lines, except for two fields on the shoulder, shown in Fig. 24.

To these figures, which appear to be dancing, I know of no parallel either in Crete or elsewhere. The projections from the shoulders in the upper row appear to be intentional, but are incomprehensible.

BOWLS (9).

3246 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·1 m.

This bowl has a closed-in mouth with an aperture far less in diameter than the belly. The shoulder-field shows two lines joined by bent perpendiculars between pairs of horizontal lines.

3250. A flat dish. Diam. ·135 m.

The rim projects horizontally, then comes a short perpendicular side from which the dish slopes into the projecting ridge round the bottom. On the side below the rim are two very thin lines in relief separated by a groove, lower down is another groove, on the bottom are eight incised concentric circles. The whole is covered with the dark blue grey paint

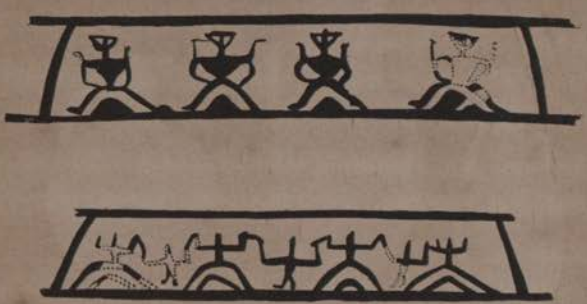


FIG. 24.

which is always found with the white-on-dark technique. Inside round the bottom are two broad white concentric circles, while outside on the slope below the handles (horizontal) are twelve double concentric circles.

A 5. A cotyle. Ht. ·1 m.

There are two small quite horizontal and slightly pointed handles. The decoration consists of four bands, with hatchings between the handles.

3261. A sieve. Ht. ·04 m.

The bottom is pierced with two rows of holes and the whole is painted over. Above, are two holes for suspension.

BOWLS WITH A FOOT (10).

This shape is very common.

2222 (Fig. 21). Ht. ·119 m.

Except for a high field between the handles there is paint all over. There the pattern consists of three pairs of horizontal lines, each joined by a row of short perpendiculars, of which the middle row is of rather longer lines. The inside also is painted.

The other nine vases of this shape, of which some appear in the illustrations, are of similar type.

CUPS (18).

3235 (Fig. 21). Ht. ·07 m.

A groove runs below the rim, on which are three horizontal lines. The rest is paint.

3227 (Fig. 21). Ht. ·075 m.

Paint all over, except for a field high up, which contains six multiple triangles, six to eightfold.

3229. This cup has a flatter bowl than most. Ht. ·065 m. Near the rim is a 'running dog' pattern, and horizontal lines complete the ornament.

A 8. Ht. 07 m.

The clay is light grey in colour. Round the rim runs a wavy zigzag, the rest of the pattern is horizontal lines, two of which are joined by hatching and two by a zigzag running between. On the bottom are two circles and within them two hatched triangles, apex to apex.

3230. Ht. ·07 m.

Three lines and one 'running dog' pattern complete the ornament. The rest is painted over.

3233. Ht. ·102 m.

This cup and 3228 are of a peculiar pattern. The clay is very hard and in colour a very pale grey, almost white, while the paint is a peculiar purple-brown. This paint is applied all over, except for the handle and a field opposite to the handle of each. In 3233 the handle has perpendiculars, while in 3228 the lines are horizontal.

Figs. 25 *a* and *b* show the fields of 3228 and 3233. At each end of

FIG. 25 *a*.

FIG 25 *b*.

the field in each is a raised breast, an ornament which hardly seems frequent among the Cretan Geometric pottery. Ht. ·322 and ·098 m.

3252 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·14 m.

This cup has no handle and might almost be classed with the bowls.

JUGS.

(*a*) *With Short Thick Necks* (6).

3253 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·098 m.

The jug is painted over but for five hatched triangles on the neck.

2254 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·098 m.

The chief points of interest in the ornament are an irregular rope-pattern round the neck, and on the shoulder four sets of twelve perpendiculars separated by three squares, each containing a star. From the belly downwards all is paint.

2255 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·12 m.

The irregular maeander (Fig. 26) is like that of 2225. I know no other instance.

3210 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·099 m.

This jug is of peculiar type. It had a spout rising from its shoulder

(now broken) and an arched handle over the mouth. The ornament is in horizontal lines, straight or undulating, and there is one row of short perpendiculars.[1]

A 9 (Fig. 27).

Two fragments which fit together, giving the handle and part of the shoulder of a jug which must have had a round straight lip. The handle is ·11 m. high and the jug must have measured ·15 m. from lip to foot. The clay is buff and fine and rather soft, resembling that of the Dipylon fabric; moreover this type of handle, supported by a thin round stay, which comes just above the rim, is typical of Dipylon jugs; the maeander on the shoulder is also more Dipylon than Cretan in style, but the

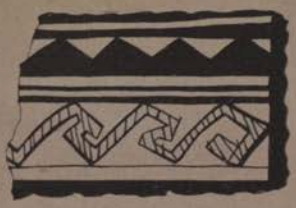


FIG. 26.

FIG. 27.

dotted circle and the deep groove where the neck joins the circle are distinctly Cretan characteristics.

This description applies word for word to the Praesos jug handle ('Praesos. Uncertain' (Q)) in which, however, no part of the shoulder remains, moreover the lozenges on the handle are longer, so that there are but three.

A 10. Neck and shoulder of a jug like 2254. Ht. ·08 m.

(β) With Long Necks (7).

(1) With Trefoil Lip.

3192. (Fig. 21). Ht. ·15 m.

A very rude pot.

[1] This shape is not uncommon in the Koúrtes Geometric vases (cf. *A.J.A.* 1901, p. 311). In origin it is Mycenaean (cf. Furtwängler and Löschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Pl. XI. 66).

3197 (Fig. 21). Ht. ·097 m.

This fits in best here, for the lip is trefoil though the neck is very short. Paint, but for two bare lines round the shoulder.

3190. Ht. ·11 m.

The clay is very hard and of a light grey-green colour. The ornament consists of paint on the upper neck, below which comes a 'running dog' pattern. On the shoulder are four double flat triangles shaded, and with each a small triangle of paint at the centre.

A 13. A very rude oenochoe. Ht. ·15 m.

The paint is applied all over but for a field on the shoulder which contains a horizontal zigzag line, below which are two pairs of perpendiculars, the two inner of which are joined at the bottom by two horizontal lines crossed by short perpendiculars.

(2) With Round Lip (11).

In many the lip is so broken that they might come under (1).

3191. Ht. ·125 m.

The ornament is horizontal lines and a field of dove-tailed triangles of paint on the shoulder.

A 11. Ht. ·115 m.

The clay is brick red and the paint is brown and white. The ornament seems to have been drawn first in brown and to have been painted over in white; this is the only example of the technique known to me. The jug has no foot, a low round perpendicular handle and a broad bell-like lip; where the handle joins the shoulder there is a ridge in relief, clearly an imitation of metal ware. Four treble concentric circles on the shoulder, two set one above the other in the centre, are the most noteworthy points in the ornament, from which the white paint has mostly peeled off, but has left ample traces of its universal presence. These jugs with very small openings may have been funeral jars for unguents.

3194. Ht. ·115 m.

The clay is greyish-green in colour while the paint is a dark bluish-grey. This jug has a bell-shaped mouth and a wider neck than most. But for one row of perpendiculars and a row of six cross-hatched lozenges, the paint is in horizontal lines.

3196. Ht. ·1 m.

The clay is normal but the paint like that of the preceding vase. On the shoulder are ten cross-hatched lozenges.

2204. Upper half of a large jug.

The belly has almost perpendicular sides and turns to the shoulder at an angle. The ornament is in horizontal and perpendicular lines.

A 12. Ht. ·14 m.

This jug has a pear-shaped body and a ring in relief round the neck which is broken off half-way up. A triple concentric circle on the shoulder, the second circle being dotted, is the only exception to the horizontal lines.

3211 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·135 m.

This jug is peculiar in having a spout rising from the shoulder.

(γ) *Jugs of Aryballos Shape* (15).

A 14 and A 15 are of identical size, shape, and ornament (Fig. 28).

Both handle and neck are unfortunately broken off; possibly they had each a high neck, but probably it was short with a round flat

FIG. 28.

A19, 3180, A14.

lip and handle rising flush with it. The work is fine and the ornament calls to mind the Cypriote pottery, for each side is decorated with a series of circles with a rosette at their common centre; between these, by the

handle and opposite to it, are seven small triple concentric circles. Their height is ·085 m.

3199 (Fig. 21). Ht. ·073 m.

The decoration consists of three quadruple concentric circles on the shoulder, elsewhere bands of varying width.

3200. Ht. ·078 m.

The clay is a very pale buff in colour. The shape resembles that of 3203. The most noticeable points in the ornament are a series of rays round the lip, six hatched perpendicular strips on the shoulder touching at the top and so leaving bare triangular spaces, and a zigzag line lower down.

3201. A very squat aryballos. Ht. ·09 m.

The clay is pink and the paint white-on-black. The decoration is in horizontal lines.

3206 (Fig. 21). Ht. ·112 m.

This jug is most peculiar, for neck, shoulder and belly are covered with fourteen rows of tiny circles.

3207. This jug is of similar shape and size to 3206. The decoration, too, is in the same style, but consists of thirteen lines round the pot from which hang loops not quite reaching to the line below. Each contains a dot.[1]

3208. Like the two preceding, in all essentials. The ornament consists of rows of arches alternating with two rows of small circles, both contain dots. These three must be from the same hand.

A 17. An unguent-vase with an oval body cut off by a broad flat base. The neck is very small and has a trefoil lip. Ht. ·12 m.

The decoration is given in Fig. 29 and is confined to the front. The cross-band, however, goes right round below the handle, which rises flush to the lip from high on the shoulder; next to the handle and half-way between the handle and the field on each side, runs a perpendicular line.

A 18. Similar to A 17.

On the shoulder to right and left hang about eight short perpendicular lines. The encircling band is like that in Fig. 29, but has slanting lines

[1] A similar pattern occurs in the white-on-dark technique on a vase from Kavousi, cf. *A.J.A.* 1901, p. 146.

instead of the zigzag, it also is interrupted by the field, which, of similar shape to Fig. 29, has in the centre a bare perpendicular strip ; to right and left the space is divided into two, perpendicularly, the four divisions being decorated alternately with short horizontal lines and a perpendicular zigzag. The neck is broken off.

A 19. (Fig. 28). Same type. Here, too, the neck is broken, but no doubt the lip was trefoil. Ht. ·12 m.

As in A 18 on the shoulder there are short perpendicular lines. Fig. 30 shows the field.

A 20 is a lumpy pear-shaped aryballos. Ht. ·093 m.

The ornament is confined to the shoulder. Opposite to the perpendicular handle are four concentric circles, to either side of which are two

FIG. 29.

FIG. 30.

upward-sloping loops, above and below is a short row of perpendiculars. Close to the handle on either side is a hanging loop divided by a perpendicular.

(δ) *Gourd-shaped* (5).

This shape of vase resembles a warming-pan, but is probably an imitation of some species of gourd.

3214 (Fig. 22). Ht. ·205 m.

The decoration on each flat side is the same (see Fig. 31). It is a strange pattern and leaves an impression that it is a conventionalised representation of some object ; at either end parallel zigzags run up the edge of the vase, ending in the neck and handle. The pattern is not unlike that on a vase from Rhodes.[1]

[1] Cf. Furtwängler, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 135.

3214 (b). Across the belly ·19 m.

The clay is pale grey and the decoration consists of concentric circles on the flat sides; the outermost of these is made up of shaded triangles dovetailed; nearer the centre, a cross-hatched disc, are three circles made up of oblongs. One waved line and four perpendiculars separate the patterns on each side.

3215. Across ·12 m.

This pot, which lacks neck and handle, bulges more on one side, which is flattened so that the jug lies steady.

On the bulging side the ornament consists of concentric circles, the inner and outermost of which are made up of hatched triangles. On the

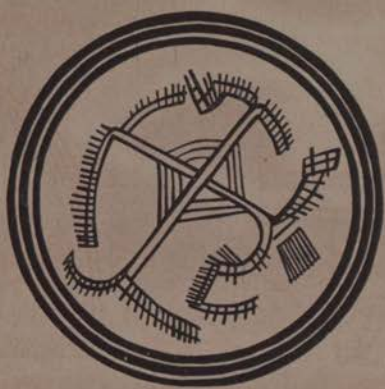


FIG. 31.

other side are two hatched triangles apex to apex, round them are two circles, within which curves parallel to the circumference fill the bare space.

3216 (Fig. 22). In this vase the sides are almost conical. Across ·08 m.

On the neck is a simple maeander and the sides have the usual concentric circles, of which one consists of multiple triangles.

3217 (Fig. 22). Across belly ·08 m. Similar decoration.

(ε) *Jug of Hydria Shape.*

3185. Ht. ·267 m.

Fig. 23 just shows below the perpendicular handle an oblong field filled with horizontal zigzags. The other pattern on the belly and the shoulder pattern are shown in Fig. 32.

LIDS (6).

3258. Diam. ·175 m. Lid of an amphora.

The paint is white, applied to red-brown. The pattern is shown in Fig. 32. In this ornament of rope-pattern and spirals there is no Geometric feature except the symmetry. The outer rim is raised and the two holes for attachment may be seen above to the left.

3259 (Fig. 22). Similar technique. Diam. ·15 m.

Round the rim are four grooved circles, then, in white paint, a circle

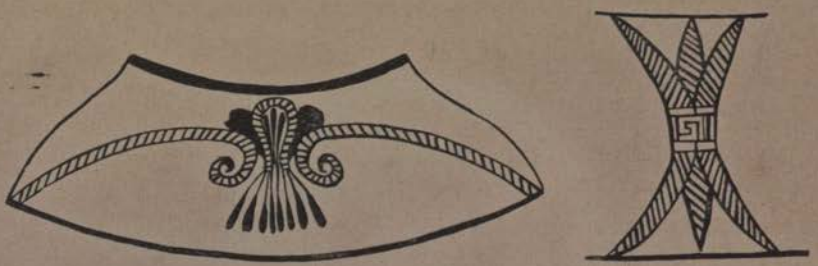


FIG. 32.

from which fifteen groups of three lines run inwards to another circle, within which is a star of eight rays, each outlined and split by a line.

Similar lids were found by Mr. Hogarth at Knossos.[1]

3260. This lid has a round hollow knob in the centre and a rim projecting over the edge. Diam. ·11 m.

The ornament, in the same technique, consists of eight concentric circles.

3256 (Fig. 22). A trumpet-shaped lid rising to a horse's head. Ht. ·18 m.

The nose is unfortunately broken. The clay is pink and the paint red and blue. The mane is painted in upward-pointing thin lines of each colour alternately; below the neck and twice lower down are two blue lines separated by a red line. At the bottom on each side is a hole for attachment.[2]

[1] Cf. 2348, 2350, 2353 in the Candia Museum.

[2] This technique is quite exceptional and produces an effect much resembling the fourth century ware from Canosa in Apulia.

A 22. The upper part of a lid of similar form.

Short lines mark the mane and the projecting eyes are painted round, while on the nose and neck are encircling lines; on either side of the neck lower down is a circle in double outline with dots between.[1]

3257 (Fig. 22). A lid with a bird for the handle. Ht. ·136 m.

Unfortunately the head is knocked off. Near the edge runs a line in relief. Along the bird's back runs a zigzag, and two shaded lines are on the wings; on the breast are two concentric circles, below which hangs a loop containing a cross.[2]

3243 (Fig. 23). This pot in the form of a woman supporting a hydria on her head, was completely painted over. The nose and chin are very much pointed and invite comparison with the features of the man-headed vase from Knossos published by Orsi in the article cited above. At Gournià Miss H. Boyd found the figure of a woman likewise supporting a pot and crouching in a similar attitude. These two seem to be one step farther than the Knossos pot on the way from the making of pots to the making of figurines.

DATING.

The art of vase-making seems to have decayed in later times in Crete, and in spite of occasional specimens of black-figured and red-figured ware of a poor sort, there is no lower limit. Here the Geometric style may have lingered to a much later date than elsewhere; indeed it is even probable that it did so, seeing that 2016 (certainly a specimen of Proto-Corinthian ware) and 2068 (which has been held to be a local imitation of Corinthian) were found among the Geometric pottery at Praesos. The upper limit is the end of the Minoan bronze age, the tradition of which still wielded a strong influence, and the beginning of the iron age, to which the iron sword from Tomb 53 at Praesos stands as witness. Beyond this it is hard to go, but it remains to consider the chronological position of the Praesos and Adhromyloi vases with reference to other groups of Cretan Geometric pottery.

[1] Cf. Orsi, *A.J.A.* 1897 for a similar lid, 238 in the Candia Museum; 769 is a lid of the same type bought at Kavousi by Mr. A. J. Evans.

[2] Two similar lids, 770, 771, come from Kavousi.

I was able to compare them with two groups from Kavousi (the one from a single grave bought by Mr. A. J. Evans, the other excavated by Miss Boyd) and with the large group from the excavations at Koúrtes. Unfortunately the only evidence for the assignment to our vases of any position relative to these, is of a negative character.

The first group from Kavousi contains several close parallels to the vases from Adhromyloi, among them a lid with a bird handle (771), a gourd-shaped flat jug (778), and a small aryballos with concentric circles on the sides separated by a line of small circles below and opposite to the handle (736), while the white-on-black technique, more common in the Praesos vases, finds a parallel in a hydria (713).

The vases excavated by Miss Boyd include two trumpet-shaped lids surmounted by horse-heads, three flat gourd-shaped jugs, one small jug of the *β* 2 class Adhromyloi, a large fragment of a skyphos similar in all points to those from Adhromyloi, and a jug precisely similar in shape and pattern to 3206, but here the pattern is in the applied white technique.

The pots from Koúrtes also include many cups, bowls and skyphoi of similar type to those from Adhromyloi, two flat gourd-shaped jugs, and many jugs of the *β* class. It may be noted that the Praesos vases, consisting more of large amphorae, find fewer parallels than the Adhromyloi pots, which are on the whole of ruder type.

There is one exception to this close parallelism, and that is the presence of the stirrup-vase in large numbers at Koúrtes, while at Kavousi Mr. Evans' group has two, and the pots excavated by Miss Boyd have at least four, of the class. The total absence of this shape among the vases here under discussion, in so far as it may not be due to mere chance, presumes for them a later date, this shape being clearly a legacy from the L. M. III. style, though, as it here appears, it has undergone a change and is almost on the way to a transition to the shape of 3211 (Fig. 22) or to that of the ordinary high-necked, round-bellied jug; for it deviates from the usual low flat-shouldered type, being taller in the neck and having an almost oval belly.[1] The stirrup-vase was a pot of eminently unpractical shape, and it is more a matter for surprise that it lingered at all into the Geometric period than that it died early in that period.

The supposition suggested by the absence of the stirrup-vase is supported perhaps by a closer comparison between the horse-headed lids of

[1] Cf. Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 1903, p. 96.

Adhromyloi and those excavated by Miss Boyd at Kavousi. The argument is drawn from the modelling of the head, which in the Kavousi examples (3697, 3697 *b*) is distinctly more 'Geometric' in style; that is to say the nose draws in almost to a waist and then spreads out to a funnel-shaped snout, in the usual manner of the Geometric bronzes from Olympia, and also the eyes are on the top, not at the side, of the head. Compared with this, the Adhromyloi examples, at any rate A 22, appear distinctly more naturalistic. A similar argument for the Praesos group might be drawn from the very naturalistic bees on the two hydriae (1992, 1993), an argument supported by the presence of vases which are clearly a later development from the Geometric style, though there always remains a doubt that such naturalism may be due as much to latent Minoan tradition as to incipient weakness in the Geometric style.

SHAPES.

Among the shapes a general lack of grace may be noticed and a roughness both in conception and execution. Especially noteworthy are the flat bowls with rolled-in sides (Figs. 1 and 3), the ring-shaped vase (Fig. 1), the gourd-shaped jugs and the horse- and bird-handled lids (Fig. 22). All these shapes (except the first) are, I believe, not known out of Crete. A characteristic shape is the small round-bellied, long-necked jug. A certain solidity combined with a lack of curve is to be observed among the amphorae, a tendency, that is, towards the barrel form common among the large Cretan pithoi. A connexion with Thera, probable on other grounds,[1] is hinted at by the presence of the neckless amphorae in both islands.

The most interesting shape in this class of pottery is that to which the name hydria has been given, viz. the jug with three handles, one perpendicular on the shoulder, and two horizontal lower on the belly. This occurs with considerable frequency; though common among the Attic vases of later date, the shape is very rare in the Geometric style except in Crete, and is not mentioned by Wide.[2] Pfuhl mentions only two hydriae from the Necropolis in Thera, and they both come from Crete.[3]

In the Athenian National Museum I could find but five examples.

[1] *Thera*, Vol. ii. [2] Wide, *Geometrische Vasen*. [3] Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 1903, p. 147.

One of these (10964) I am inclined to think Cretan in origin, not only from the clay and paint, but from the sparseness of the ornament, groups of perpendiculars on the neck alternately long and short, and horizontals round the belly. Two are Phaleron vases,[1] and the other two come, one from Eleusis (10905), and the other (195) from the Ceramicus.

There seems to be but little explanation of the presence of this shape in Crete alone, for in Minoan pottery it is unknown. It is perhaps worth noting that jugs with three handles are found in the three periods of the II—V strata at Hissarlik.[2]

Of late years there has been a tendency, natural enough, to exalt Crete to the position of chief arbiter in all questions concerning race development and race change in the eastern Mediterranean. Of the origin of the Minoan civilization, whether or no it sprang from the East, nothing is to be said here. Whatever its origin, its art had a tenacious strength, so that, although it may perhaps be thought that the appeal to Crete has been made too often and too loudly, yet this characteristic of her early art, even in her adversity, in the days when her glory had departed, left marks which to-day justify the appeal to her and tell a tale which touches perhaps not her history alone but also that of the distant Greek mainland. For I hope that this article, and especially its illustrations, have shown that the distinguishing mark of the Cretan Geometric pottery is a combination of Geometric shapes and Geometric symmetry with an avoidance, so far as may be, of the straight line, especially of the maeander, and a fondness for curves, together with a looseness and sparseness of ornament which are in marked contrast with the developed Geometric style elsewhere.

If there were any doubt that these peculiarities were due to a strong survival of the Minoan ceramic art, the existence of the white-on-dark technique, a certain legacy of that art, should suffice to remove it.

It is in fact a commonplace that in Crete the Geometric style never attained to its perfection, and attention was first called by Wide[3] to the fact that Mycenaean survivals in Geometric pottery were far stronger in that island than elsewhere; but to say that the Geometric style did not develop to its full perfection in Crete is an ambiguous statement. Although

[1] Collignon and Couve, Nos. 413, 414; cf. Böhlau, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 34.
[2] Cf. *Ilios*, p. 449 (No. 433), pp. 610, 611 (Nos. 1141, 1143, 1146).
[3] Wide *Nachleben Mykenischer Ornamente*. *Athen. Mitt.* 1897.

perfectly correct in one sense, this suggests that the Geometric style is an unbroken development of the Mycenaean style, losing gradually all signs of such an origin as the Mycenaean influence waned. This conclusion I believe to be as mistaken as the other conclusion which has gained much ground lately: namely, that the Geometric style springs in unbroken succession from a very different Pre-Mycenaean Geometric style, such as has been found at Phylakopi, and lately by M. Vollgraf[1] at Argos; this style being supposed to have continued in the hands of the peasantry during the Mycenaean age, the characteristic art of which was the art of their masters. The very fact that Minoan or Mycenaean tradition is found in far greater strength in Crete than elsewhere is an argument against both these conclusions.

If the second supposition be entertained, the question must be asked, Why did no such transitional period manifest itself in other places? The only answer seems to be that the overthrow of the foreigner must elsewhere have been far more sudden and complete. But the downfall of Minoan power seems to have been very sudden and complete. It does not seem a satisfactory supposition, even apart from the evidence, very strong though only of a negative character, that is borne against it by the fact that no traces of this peasant style have ever come to light in the Mycenaean period, not to speak of the lack of resemblance between the Pre-Mycenaean Geometric style and the Geometric style now under discussion, which until lately has generally, and I believe rightly, been held to be Post-Mycenaean.

If the Geometric style were to be held a development from the Mycenaean, some reason would have to be supplied to account for the total absence of any sign of that development elsewhere than in Crete. To say that it never reached perfection in Crete is to assume that the difference to be observed is one of degree. The difference is not one of degree only, but of kind, and may be accounted for by the assumption, first made, I believe, by Furtwängler and Löschcke,[2] that the Geometric style is due to the influence of a Northern inroad. Whether that inroad was of the Dorians or of the Achaeans,[3] presumably an earlier inroad of the same stock, is not to be discussed here. Topology, as defined by M. Victor Bérard, points out that it was the position of Crete, remote and weakening

[1] *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 20 *seq.* [2] *Mykenische Vasen.*
[3] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, Vol i.

to a new influence from the north, which preserved for the Geometric style in that island its peculiar traits. This style is not that of a peasantry, in Crete gradually asserting itself under a foreign yoke, which must be assumed (against such evidence as exists) to have there dragged out a lingering decline, while in Greece it rapidly died, and allowed the peasant style in a moment to spring to its full stature ; it is the style of an invader strong enough on the mainland thoroughly to impose his will, but in the distant island able to do so only partially, thus allowing the style which prevailed in the days of Minoan power to leave its traces when that power was dead.

J. P. DROOP.

TOMBS OF HELLENIC DATE AT PRAESOS.

PROFESSOR BOSANQUET has kindly asked me to publish the contents of the following tombs found on the east side of the gravel ridge, west of the road from Vavelloi (modern village) to ancient Praesos. The description of the objects is derived in the main from notes made at the time of excavation by Mr. J. H. Marshall in 1901 (cf. *B.S.A.* viii. pp. 231 ff.). I have added remarks on some of the ornaments (chiefly in gold and silver) which were discovered.

TOMB 2.—Small b.-f. kylix.

TOMB 3 (unbuilt).—Corinthian vase with four projecting handles; two pyxides, one broken.

TOMB 6 (unbuilt).—Burnt b.-f. fragments; amphora of common ware; two toilet vases, red clay, sepia slip; small common juglet with two handles.

TOMB 8 (burnt).—Bones; a few beads; b.-f. toilet vase; jug with high neck, of common ware.

TOMB 9 (roughly built).—Two silver pins (one illustrated below, Fig. 4, on the r.; long-necked amphora with high shoulder handles, intact (25·8 cm. high); toilet vase with rounded sides; shell; iron axe above tomb, which was 1 m. deep.

TOMB 10 (built of square blocks; floor ·71 m. down).—Silver ring; b.-f. fragments; common vase fragments, some incised with cross-hatchings; flat vase, like upper part of toilet vase, in bright red clay with sepia slip.

TOMB 12 (roughly outlined and covered with irregular slabs; cremation).—Beads; burnt silver pins (?); part of iron strigil; fragments of b.-f. toilet vase; bronze ring and more beads near the tomb, probably belonging to it.

TOMB 13.—Toilet vase, cup, and large amphora with double handles, all of common ware; b.-f. fragments.

TOMB 14.—Large amphora of red clay with bands of dark sepia paint about middle; common juglet; fragments of another coarse amphora.

TOMB 17 (roughly built).—Toilet vase with ivy leaf pattern; large coarse amphora; vase with cone-shaped base; broken ring.

TOMB 18 (black earth; head to north).—B.-f. toilet vase to l. of skull, broken toilet vase to r.; one sard and two crystal beads; bronze pin-head.

TOMB 20.—Corinthian aryballos, no ornament visible; b.-f. toilet vase; common ware amphora; round vase in pale red clay with sepia paint, decorated with lines, zigzags, and key-patterns; flat vase with 'safety-inkpot' sides and one handle—imitation of Corinthian (?); vase similar to last but one, with pale slip.

TOMB 21.—Toilet vase of plain red clay, with tongue pattern incised round shoulder (probably b.-f.); coarse amphora with tongue pattern in sepia on light red clay; two-handled amphora with moulded rings on neck and incised parallel lines on shoulder.

TOMB 22.—Two bronze pins; bent silver pin; two crystal fragments; small gold circle, ring-formed; gold flake; two crystal pendants; amphora of coarse ware.

TOMB 23.—Toilet vase; common jug; large amphora.

TOMB 24 (built on three sides; hard subsoil on fourth, 2·20 × 1·06 m. Unworked blocks).—Two vaselets, broken; shallow bowl, common ware; two small 'flower-pot' cups; straight-sided cup with 'wood-grain' base; common high-necked amphora; common small bowls; broad-mouthed jug, 16 cm. high.

TOMB 27.—Head of bronze pin; fourteen beads, mostly blue glass; two green beads; one sard bead; fragments of coarse red pottery.

TOMB 28 (well-built oblong grave of squared stones, rather larger than ordinary bricks; head to west, and ·52 m. below surface). Amphora with 11 cm. base, coarse ware; small bronze stud; degenerate r.-f. vaselet; toilet vase, broken; lower part of coarse cone-base vase; burned amber; silver reliefs—helmeted head (Fig. 2*b*) and lion and winged horse (Fig. 2*a*); gold and crystal necklace; coins of Corinth and Argos (latter with A incuse); silver ring; gold and crystal jug-pendant (3·2 cm. high) at centre of western wall, near head (Fig. 1); two gems, one an amygdaloid carnelian, with decadent form of two-jug design, the other a three-sided limestone, much worn, with designs of (*a*) an animal with head turned back, (*b*) two animals with round heads, and (*c*) a seated man (?). 'The gems are so worn and paltry as compared with the ornaments, that it looks as if they were worn as amulets.'

This tomb also contained the following objects not mentioned in Mr. Marshall's notes:—a Sphinx in double thickness of gold (Fig. 1); ninety-eight tubes of cut and folded gold-leaf about 1·4 cm. long, very narrow (these were probably sewn on to a dress); two hollow tubular beads of gold 1·4 cm. long, and one of pale yellow gold, rather solid, about ·7 cm. in diameter; also a quantity of gold leaf.

TOMB 29.—Fragments of iron dagger or small axe (?); bronze stud; beads.

TOMB 31.—B.-f. toilet vase; coarse amphora; copper ring (broken); ivory pendant; silver pins (Fig. 4 top and bottom); skull with earrings and roundels (Fig. 3); b.-f. lekythos, very bad work.

TOMB 33 (late).—Toilet vase; common amphora-jug; two-handled cone-base vase.

TOMB 53 (cut in *κούσκουρα*, with built entrance facing west)—Forty-four vases in all; bronze fibula with beaded bow (type similar to Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Pl. CXVI, 21); bronze tweezers; bronze spoon; obsidian (found with bones in amphora 6); fragments of a large disk of bronze with ray pattern, probably lid of a vessel; iron fibula, like bronze, but much corroded; blue 'porcelain' as in *θόλος* tomb.

The gems from Tomb 28 are remarkable on account of the early period to which they belong. The three-sided limestone is probably of Middle Minoan date, the amygdaloid carnelian belongs to Late Minoan III. The objects from this tomb range over so wide a period that it seems clear that it was disturbed at some time previous to its excavation.

Fig. 1 shows the body of the Sphinx (incorrectly restored as a Gryphon), a ribbed gold bead, and the gold and crystal amphora-pendant from this same tomb. The Sphinx is 2 cm. in length and is formed of two gold plates soldered together. The line of junction is concealed by granules, which are also used to indicate the details of the wing. The nearest parallel to this figure seems to be afforded by the gold plaques from Cameiros in Rhodes. The embossed figures of Sphinxes soldered to some of these[1] are practically identical with the one from Praesos. The Cameiros ornaments,

FIG. 1.—GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM TOMB 28.

with which a scarab of Psammetichos I was found, can be dated to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Another very close parallel as regards technique is offered by the Etruscan gold ornaments with fine granulation. The figure of a duck on a gold fibula from Falerii[2] is treated in a manner very similar to that of the Sphinx from Praesos. A very elaborately decorated Sphinx on another gold fibula from Vetulonia[3] should also be compared with it. These Etruscan gold ornaments are of about the end of the seventh century B.C. Beads of a type very similar to the bead above figured, are found in the Etruscan tombs of this period,[4] while amphora-pendants with body of amber and neck of gold or electrum[5] may

[1] See *Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit.*, second series, viii. p. 568, Figs. 5, 6.
[2] Milani, *Studi e Mat.*, i. p. 257, Fig. 25.
[3] *Ibid.* Pl. IV. 7. [4] *Ibid.* ii. p. 131, Fig. 123.
[5] *Ibia.* ii. p. 130, Fig. 118.

be compared with the pendant. Still nearer is the glass body of what was evidently an amphora-pendant found in a tomb at Narce[1]; this, like the crystal body of the pendant from Praesos, is pierced, evidently for the reception of a pin connecting it with the metal part above. This same tomb at Narce contained also a variegated glass amphora[2] of the well-known type found in Rhodes,[3] Cyprus,[4] and elsewhere,[5] with objects of seventh to sixth century date; the upper part of these amphorae bears a close resemblance to the Praesos pendant with its two handles of twisted gold.

Fig. 2, *a* and *b*, shows two silver plaques with reliefs from Tomb 28.[6] That they are in any way connected with each other seems very unlikely in view of their difference in style. The band *a*, on which is a galloping winged horse opposite a crouching lion, is clearly of early date, probably of the first part of the sixth century B.C. A close parallel is furnished by the friezes in relief on Etruscan 'Bucchero Nero' ware, which are almost certainly derived from metal work reliefs; very similar winged horses are seen on vases of this type figured by Micali, *Mon. Ined.*, Pl. XXVIII. The heraldic grouping on the plaque also recalls the like arrangement on Ionic vases and sarcophagi. The destination of the band cannot be determined with any certainty. Possibly it formed the facing of a belt-buckle such as that indicated on an early Etruscan statue,[7] or perhaps, more probably, it was attached to a wooden object, since there appears to be a nail-hole above the back of the winged horse. The semi-elliptical plaque *b*, with the design in relief of an Amazon (?) wearing a winged helmet, seems to be work of the fifth or fourth century B.C. It bears a striking resemblance to the head of an Amazon on a bronze relief of about the fourth century B.C. from Elis, recently acquired by the British Museum. The object marked *c* is a thin piece of bronze (l. 4·3 cm.) from the θόλος tomb A.[8] It is rather worn and pierced with two holes, apparently with a view to its being strung on a necklace. Its lozenge form recalls that of the bezel of a gold ring found in the same tomb.[9] The ring probably belongs to the Geometric

[1] *Mon. Ant.* iv. col. 318, Fig. 162. [2] *Ibid.* col. 316, Fig. 159.

[3] Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. pp. 737 f.; cf. Pl. VIII. 3.

[4] Cesnola, *Atlas*, iii. Pl. LXXVI. Figs. 3–5.

[5] *E.g.* in Phoenician tombs in Sardinia (*Mon. Ant.* xiv. Pl. XVII.; cf. the bone amphora-pendant on a necklace on Pl. XVI.).

[6] *a* measures about 7 × 2·5 cm., *b* about 3·5 × 3·5 cm.

[7] Milani, *Studi e Mat.* i. p. 275, Figs. 43 and 43*a*. Cf. also the silver-gilt belt from Cyprus in *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* ii. Pl. VIII.

[8] See *B.S.A.* viii. p. 244. [9] *Ibid.* p. 243, Fig. 11.

period, for its decoration is very similar to that of gold plaques and earrings from Eleusis which can be assigned to that period.[1] The bronze ring *d* comes from Tomb 61 ; it has a cable border along both edges and

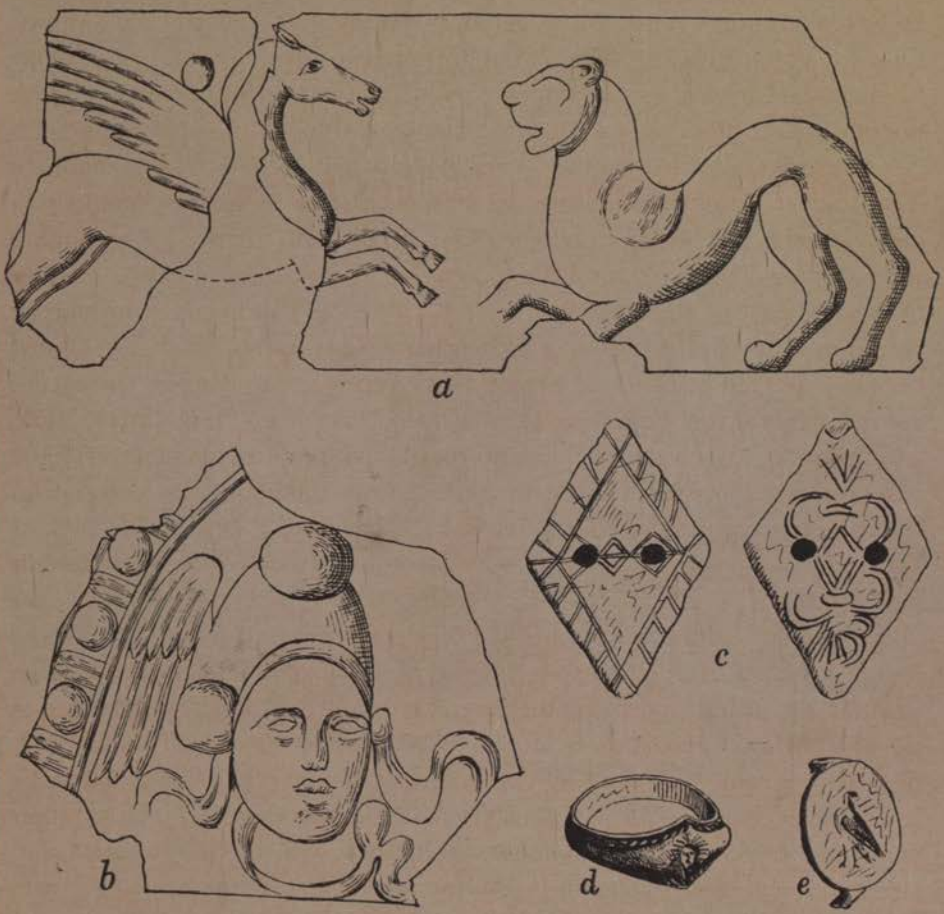


FIG. 2.—SILVER RELIEFS FROM TOMB 28, BRONZE ORNAMENT, AND BRONZE AND SILVER RINGS.

an intaglio design representing a head of Helios or Apollo. Its form would point to a date of the fourth or third century B.C.[2] A similar date

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, Pl. IX. 3. 4, and 1898, Pl. VI. 6. 7.

[2] Cf. the lozenge-shaped bezel of a ring of this date from Umbria (*Mon. Ant.* ix. Pl. VII. 16 [Brizio]).

may be assigned to *e*, a fragment of a silver ring with the intaglio design of an eagle (l. of bezel, 2·1 cm.).[1]

Fig. 3 gives two views of a skull—evidently a woman's—from the above tomb. To the forehead two silver-gilt roundels are seen adhering; a third has slipped down on to the left side of the jaw. On each side of the head is a silver earring of the well-known spiral form, surmounted by a rosette.[2] The details are clearer in Fig. 4, below, where the earrings and the rosettes by which they were surmounted are seen on the left. The roundels from the skull measure 4 cm. in diameter, and are decorated with

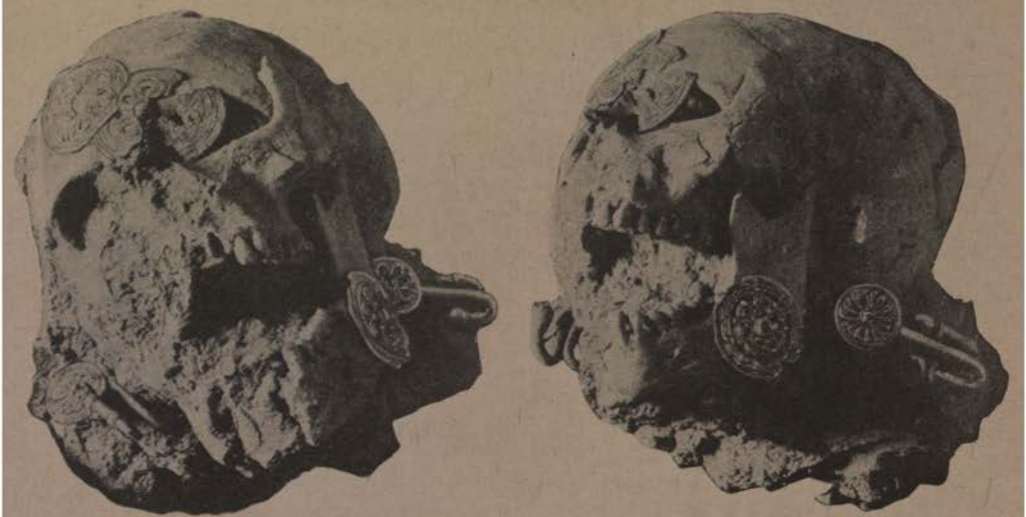


FIG. 3.—SKULL FROM TOMB 31 WITH SILVER ROUNDELS AND EARRINGS.

a stamped rosette of seven loop-shaped leaves. One of them is seen towards the bottom of Fig. 4. The larger roundel immediately above it (diam., 5·8 cm.) does not come from a tomb, but was found in disturbed earth south of the cemetery. The two silver pins, at the top and bottom of the figure respectively, are from Tomb 31; they are each 12 cm. long. The pin on the right is from Tomb 9. The head is formed of a flat disk with upturned collar; below is a smaller disk with incised rings beneath it. The type of pin is common in the seventh and sixth centuries

[1] Cf. *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* Pl. XVIII. 8.

[2] On the development of this type see Hadaczek, *Ohrschmuck der Griechen u. Etrusker*, pp. 12 ff.

B.C.[1] These silver ornaments of Fig. 4 belong to the same period as the Sphinx and amphora-pendant of Fig. 1. The British Museum possesses a series of roundels in pale gold almost exactly similar to those from Praesos. In one or two instances a small loop of gold ribbon remains soldered to the back. The use of these roundels, hitherto uncertain, is now explained by the discovery at Praesos; they were

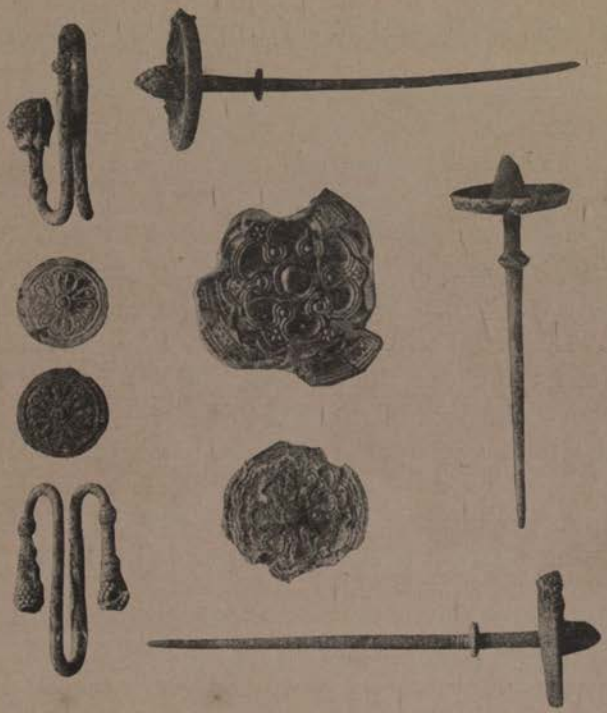


FIG. 4.—SILVER ORNAMENTS, CHIEFLY FROM TOMB 31. (Scale 1 : 2.)

evidently threaded together and made to form a diadem. Such, in all probability, was the diadem originally represented on the head of the Nike of Archermos (?).[2] The provenance of the Museum roundels, the larger specimens of which are decorated with elaborately granulated heads of Egyptian type,[3] is only established in a single case (Melos). A roundel

[1] See *e.g.* Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, Pl. LXXX ff.; *Mon. Ant.* i. col. 816 (from Megara Hyblaea).

[2] *B.C.H.* iii. Pls. VI. and VII. pp. 393 f.; Gardner, *Sculpture*, p. 118, Fig. 13.

[3] Cf. the example from Melos in Fontenay, *Bijoux anciens et modernes*, p. 151.

of similar type was found with other ornaments of the same class in Thera.[1] The earrings from Praesos are roughly contemporary with more elaborate specimens of the type from Melos[2] and Rhodes.[3] I have not been able to find an exact parallel to them, but an example from Asia Minor[4] may be compared.

It will be seen therefore that most of the gold and silver ornaments from Praesos belong to that interesting class of ornaments characterised by the free use of granulation, by certain oriental affinities, and by the paleness of the gold, when that is the metal used. Such ornaments have been found in Lydia,[5] at Ephesus (where the recent British Museum excavations have brought to light many objects analogous to those from Praesos), in Rhodes,[6] Delos,[7] Thera,[8] Melos,[9] and now in Crete. This last discovery brings them a stage nearer Etruria, the tombs of which have yielded such quantities of gold ornaments of a kindred character.[10] When the date of these ornaments is borne in mind as well as the places at which they have been found, it is only natural to seek their origin in Asia Minor, and especially in Lydia. The close relations which existed between the Mermnadae and the Greek cities of Asia Minor are well known. The mountain-districts of Lydia—Tmolos and Sipylos—yielded the pale gold[11] so freely used in the production of these ornaments. And lastly the existence of a similar class of gold ornaments in contemporary Etruria cannot fail to suggest that Herodotus[12] must have had good authority for bringing Lydia and Etruria into such close connection with each other.

[1] *Athen. Mitt.* 1903, Pl. V. 5, pp. 225 ff.
[2] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX. 9 and 10. [3] Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. I.
[4] *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 169, Fig. 45; cf. also *Olympia*, iv. Pl. LXVI. 1155.
[5] *B.C.H.* iii. Pls. IV. and V. pp. 129 f.
[6] Salzmann, *loc. cit.*; *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit., loc. cit.*
[7] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX. 11 and 12.
[8] *Athen. Mitt., loc. cit.* [9] *Arch. Zeit., loc. cit.*
[10] See Karo, *Le Oreficerie di Vetulonia*, in *Studi e Mat.* i. pp. 245 ff.
[11] Cf. Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 14. [12] Herod. i. 94.

F. H. MARSHALL.

STAMPED PITHOS-FRAGMENTS FROM CAMEIROS.

WHEN I was in Athens during the session of 1903–4, Mr. Bosanquet handed over to me for study from the collection of antiquities in the British School a number of *pithos*-fragments decorated with bands of ornament in relief.[1] Two of these (Nos. I., II. Figs. 1, 2), the only ones showing exclusively geometric designs, form the subject of the present paper, the others I hope to publish subsequently. The *pithoi*, of which they are fragments, were enormous barrel-like jars of earthenware, used for storing corn, wine, oil, etc.[2] They were frequently large enough to hold a man (*e.g.* the 'tub' of Diogenes was a *pithos*), and ranked as immovable furniture, being in general, either wholly or partially sunk in the ground.[3] Apparently they were constructed in sections, the joins being cemented and concealed by raised bands of clay (in principle not unlike the hoops of a barrel), decorated, as was only natural, in some rapid mechanical way. In the earliest times this decoration consisted of incised lines, later, a mould or stamp was used to print the ornament either directly on to the clay before firing, or on to bands previously cut out, which were then cemented on to the surface of the vase; finally a method of decoration

[1] I desire to express my gratitude to Prof. Bosanquet and Mr. Dawkins for much kind help, especially in verification of notes, etc., since my departure from Athens, also to the authorities in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, who have kindly afforded me every facility for a detailed study of the stamped pottery under their charge. The reproductions of the fragments are from the careful drawings of M. Gilliéron.

[2] Numbers of them were discovered in the magazines of Knossos by Dr. Evans, *B.S.A.* vi. p. 22, Fig. 4.

[3] In the vase-painting reproduced by Walters, *History of Greek Pottery*, ii. p. 97, Fig. 126 Eurystheus is seen taking refuge from Heracles in a sunk *pithos*.

almost ideal for its purpose was supplied by the introduction from the East[1] of engraved cylinders, which by simple rolling along the clay produced a continuous recurring pattern. Of this last class, to which our fragments belong,[2] examples are found over an area extending from Rhodes and the Cnidian Chersonese on the east to Sicily and Etruria on the west; by far the most numerous instances, especially in the way of complete vases,

FIG. 1.—FRAGMENT NO. I.

coming from either extremity.[3] The Rhodian *pithoi*, of which the British Museum and the Louvre possess several complete specimens from the cemeteries at Ialysos and Cameiros, are noticeable, both owing to the special character of their decoration, and also because the lower half (which was buried in the ground) is quite plain and devoid of ornament,

[1] As we see from the eight-spoked chariot-wheel on a Rhodian amphora with stamped decoration in the British Museum (A 585). *V. infra.*

[2] In No. I. the shapes of the spirals and the connecting vertical ridges are identical in the first and fifth coils, showing that a cylinder engraved with four coils was employed.

[3] Most of the examples (apart from the Etruscan) have been collected by Pottier, *Monuments grecs*, ii. 1888, pp. 54–9. To the list there given must be added the fragments from Datscha published by Dümmler, *Athen. Mitt.* xxi. pp. 229–236, one from Melos (Pollak, *ib.* Taf. V. 1), and the Cretan instances mentioned *Athen. Mitt.* xxi. 3 (cf. Savignoni, *A.J.A.* 1901, p. 404).

perhaps thus witnessing to the practical and utilitarian character of the people who made and used them. The cylinders employed, unlike their Assyrian prototypes, were almost certainly of wood, for if they had been of any more durable material, specimens would surely have been discovered before now ; moreover, the vertical ridges noticeable in all three bands of ornamentation in No. I. (Fig. 1), which must be due to cracks in the non-engraved surface of the cylinder,[1] indicate a wood, and not a stone or metal, technique. In this particular instance the engraver was either experimenting

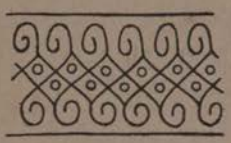


FIG. 3.

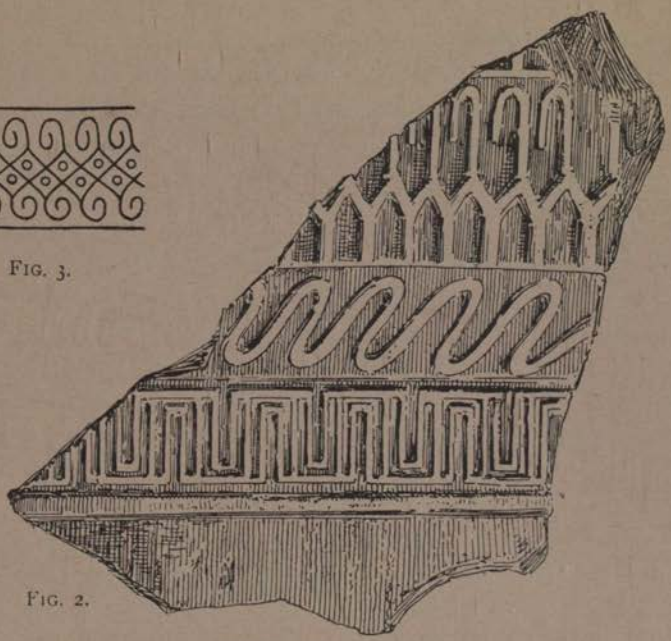


FIG. 2.

FIGS. 2 AND 3.

FIG. 2.—FRAGMENT NO. II. FIG. 3.—DETAIL FROM DECORATION OF A VASE IN ATHENS.

with a new method of decoration, or had an unusually tough piece of wood to carve, as all three bands, more especially the spiral and maeander (which seem to have been on the same cylinder) are in very low relief.

Both fragments were picked up at Cameiros by Dr. Mackenzie[2] and both show the same scheme of decoration, viz. (beginning at the

[1] As Prof. Bosanquet points out to me, the grain of the cylinder would be vertical.

[2] No. I. (11·6 cm. high, 17·6 cm. wide, and 2·8 cm. thick) is of dark reddish clay, and evidently formed part of a large *pithos*. No. II. (13 cm. high, 11 cm. wide and 2·6 cm. thick) is of reddish clay with a large admixture of white.

bottom) a simple maeander pattern, divided in the second case into panels by vertical lines; then a continuous curved line, which in No. I takes the form of two rows of spirals one vertically above the other and in No. II. (Fig. 2) appears as a wave-pattern, of the type familiar on Island and Cretan pottery; and, thirdly, a row of hooks, turned in the first instance to the right, and in the second to the left, springing from the tops of a series of pointed arches.

Fragment No. I is broken off close above the hook frieze, which may have been succeeded by another band or bands of ornament (the level character of the break would be in keeping with this) and the lower part of the maeander is also gone. No. II., on the other hand, where the ornament is all on a raised surface, and incised lines separate the different friezes, shows distinct remains of a fourth band above the hooks;[1] the lower part, however, is plain.

Double rows of a maeander pattern identical with that seen in No. I. occur on the *pithos* figured by Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. XXV., and on the similar British Museum example in the First Vase Room, while a simpler form is painted on a Geometric fragment also from Cameiros.[2] The scanty remains of one of the bands of stamped ornament on the British Museum fragment A 590[3] seem to belong to a pattern like the maeander in II., a simple form of which appears in colour on a Dipylon jar from Cameiros (*ib.* A 429).

The spiral pattern is, as far as I know, unique. With its one single thread, and no unnecessary ties between the different coils, it is quite distinct from the Mycenaean type, in which the thread tends to lose itself, and each coil is connected with every other; compare *e.g.* the Orchomenos ceiling pattern with the example before us. The same superfluous coil-connections are also seen on the Melos pyxis figured by Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vi. Fig. 461, and on another specimen from Amorgos.[4]

A continuous spiral in a single row occurs, on stamped pottery, on the fragment figured Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. XXVII.,[5] the *pithos*

[1] Possibly a second row of the same decoration, as on a *pithos* from Cameiros in the British Museum with markedly similar ornament to that of our fragment.

[2] Figured by Pottier, *Vases du Louvre*, i. Pl. XI. A, 288.

[3] Exact provenance uncertain. Possibly Halicarnassus.

[4] *Athen. Mitt.* xi. Beilage 1 zu S. 16, A 4.

[5] = British Museum fragment A 592.

illustrated *ib.* Pl. XXV.,[1] and fragments *ib.* Pl. XXVI., 1,[1] and Pl. XXVII., 3, a *pithos* and fragments from Lyttos, a *pithos* from Lithinais,[2] near Praesos and the British Museum fragment A 590, previously mentioned, which has two rows curving in opposite directions, producing an effect not unlike our pattern. Two rows superposed (both going in the same direction) occur on a Hittite cylinder figured Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, iv. Figs. 381, 382, and on another cylinder shown by Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 7, Fig. 4.

The stamped hooks which form the third band of ornamentation seem peculiar to Rhodes, though they are also found at Datscha, in the Cnidian Chersonese, where stamped pottery exactly resembling the Rhodian[3] has been discovered. Subjoined is a list of examples which show this decoration:—

(1) The British Museum Ialysos *pithos*[4] (? decoration modelled by hand).
(2) The Cameiros *pithos* also in the British Museum.
(3) The *pithos* published by Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. XXV.; this has one long horizontal and two short vertical rows of hooks, the latter lying on their sides, as in the Mycenaean examples quoted later.
(4) The fragment published by Salzmann, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVI. 2.
(5) Another fragment from Cameiros (British Museum, A 587).
(6) A *pithos* from Datscha mentioned by Dümmler, *Athen. Mitt.* xxi. p. 233.
(7) and (8) Our two fragments.

In all these instances except (2) and (7)[5] the hooks are turned to the left,[6] as is also more usual on the painted examples (see below). In (1) the hooks have simple bases ∧, but in (2), (3), (4), and (5) the bases are more elaborate, and resemble those on our fragments. A single crotchet (turned to the left) also occurs in stamped animal friezes on some of the Caere plates in the Louvre.

[1] In these instances the spirals are decidedly Mycenaean.
[2] Candia Museum, Nos. 1177, 1199, 1208, 1576.
[3] See Dümmler in *Athen. Mitt.* xxi. pp. 230–4. Cf. below, p. 78, notes 7 and 9.
[4] Furtwängler u. Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Text, p. 3, Fig. 1.
[5] I have not seen (6), which is in Berlin.
[6] It must be noted, however, that Pottier, *Vases du Louvre*, i. Pl. XIII. A 396, reverses the impression of (4), giving the hooks to r.

The origin of the ornament, which was apparently indigenous in Greece, not borrowed from the East, goes back at least to Mycenaean times. It appears first as a simple hook springing horizontally from the top of herring-bone work ((3) above), cf. the vases shown by Furtwängler u. Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, vii. 42, xxxv. 351; or with a stem inserted, giving the appearance of a horizontal note of interrogation, successive herring-bone bases being joined[1]; the hook sometimes expands into a spiral,[2] and this, reduplicated, merges into the volute[3]; plain spiraliform hooks without bases are also found.[4] Other Mycenaean examples show us the motive doubled, simple hooks springing from the top and bottom of cross-hatched rhombi[5] which touch one another.[6] The lid of a Cretan *larnax*[7] has for ornament a double frieze of 'interrogative' hook-spirals springing from the points of contact of a series of four-fold diamonds (*i.e.* the complete herring-bone work), and a further development is seen on a fragment[8] which shows spirals issuing in pairs from each of the four corners of the central rhombus. The transition from the Mycenaean to the Geometric style is seen on the British Museum Ialysos *pithos* already mentioned, where we find hook-spirals springing from the top of herring-bone work, together with threefold diamonds and consecutive cross-hatched rhombi, associated with a frieze of hooks with plain zigzag bases. A Cameiros specimen of Dipylon ware[9] supplies a rectangular version of the Mycenaean eight-fold spiral just quoted; a more complicated example occurring on a Geometric vase[10] from the interior of Caria,[11] and an oenochoe of the later Geometric style from Cameiros (British Museum A 437) has two panels filled with a somewhat similar design. An early Attic

[1] *Op. cit.* x. 65. [2] *Ib.* xxxvi. 375.

[3] *Ib.* xxxv. 358, etc. Cf. the early Corinthian skyphos mentioned below, and the Melian amphorae.

[4] *Ib.* xxxv. 350. Cf. the similar form on a P.C. vase published *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1893, p. 468.

[5] The hatchings represent the same idea as the herring-bone.

[6] Furtwängler u. Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, xxxiv. 343. Cf. xxxiii. 332, a 'later' production, where hooks at three angles assume fantastic shapes.

[7] Joubin, *B.C.H.* 1892, p. 295.

[8] Furtwängler u. Loeschcke, *op. cit.* xxxvi. 377.

[9] In Berlin. *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 135, No. 2940.

[10] *Athen. Mitt.* xii. Taf. VI.

[11] The swastika seems akin to this windmill labyrinthine decoration, if we consider the forms which it takes on the Euphorbus pinax (British Museum, A 749 = Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. LIII.), in particular that with the rounded corners and the bract-like excrescences on each arm; these latter quite possibly represent an original counterbalancing spiral.

(Dipylon) jar[1] shows us two rows of hooks to left and right springing respectively from the top and bottom of consecutive rhombi, each of which has in the centre a dot (the limiting form of the enclosed rhombi which occur on the Cretan *larnax* and the Ialysos *pithos*), and another curious vase from Athens,[2] which includes in its decoration friezes of palmettes, animals, and Dipylon men, and is regarded by Mr. Dawkins[3] as intermediate between the Geometric and Corinthian styles, has a similar ornament painted round the neck (see Fig. 3); the hooks, however, are rather more rounded, and the row of rhombi is double. In the Museum this vase is placed between the Corinthian and Boeotian examples, and it may be noted that four Boeotian vases[4] show a similar design, the rhombi, however, in their case being reduced to the limiting form of a zigzag line. Painted hooks fill vacant spaces along the top of a frieze on a large amphora from the Peiraeus,[5] which also has an ornamentation composed of a double row of triangles[6] similar to the ray-pattern found at the base of Proto-Corinthian pottery. The connection between the double zigzag line formed by these triangles and the hook-ornament is shown, not only by the essentially zigzag bases of the ornament on the examples quoted, both stamped and painted, but also by Proto-Corinthian instances in which the upper line of triangles is actually replaced by hooks.[7] Painted hook friezes occur on fragments from the Acropolis,[8] and also on a Dipylon prochoe.[9] Detached hooks, with bases showing distinct reminiscences of herring-bone work, occur frequently in the field on Cameiros pinakes[10] and are seen in pairs on an early Attic vase from Aegina[11]; hooks without bases are common in the field on Phaleron pottery, they also appear on fragments from Melos, and

[1] *Jahrbuch* ii. Taf. 4. [2] Nat. Mus. 313.

[3] To whom I am indebted for the drawing reproduced in the text.

[4] Athens, Nat. Mus. 250–2; British Museum A 56.

[5] Athens, Nat. Mus. 353.

[6] Cf. the Cyrene amphora published *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. 10. 1; a Proto-Corinthian lekythos shown *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 156, Fig. 43; and another published *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Taf. 10. 1; also, for the general idea, a Leyden vase figured by Conze, *Anfänge der Kunst*, Taf. III. 1. We may also compare the double hatched triangle friezes on two stamped fragments $\frac{64}{46}$ from Cameiros (British Museum 10–7 and A 586) which apparently come from the same *pithos* as the fragments published by Salzmann, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVII. 4, 5.

[7] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 190, Fig. 93.

[8] Cf. the fragment, *Athen. Mitt.* 1895, Taf. III.

[9] Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, Taf. IX.

[10] *E.g.* Nos. A 745, 748–50, and 754 in the British Museum, also *J.H.S.* 1885, Pl. LIX.

[11] *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. 9.

are frequently found on Proto-Corinthian ware, either in friezes[1] or singly.[2] A rudimentary form of the ornament is seen on the Leyden Geometric vase mentioned above,[3] and the arched bases occur (alone) on vases from Thera[4] and Boeotia,[5] on a Geometric vase from Cameiros[6] and on the handles of one of the Cameiros *pithoi*, which also shows the fully-developed ornament ((3) in the list above).

The strictly Geometric decoration of our fragments is quite in keeping with the other specimens of this stamped ware from Rhodes, the only non-geometric designs on which, as far as I know, are the following :—

(1) An archaic Lapith and Centaur scheme,[7] appearing on five fragments,[8] of which four seem to belong to the same pithos.

(2) A frieze of alternating bulls and volutes,[9] seen on the fragment published by Salzmann, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVI. 2.

In each of these cases the rest of the decoration, except for a leaf ornament on one fragment, is wholly Geometric.

(3) An amphora in the British Museum (A 585) with stamped decoration, the Eastern origin of which is shown by the eight-spoked wheel, has as the subject of one of its friezes a chariot procession, recalling those on some of the Caere *pithoi*; bands of lotus and lotiform pattern, together with a *guilloche* and Mycenaean-like spirals, complete the ornamentation, the foreign (*i.e.* non-Greek) elements in which are very apparent. This perhaps represents one of the earliest attempts to assimilate the new method of vase-decoration.

[1] As on aryballi from Cameiros in the British Museum (A 1057, 1058).

[2] Cf. the British Museum vase A 471.

[3] Conze, *Anfänge der Kunst*, Taf. III. 1.

[4] Athens, Nat. Mus. 1st Vase Room, Case 8, Tomb 85.

[5] Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vii. Fig. 91.

[6] Pottier, *Vases du Louvre*, i. Pl. 11, A 288.

[7] Cf. the Datscha fragment *Athen. Mitt.* xxi. p. 230, Fig. 1.

[8] *I.e.* the British Museum fragments $\frac{64}{10-7}$ and A 586, and those figured by Salzmann, $\frac{46}{}$ *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. XXVII. 4, 5, and Pl. XXVI. 1. The decoration of the last is almost identical with that of the above-mentioned fragment from Datscha.

[9] Cf. the second Datscha fragment *Athen. Mitt.* xxi. p. 232, Fig. 2.

We have then, practically speaking, in Rhodes only four separate instances of the occurrence of figure-designs, and in one of these Oriental influences are very evident; as against this, the Geometric examples include, besides our two fragments, the *pithoi* from Ialysos and Cameiros in the British Museum, a third published by Salzmann, *op. cit.* Pl. XXV., fragments A 587 and A 592 in London, with others figured by Salzmann, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVII. 2, 3.

In other places where remains of this cylinder-stamped pottery have come to light, figure designs are predominant, except in Crete, where they divide the field with the Geometric. Some unpublished fragments from Melos, show Centaurs, Sphinxes, charioteers and lions, with scarcely any Geometric decoration, and this latter element is practically non-existent on examples from the mainland of Greece and the Etruscan ware still farther west.

The Geometric tradition would thus seem to have been particularly strong in the south-east corner of the Aegean, and the people conservative and possibly primitive, at the epoch to which the stamped pottery belongs; the Rhodian craftsman, while taking over the cylinder for purposes of decoration from the East, yet shrank, for the most part, from reproducing the human beings and fantastic creatures which he found on his originals, substituted for the hard and durable stone the more easily-worked but perishable wood, and proceeded to engrave upon it the varying combinations of line and circle, triangle and point, so dear to his orderly, if unprogressive, imagination.

By what race or under what circumstances this rigidly Geometric ware was produced is a very interesting problem. The cylinder does not appear to have been long used for purposes of decoration, and we have noticed that as we trace the stamped ware westwards the Geometric tendency becomes gradually eliminated. In Rhodes itself, too, figure-designs rapidly come into vogue on the painted pottery. Is it a question of race predominance, or merely of the development of style? Future investigation will perhaps supply the answer.

J. L. STOKES.

DIPYLON VASES FROM THE KYNOSARGES SITE.

IN the spring of 1896, a small excavation conducted by Mr. Cecil Smith, then Director of the British School, resulted in the discovery of the site of the Kynosarges gymnasium on the left bank of the Ilissus below Callirrhoe.

The excavation also brought to light a considerable number of 'Dipylon' tombs. It is unfortunate that, according to the law as it then stood, the larger part of the vases found in these tombs passed into the hands of the owner of the site and are now beyond reach, but a certain number are preserved in the Museum of the British School, and these, to judge from a photograph of some of the lost vases, I believe to be good representatives of the whole group. I have to thank Mr. Cecil Smith for permission to publish them.

There are in all forty-four vases, many unfortunately very fragmentary. Besides these there are three pieces which show traces of later oriental influence. The numbers are those of the Museum Catalogue.

THE GEOMETRIC VASES.

The decoration of these vases is for the most part purely linear. The human figure appears only twice (31 and 83), the horse only once (31), while there are only five examples of birds (14, 18, 28, 30, 91). They are as a rule small, and the decoration is thus generally coarse. The motives are those usual with this class of pottery,—parallel lines, perpendicular and horizontal maeanders, rows of dots, zigzags perpendicular or horizontal, circles joined by tangents, hatched triangles and lozenges. The swastika occurs only four times (8, 9, 12, 30).

A general fondness is shown for dividing up the chief bands of decoration into square fields, which, according to recent theories,[1] points to a relatively late date. Against this should be placed the rarity of human or animal figures, which has been thought a mark of early date, if the importance of this point were not discounted by the small size and general rudeness of the greater number.

Those most worthy of note are seventeen bowls, remains of four amphorae, remains of five jugs, two miniature jugs, three small cups, three tiny lekythi, one plate, one sieve and one lid of a bowl. These, for greater convenience of treatment, are grouped by shapes.

The clay and paint are uniformly of the normal Dipylon type, the latter varying from black to red according to the amount of baking.

JUGS.

(*a*) 83. Fig. 1. Ht. ·363 m.

This vase falls into Wide's Class II(a), the shape with sharp lip, thick neck and high flat handle with the support being frequent in Attica. The maeander on the neck calls for note as a variant of the complicated type

FIG. 1.

assigned by Poulsen to the 'strong style' of Dipylon ware.[2] Of the decoration on the shoulder, the left centre is gone, but enough remains to make it certain that it was symmetrically arranged on either side of a central symmetrical scene exactly opposite to the handle; also the one pro-

[1] Cf. Dragendorff, *Thera* ii. *passim*; Wide, *Geometrische Vasen*. p. 61.
[2] Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, Pl. III.

jecting breast implies another on the left side; they are, I think, not rare on this style of vase.

The central scene (Fig. 2 (*b*) below), to which I can hardly find a parallel, requires more detailed description. On the right a man is sitting on a square cross-hatched seat looking left towards an oblong chequered table, on the right corner of which is a cross-hatched triangle, and to the left a cross-

(*a*)

(*b*)

FIG. 2 (*a*) AND (*b*).

hatched shield of the 'Theban' or 'notched' type. Further to the left comes the break in the vase, but a fragment on the same level is preserved, representing the lower half of a cross-hatched square of exactly the same width as the man's seat, and as it is just the same distance to the left of the centre of this band of ornament (i.e. the point exactly opposite to the handle) as the man's seat is to the right of it, it is almost

certain that the scene was symmetrical and represented two seated men with the table, triangles and shield between them ; moreover in the right hand part there are two zigzags in the field, and above the shield to the left is the end of a zigzag corresponding with the upper of these two.

The temptation is strong to see in the table and triangle a horned altar, but the hatched triangle is frequently used to fill vacant spaces, and appears for that purpose on this very vase, while the band of chequers lower down, makes it doubtful if the table had any more significance.

The chief interest lies in the object or objects which the man holds. The arms, extended and bent, hold each a staff with a pointed spade-shaped knob at the end, that in the left pointing downwards, while that in the right points up. It is possible, but not likely, that they joined in the middle, (for the vase has a crack just between the two hands), in which case it might be a weapon grasped like a quarter-staff. The nearest parallel which I know is a fragment from the Heraeum of Argos,[1] where the article has a cross-bar below the knob, but unfortunately the fragment is broken away, so that it is impossible to see whether it had a second knob at the lower end ; if not, the shaft is longer than on our vase.

(*b*) 14. Fig. 3. Greatest Ht. ·124 m.

The neck of a jug belonging to Wide's Class II(b).

A happy carelessness breaks the symmetry of the main band of ornament. The design of the central field is rather strange :—a circle with projecting rays, inside which a series of small dotted circles are arranged in a ring ; inside again is a circle of dots with a star at the centre, while a star fills each corner of the square field. In the Athenian National Museum a vase of the same class (No. 210)[2] has an almost exactly similar design.

(*c, d, e*) 28, 85, 86.

Fragments of Dipylon oenochoae. 28 is smaller than the other two, and is more graceful than is usual, the body being more slender and oval. All are decorated with lines and zigzags ; 28 has triangles and 'Geometric' birds, while 86 has a maeander. Of 85 and 86 only the necks remain. 86 with its narrow neck falls well into Wide's II(b) class,[3] but 85 is exceptional in its short thick neck, for Wide emphasises the long narrow neck as a characteristic of the Dipylon oenochoae.

[1] Cf. *Argive Heraeum*, Vol. ii. Pl. LVII, 5.
[2] Wide, *op. cit.* Fig. 81. [3] *Op. cit.* Figs. 90, 91.

(*f* and *g*) 22, 25. Fig. 4. Ht. (22) ·06 m., (25) ·08 m.

Two miniature jugs with trefoil lip, very modern in shape but rude in make and covered with paint. Three local jugs found at Thera may be compared with these.[1]

BOWLS.

(*h*) 1. Fig. 5. Ht. circ. ·115 m.

This shape with high handles rising above the brim is supposed by Wide[2] to be a Mycenaean survival. Poulsen[3] considers that both it and the Mycenaean two-handled cup, as well as the Greek Cantharos, are derived from a primitive shape, of which the nearest examples are found in the Cypriote Bronze Age pottery, while the Trojan cup, the *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* of Schliemann, is another variant. The shape is thus not

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG 5.

peculiarly or even very commonly Geometric. The nearest parallels both in shape and ornament are 851 in the National Museum at Athens, and 695 in the Museum at Eleusis, while Furtwängler and Löschcke show a kindred shape existing in Mycenaean times.[4]

(*i*) 2. Fig. 6, bottom. Ht. ·08 m.

The shape is not 'Geometric,' for the nearest parallel is No. 76 in *Mykenische Vasen*. The ornament, too has an element foreign to the style—a band consisting of two thin lines joined by thick, curved, slightly slanting lines; a similar ornament appears on a Mycenaean cup of quite

[1] Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 1903, Beilage ix. 2 and 5. [2] Wide, *op. cit.* p. 58, Fig. 116.
[3] Poulsen, *Athen. Mitt.* 1901. [4] *Mykenische Vasen*, Pl. XLIV, 11 and 16.

different shape from Melos.[1] It should perhaps be classed as a Mycenaean survival.

(*j*) 12. Fig. 6, middle left. Ht. ·055 m.

The graceful curve and upright pointed handles are interesting. A parallel comes from Thera,[2] and two similar bowls, but with mouths more closed in, come from Adhromyloi near Praesos in Crete.[3] The decoration is rather rude and slightly unusual.

(*k*) 10. Fig. 6, middle right. Ht. ·069 m.

The vase is chiefly remarkable for the graceful curve of its outline, rare

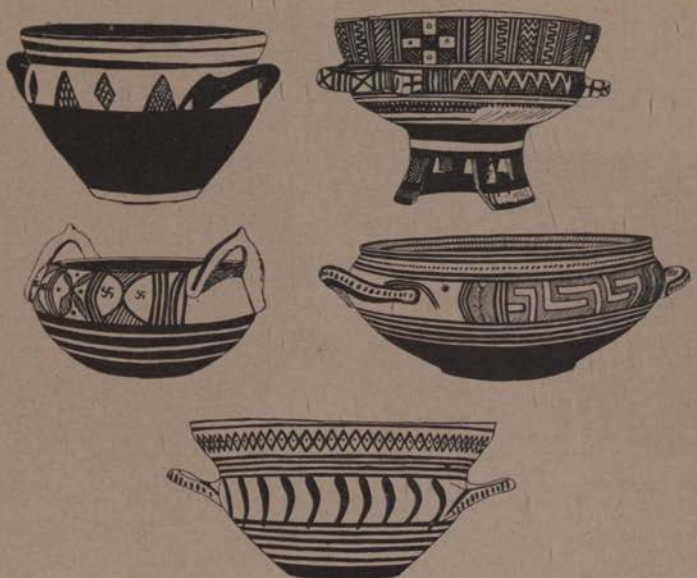


FIG. 6.

among Geometric bowls, to which Wide gives no parallel, and for the care shown both by painter and potter.

(*l*) 6. Fig. 6, top left. Ht. ·08 m.

The shape is interesting, being higher than the Dipylon type and without the projecting ends to the handles. The nearest parallel is not among Geometric vases but in Mycenaean pottery.[4]

[1] Cf. *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXV. 10, 11.
[2] *Thera*, Vol. ii. p. 197, Abb. 392, 393.
[3] *Some Geometric pottery from Crete*, Fig. 22, Nos. 3246, 3248, p. 45.
[4] Furtwängler and Löschcke, *op. cit.* Pl. XLIV. 10.

(*m*) 9. Fig. 6, top right. Ht. ·093 m.

One of four of the regular Dipylon type. All four (7, 8, 9, 87) are of the variety with the pierced high foot. 9 shows the greatest care. The swastika is the only point in the ornament calling for note, but is not uncommon on this type of bowl. The handles with projecting ends are probably reminiscent of a wood technique, though Poulsen[1] points to the breasts common on primitive vases as the origin of this form, looking on a bowl at Eleusis, where the two breasts appear directly bent to the horizontal handles on each side, as its immediate forerunner, needing but a step to make the breasts part of the handle. This hardly seems plausible.

(*n*) 29. Diam. ·136 m.

Lid belonging to one of the same class of bowl. The decoration is in parallel lines. A concave knob forms the handle.

The collection also contains two small uninteresting bowls (4 and 5) and fragments of six more (3, 17, 82, 88, 89, 91). Of these, 3 is interesting from its shape, approaching that of 6 and because it is decorated inside as well. The bottom has a star ornament and the rest of the ornament comprises parallel lines and zigzags. 17 is a very shallow bowl painted over but for one broad band containing a series of hatched ovals. 91 has a row of birds.

AMPHORAE.

There are remains of only four.

(*o*) 30. Fig. 7. Ht. ·205 m.

The pot was large, as the thickness (·01 m. to ·02 m.) and the small amount of curve, show. The swastika and the birds are the only noteworthy features. It is part of the neck, which was a concave cylinder.

(*p*) 84. Fig. 8. Diam. ·178 m.

The rounded lip and handles put it into Wide's Class I., in which the decoration is chiefly on the neck.

(*q*) 31. Fig. 2 (*a*). Greatest Ht. ·052 m.

A fragment from the belly of a rather small amphora. The scene represents a procession of warriors; the chief points of interest are the small horse's head in the field between the chariots and the square shield

[1] Poulsen, *op. cit.* p. 89.

of the hinder warrior on the front chariot. The small horse's head appears again on vase 822 in the Eleusis Museum, just in the same position ; the

FIG. 7.

square shield is unusual, and, as far as I know, finds parallels only on a vase fragment in the Louvre,[1] on a fragment found 'on the Acropolis,'

FIG. 8.

and on a piece of vase found in 1891 during the excavations in Piraeus Street.[2] The drawing, though rude, yet shows signs rather of carelessness

[1] Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, Vol. vii. Fig. 67.

[2] Cf. *Athen. Mitt.* 1892, p. 215.

than of lack of skill, so that the vase should be placed comparatively late in the Dipylon series.[1]

(*r*) 19. Fragment of a small amphora. Greatest Ht. ·085 m. Decoration, bands of paint and a row of triangles.

OTHER SHAPES.

(*s*) 11. Fig. 9. Diam. ·17 m.

A flat dish. Inside on the rim are eight sets of twelve perpendiculars; the rest is painted over. The outside is more elaborate ('false spirals' and concentric circles, the innermost on the bottom having many radii), and this, with the handles attached flush with the rim, seems to point rather to an ornamental than to a practical use. Such plates were probably hung

FIG. 9.

FIG. 10.

face to the wall; two similar plates from the Sellada cemetery at Thera are of the local ware and very like in decoration,[2] but a closer parallel is the Dipylon plate from the town hill cemetery at Thera.[3] Wide does not mention this shape.

20, 27, 90 are three small cups, hts. ·03 m., ·047 m., ·047 m., with one handle. 20 has rude parallel lines and zigzags, 27 and 90 are painted over but for cross lines on the handle. 79 and 80 are tiny plates painted over; 42 and 43 are thin miniature lekythi without handles, and 24 is a stumpy miniature lekythos with a short perpendicular handle; all three are

[1] Cf. Wide, *op. cit.* Fig. 56. [2] Cf. *Thera*, Vol. ii. Ch. iv. abb. 361, 362.
[3] Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 1903. Beilage xxv. 2.

painted over. There is also (44) a sausage-shaped lump of clay rudely decorated with cross-lines with dots in the squares, from the middle of which something has been broken off. It may be the base of a small vase. Lastly, there is a fragment that may be part of a handle with projecting knobs, but apparently it had also a bump projecting from the lower side down the vase at the points of junction; it is decorated with crossed lines and dots.

Besides the vases there is a disc-shaped clay sieve with holes in five circles (Fig. 10); inside vase 750 in the Eleusis Museum is a similar sieve; both are the same size, circ. ·105 diam.

VASES SHOWING EASTERN INFLUENCE.

Of these there are five belonging to the succeeding period. One has been published by Mr. Cecil Smith.[1]

FIG. 11.

Of the rest (Fig. 11), three belong to the Proto-Attic or Phaleron style, while the fourth is, I think, Proto-Corinthian.

A—Phaleron Ware.

(*a*) 21. To the left in Fig. 11. Ht. ·047 m.

This small cup is very near in style to the pure Geometric; there is no definite oriental element, but a touch in the drawing of the horses

[1] Cf. *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 29.

is foreign to the Geometric style; moreover a comparison with a vase in the British Museum (figured by Böhlau)[1] justifies its separation from that style. Shape and scheme of decoration (parallel lines and a procession of quadrupeds) are very similar in both vases, as is also the style of drawing, but the British Museum vase does show those definitely oriental elements which the Kynosarges vase lacks, namely the lion and the plants, and thus allows the certain attribution of the latter to the Proto-Attic class.

(*b*) 78. (Below, to the right in Fig. 11.) A fragment from the lid of a pyxis.

(*c*) 15. (Above, to the right in Fig. 11.) Dimensions ·034 m. × ·07 m. A fragment of a neck. Palmette and spirals combined with hatched triangles clearly place it in the Proto-Attic class.

B.—Proto-Corinthian.

(*d*) 26. (Centre Fig. 11.) Ht. ·078 m.

Perhaps an Attic imitation, in view of the lack of care in the decoration, and the rarity in Athens of genuine Proto-Corinthian ware, of which the only certain example seems to be 768 in the Athenian National Museum.[2]

The presence of these five 'orientalising' vases perhaps strengthens the impression that these Dipylon graves are late in the 'Geometric' period. Seven pieces call for special note as being exceptional among Dipylon vases. The figure scene on 83 may be due merely to a freak of taste, and the cause of the unusually thick neck of the oenochoe (85) is probably no further to seek; the other five, however, must owe their peculiarities to some outside cause. 1, 6, and 10 are strange only in shape; 1 and 6 find parallels in Mycenaean ware; but 10 finds none to the graceful curve of its outline, which is in strong contrast to the strictly Geometric nature of its decoration.

The remaining pair diverge, both in shape and in decoration, from the strict Geometric type; 2 is frankly reminiscent of Mycenaean work, finding a near parallel to its shape in 76 of Furtwängler and Löschcke's plate, while the curved lines on the belly not only call to mind the scroll common on the later periods of Minoan pottery, but actually appear on a Mycenaean cup and a bowl from Phylakopi.

Mycenaean influence may have been reflected back from survivals

[1] *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 51, Figs. 9 and 10. [2] Cf. Poulsen, *op. cit.* p. 27.

in the East never thoroughly subjected to the Geometric style. It is not necessary to suppose direct connection on the mainland, which, in view of the probable lateness of date to be assigned to these vases, is less likely. 12 also probably borrowed both form and decoration from across the Aegean, for the nearest parallels in shape come from Thera and Crete; both for the knobs on the handle and for the decoration, a resemblance to Cypriote ware has been suggested. In any case this vase is probably of comparatively late date, and goes to strengthen the impression that the whole set of vases stands near the border line between the Dipylon and the Proto-Attic class, that is, probably well on in the eighth century B.C., or yet later. It is worthy of note that all these tombs showed traces of burning, though elsewhere in Attica a majority of burial cases has been the rule.

METAL OBJECTS.

Three fragments of a gold band or diadem, beaten very thin (Fig. 12 right), were found in the 'Geometric' graves on the Kynosarges site. Width ·031 m., length (*a*) ·14 m., (*b*) ·1 m., (*c*) ·04 m.

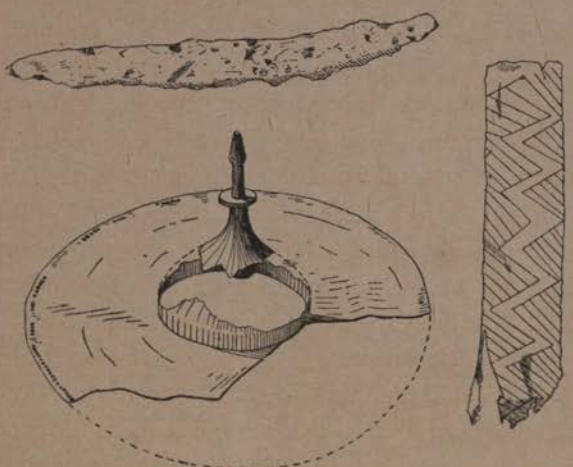


FIG. 12.

(*a*) and (*c*) are the two ends, and are each pierced with a hole for attachment; the edge of (*c*) has been slightly turned down as if the band had been too long. The decoration is in incised lines and makes it clear that the length cannot have been less than ·29 m., and much may be

missing. Such bands are not rare in Dipylon graves,[1] there being ten in the Athenian National Museum, among which the nearest parallels are 3521 and 3522, with however three parallel zigzags. The accepted theory about these bands seems to be that they were worn in life round the back of the head, from ear to ear over the hair, as the Netos vase[2] shows it, yet some, *e.g.* 3522, are so small that they could not be so worn except by a very small child. Their use as a band across the forehead is perhaps more probable. On the other hand, Mr. R. C. Bosanquet has suggested that these bands were used specially for the interment, to prevent the falling of the dead man's jaw, for some have an opening where they would pass over the lips.

An iron knife-blade. Length ·17 m. Fig. 12 above, slightly curved.

Weapons are not common in Dipylon tombs and are interesting as a criterion of date.

The most interesting, because the most puzzling, of the Kynosarges finds is an iron disc with a raised hollow boss ending in a spike, Fig. 12, left below, diam. ·162. Inside, at the end of the spike is a ring, and the edge of the rim is decorated with dots in relief, but there are no holes for attaching pins. An almost precisely similar thing was found with some Geometric pots at Kavousi in Crete, and was given to the Candia Museum by Mr. A. J. Evans, only in that case the material is bronze and it is in better preservation. Such also were found at Hallstatt,[3] also of bronze, with no holes round the rim and with the inside ring; in diameter they range from 3 to 10 zoll, *i.e.* circ. ·075 m. to ·25 m. Professor Ridgeway[4] quotes *Iliad* xv. 530 '*Θώρηκα γνάλοισιν ἀρηρότα*,' and regards them as ornaments fastened to the hauberk by means of pieces of leather attached to the inside ring, but the size is against this. On the other hand, if they were shield bosses, what purpose did the ring serve? Moreover they must have been sunk into the leather or wood. As the matter stands, their great interest lies in the connection to which they point between the Danube valley, Greece and Crete, a connection which makes it yet more probable that the 'Geometric' period in Greece reflects a northern invader.

[1] Cf. Brückner and Pernice, *Athen. Mitt.* 1893. [2] Cf. *Antike Denkmäler* i. Taf. 57.
[3] Cf. Von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt.* pp. 44, 45, Pl. VIII. Figs. 9 and 10.
[4] *Early Age of Greece*, i. p. 421.

J. P. DROOP.

EXCAVATIONS AT SCHIMATARI AND DILISI IN BOEOTIA.

THESE excavations arose out of the discovery by Professor Burrows, of an inscription built into the wall of the church of H. Dimitrios near Schimatari Station. This inscription, which was published by him in the last number of the Annual,[1] was the base of his provisional identification of this site with that of the Temple of Apollo at Delium. Excavation was rendered possible by a grant from the Craven Committee at Oxford and proved that the identification was not supported by archaeological evidence. The excavation of other sites in the more immediate neighbourhood of Dilisi, a village on the coast which has generally been considered to occupy the position of the ancient Delium, led also to purely negative results, but as the sites excavated at Dilisi included all the places at which ancient remains are known to have existed, and most of the places which might naturally have been chosen as temple-sites, the excavations have at least cleared the ground for future investigators.

(1) THE CHURCH OF H. DIMITRIOS.

The site of this church and the inscription which it contains have been fully described by Professor Burrows. A thorough excavation of the site led to the discovery of no Hellenic remains, with the exception of one or two vase-fragments which evidently came from a rifled tomb; on the other hand the site was prolific of Byzantine walls and Christian skeletons. The wall of the 'mandra,' which at first seemed likely to be of Hellenic

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 153—172.

date, proved on excavation to contain tiles in its lower courses, while one of its largest blocks was found to rest upon a piece of marble on which a Cross had been carefully carved. The architectural fragments which the church itself contained were all of Christian date.

(2) THE HILL OF H. ELIAS.

The hill of H. Elias stands about 2 kilometres from the church of H. Dimitrios, to the right of the direct road to Dilisi; it reaches a much greater height than the range of hills on which H. Dimitrios is situated, and of course is much nearer the sea. At the top of it are the rough stone

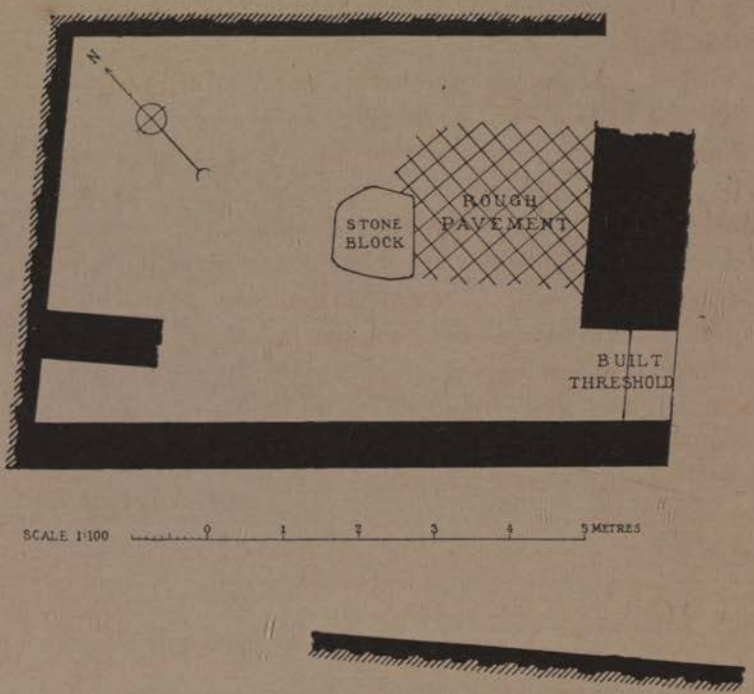


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF A MYCENAEAN HOUSE.

walls, containing in a niche a lantern surrounded by pine branches, which do duty for the shrine of H. Paraskevé. A short distance to the north-west of this, were some worked blocks of stone which turned out to be the foundations of a small Mycenaean house of the usual mainland Mycenaean

(Ialysos, Tell el Amarna) period. This building measures 8·7 m. by 6 m., the longer walls being on the north-east and south-west (Fig. 1). The walls are ·50 m. in thickness, though for a length of 2·5 m. along the south-east wall the thickness increases to 1·4 m. The walls go down to a depth of from ·30 to ·50 m. At the south corner there is a built threshold, while at the east corner there is a gap of 1·3 m. in the south-east wall; outside the south-west wall, at a distance of from 1·80 to 2·70 m. from it, runs another wall for a distance of 5·50 m.; from the north-west wall a cross-wall, ·60 m. in thickness, extends inwards for a distance of 1·50 m. In the centre of the building there is a stone block, presumably the base of a pillar; between this and the south-east wall there is a rough pavement. The interior of the building was thickly strewn with fragments of Mycenaean pottery. From here too, came a rough block of poros stone, ·45 by ·30 by ·21 m. deep, with an oval hollow ·10 m. deep on the top face; a round limestone basin with lug handles set opposite one another on the lip, greatest diameter ·25 m. and height ·09 m.; a large bowl of coarse material and several pieces of obsidian were picked up on the site. A short distance to the east of this building and on the east slope of the hill, two rock-cut tombs were found; one of these measured ·66 by ·40 m., with a depth of ·28 m., and the top of the tomb was ·35 m. below the surface of the ground. It contained two cups, one measuring ·078 m. in height and ·095 in diameter at the top, the other ·043 in height and ·055 in diameter; there were also an iron nail, two amber beads, two pieces of a spiral ornament worn in the hair and the whorl of a spindle. The other tomb contained a number of vase fragments.

(3) DILISI.

A.—REMAINS.

The most interesting of the architectural fragments visible in the village of Dilisi is a large drum of a column of hard poros stone (diam. ·94, height ·64), which dates probably from the beginning of the fifth century or even earlier (Fig. 2). As to its provenance, local tradition asserts that it was found at Paleo-Chorio (see below), but as excavations on that site yielded no trace of similar remains, it seems possible that it may have been brought over from Eretria; at present it stands on

the shore close to the house of Dimitriou. In the garden of the same house is a fragment of a Roman architrave.

FIG. 2.—DRUM OF POROS COLUMN.

In a cornfield on the Hill of Agrielaea (see below) a stone seat was disinterred from a deep pit two or three metres from the crest of

FIG. 3.—STONE SEAT.

the hill (Fig. 3). It measured 1·27 m. in length, ·62 in total height, ·56 in breadth, and the thickness of the seat was ·13. There are no traces

of supports underneath. The top of the seat has suffered from the weather.

On the shore of Dilisi there are considerable traces of an ancient mole, which is described below in connexion with the excavation of the site.

B.—SITES.

(a) *The Mole.*

The mole at present in use at Dilisi is of modern date. It was constructed by the English company which began the construction of a railway from Athens to Chalcis (a task which has recently been accomplished by a French company), and found it convenient to ship to Dilisi the materials necessary for the construction of the portion of this line which passes through the Tanagra district. Local tradition reports that many stones from the old mole were removed to form the new one; still, a few metres east of the modern mole, traces of its predecessor remain. These are two parallel lines of stone blocks, which, if produced, would enter the sea at an angle of about 45° with the line of the modern mole. It looks as if the coastline had changed considerably since ancient times, the change being doubtless due to the influence of earthquakes, to which this region is especially subject. The stones average ·82 square, and the total width of the structure is 4 metres, the length which now remains being 10; the distance between each stone is 1·5. Excavation showed that the stones measured ·40 in depth, that they rested upon a continuous base of two courses of stone slabs, each ·40 in depth, and that the interval between the lines of stones was filled with cement composed of 'Santorin earth' (*Θηριακὴ γῆ*). A few fragments of Hellenic pottery were discovered, and a broken terracotta model of a seat.

(b) *The Hill Agrielaea.*

This hill, which is 30 or 40 metres in height, lies three or four hundred metres eastward of the village; it slopes straight up from the sea, and is the place which most obviously suggests itself to a student of the literary authorities, as the site of the Temple of Delium. This was the place at which the stone seat, above described, was found. Another stone seat exactly similar was unearthed in a tomb constructed of large blocks of

stone, together with a number of coarse lekythi and some skeletons; close to this tomb were found a number of lamps, all clearly of late date, and one of them ornamented with a cross.

(c) *The Hill Karaouli.*

This lies a short distance to the left of the path from Schimatari to Dilisi, at a distance of about a kilometre from Dilisi; it is a hill about 100 m. in height, with a flat top somewhat scantily covered by pine trees; its name, which means 'place of ambush,' is said to have been derived from an episode in the War of Independence. Trenches at the top having yielded nothing, work was begun on the foundations on the south-west slope of the hill, which proved to be of late date.

(d) *The West Field.*

This site lies in a ploughed field about 120 m. west of the house of Dimitriou, close to the sea, and about 10 m. above sea-level. Here the apse of a small church was discovered, and near it a few fragments of glass and a piece of fresco, apparently representing a female saint. On this site, just below the surface, was found a small piece of poros stone inscribed with the letters ΠΟΛ; the height of the letters is ·025 m. and there is a good edge only at the bottom; the space before the first of these letters being slightly greater than those between the others, it seems likely that the letters formed the beginning of a word. The large stones in the apse-wall were taken out, but showed no inscriptions.

(e) Πλάκα τοῦ Δίλισι.

This hill lies about 600 m. west of the West Field (*i.e.* about 720 m. west of Dilisi), and overlooks from a height of about 25 m. the bay between Dilisi and Dramesi; it faces straight across to Chalcis and the expression Χαλκίδος κατεναντίον which Herodotus (vi. 118) applies to the site of Delium, is applicable to this site. Some 10 metres from the shore, and running parallel to it, is a natural formation of rock which presents the appearance of a mole. The site contains a well of late date; nothing was found there.

(f) *Palaeo-Pegadi.*

An ancient well, south of Dilisi and about half a kilometre from the sea. The whole neighbourhood of the site has its surface strewn with pottery and tiles, coarse, but in some cases of Hellenic date. A wall was found 10 m. south-east of the well, from ·35 to ·45 in depth; below it soil mixed with tiles; the wall was formed of rough unworked limestone; pieces of pottery were found under it, but not in it. It seems probable that the site was used at one time as a pottery manufactory, and that the wall formed part of a furnace.

(g) *Palaeo-Chorio.*

About half a kilometre south of Dilisi, the place where the large drum of a column is said to have been found. The site is marked by a large block of coarse local limestone cut into two steps. There are walls of late date containing tiles, but nothing Hellenic. A vase of coarse material was found in a Roman tomb.

(h) *Hill above Church of H. Paraskevé, Dilisi.*

This hill, as occupying a commanding position near the shore and showing a few fragments of Hellenic tiles, seemed a possible site for the Temple. Absolutely nothing was found there.

(i) *The Middle Field.*

About 100 metres south of the house of Dimitriou at Dilisi, walls were unearthed with mortar and tiles; underneath them ran a line of large blocks of stone, under which sand and salt water were reached; this line of stones was probably laid to ensure a sound foundation for the building. The length of the wall and underlying row of blocks was at least 12 m. (it was not considered worth while to excavate the south end of the building) and its breadth 4·75m. In one place where the late wall has been destroyed, there were two of these stone blocks one above the other, with a layer of white soft material between them, probably a slab of poros stone, which has been dissolved by the action of sea-water. The blocks were probably re-used, for a rough edge was found lying above a smooth one, which had doubtless been at one time above ground, and intended for show; the smooth and the rough parts belong to the same stone, which must therefore have been inverted. It is remarkable that the inner edge of the later wall

runs along the line of the outer edge of the top line of blocks. On this site were found a fragmentary terracotta representing a woman's head with earrings (height, ·047), some small fragments of Hellenic pottery, a vase of coarse material probably of post-Hellenic date, and large quantities of late tiles and pottery. The lower courses of the building excavated are possibly of Hellenic date, but the building cannot have been a temple.

(j) *The Hill Loutsa.*

A hill about 150 m. in height and about 2 km. south of Dilisi. An inscription was reported to exist here, but was not visible. At the top of the hill are a few small blocks of local limestone, now much weathered, but perhaps once worked. On the south slope of the hill is a piece of worked stone (·53 by ·38 by ·20), coarse poros, broken at both ends. No foundations of any kind were found here.

My thanks are due to the Directors and Manager of the Athens-Larissa Railway Company for their courtesy in permitting me to live at their station at Schimatari, and to M. Dimitriou for permission to occupy his house and dig on his estate at Dilisi. Also to Mr. J. M. Dawkins for his photographs of the seat and column drum at Dilisi.

A. C. B. BROWN.

TWO WATCH TOWERS IN THE MEGARID.

THE mountain-road from Megara to Thebes has always been a highway of some importance. Rising from the Megarian plain, it wound upwards among the hills until it topped the pass leading to the harbour of Aegosthena, passing on the right the site of the modern Vilia; near this pass it joined another road running up from Pagae, the other Megarian harbour. From the nature of the ground the old road and the modern mule-track must have followed much the same lines. The rocky range of hills, over which the pass already mentioned leads, is Mount Carydi. The need of guarding such a strategic point, whence the Megarian plain and the land round Pagae could easily be overlooked, is clear at first sight; and in fact there are still standing two fine Greek towers on the southern side of the pass. These were first described by Buchon[1]: they are also marked in the map accompanying a dissertation by Lebègue, and mentioned in his text.[2]

THE SQUARE TOWER (FIGS. 1 AND 2).

This, the easternmost of the two, stands near the path leading from Megara to Vilia. It measures 17 ft. 6 in. square at its base. The blocks of grey stone used in the work range from 4 ft. to 2 ft. in length, and are about 2 ft. high and 1 ft. 5 in. thick. On the south-west side there shows

[1] *La Grèce Continentale et la Morée*, 557.

[2] *De Oppidis et Portibus Megaridis ac Boeotiae*, 51, 54. The towers are also marked in Winterberger's sketch-map, *Jahrbuch d. k. deutschen Arch. Inst.* vii. (1892), 122. I saw and measured both towers in May 1905, and visited them again in March 1907. The plans were drawn for me by Mr. C. C. T. Doll, architect and member of the School.

82912

above the ground a shallow base-course about 10 in. deep, which projects some 6 inches beyond the face of the wall. Above this sixteen courses remain ; the highest is in place only near the south corner and on the north-east side. The height must be about 33 ft. ; this was obtained by counting the courses, and confirmed by a rough reckoning by trigonometry. Buchon's estimate of 40 ft. or 50 ft. was excessive. All the blocks

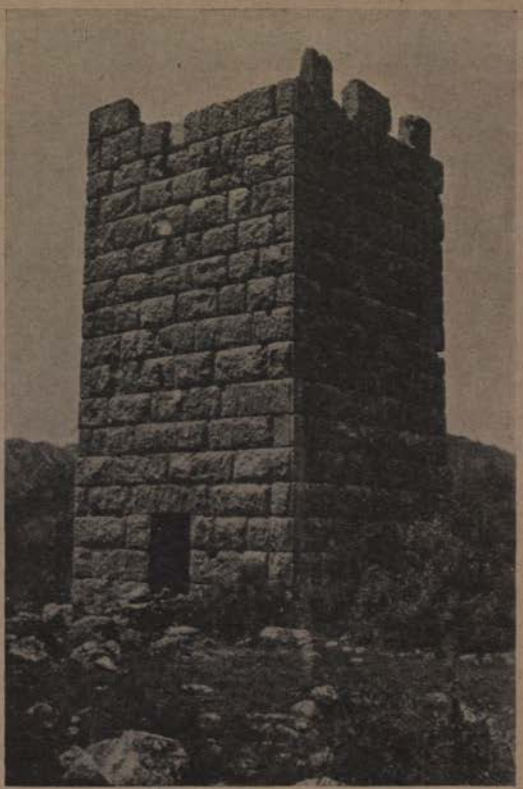


FIG. 1.—THE SQUARE TOWER.

are roughly squared, but the outer faces are smoother than the inside and have a smooth draft of 2½ in. round the edges. The corner blocks are also drafted.

The door faces nearly south-east ; its height was originally 6 ft. The lintel, which forms part of the fourth course, is 6 ft. 2¼ in. in length. The inside elevation of the doorway shows two holes in the lintel ; these must have been used to hold metal sockets, into which the bars slid to fasten the

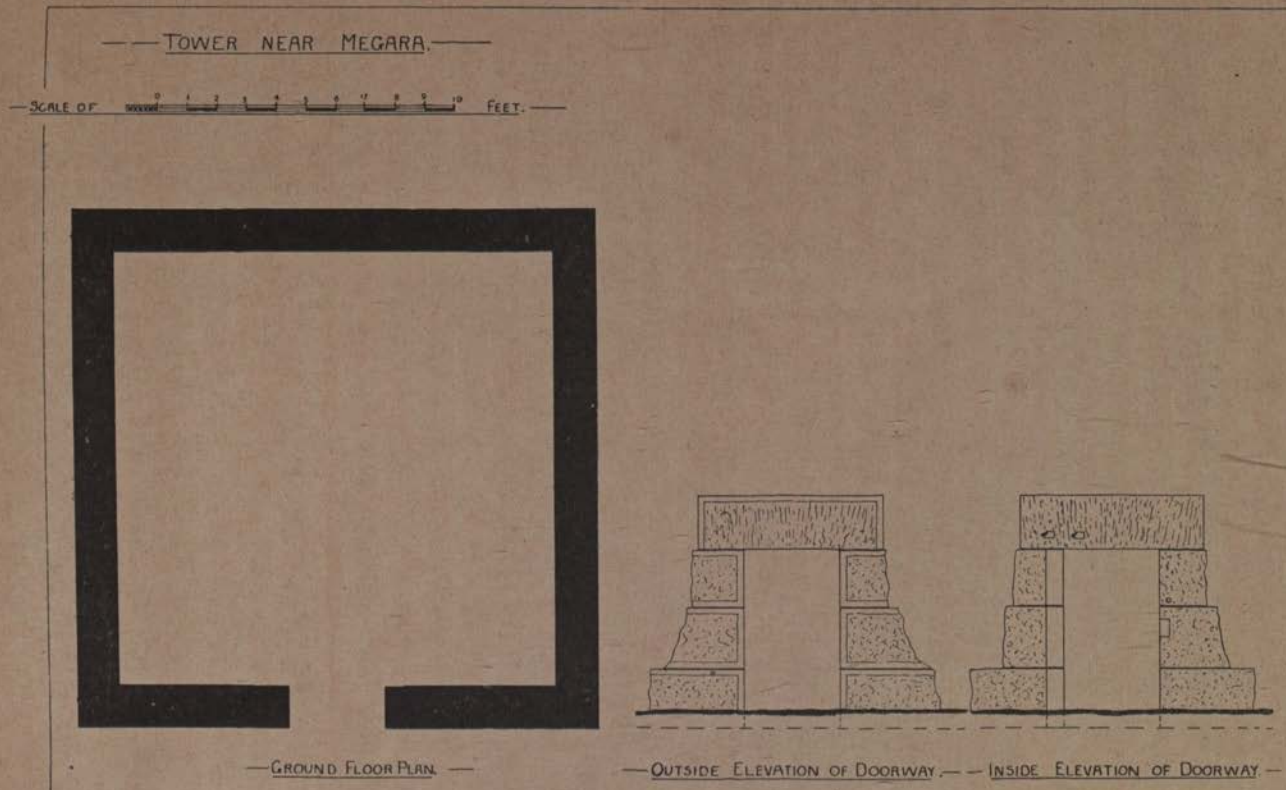


FIG. 2.—PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE SQUARE TOWER.

door. On the same side as these cuttings the door-jamb is smoothed for a width of 7½ in.; this was doubtless where the closed door was meant to rest. On the other jamb can be seen a round and a rectangular cutting in which the hinges must have been fixed; no pivot-holes appear, so that the door would have been wholly supported on its hinges.

Inside the tower and at the top of the sixth course, we find a hole cut out to a depth of a few inches at each corner, another over the doorway, and another in the back wall opposite; these three pairs of holes are evidence of a first floor borne by three joists. In the ninth course the stone has been cut away to make a splayed loophole in the middle of each of the four walls. These slits are of the height of the course itself, but are so narrow on the outside as to be quite unseen, though on the inside they may be a foot in breadth. As the upper storey began with course seven, the bottom of the loophole was at the easy height of four feet from the floor. Whether above the loopholes there was another floor with other loopholes, can only be guessed. The upper floors and the roof must have been reached by wooden ladders. There are no cuttings to carry the supports of a regular staircase.

It is quite clear from the solidity of the masonry, the evenness of the courses, and the general style of building, that this square tower belongs to a good period of Greek fortification. In many ways it is like the towers on the walls of Aegosthena,[1] which also show drafted edges at the corners as well as on the other blocks, splayed loopholes, and the same regular courses. The works on Ithome show many of the same features; but unfortunately it is not known how long this style of construction lasted in Greece:[2] perhaps our tower may be roughly dated as fourth-century work. Square towers are common in Greek lands: there is a fine example between Oenoe and Eleutherae near the modern road,[3] built in the same style as our tower, but with smaller blocks, and there are square towers in Ceos,[4] Amorgos, and other Greek islands.[5]

There are no remains of any wall or court surrounding the tower; there are, however, one or two seemingly mediæval store-tanks sunk in the ground near by.

[1] For Aegosthena, cf. *J.H.S.* xv. (1895), 314 ff., Pls. IX., X. [2] Cf. Lebègue, *op. cit.* 71.
[3] Frazer's *Pausanias*, v. 538; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, Text vii., viii., p. 16.
[4] Ross, *Inselreise* i. 132; Bent, *Cyclades*, 301; Bröndsted, *Voyages et Recherches*, i. 26; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, 230. [5] See pp. 155 f., below.

THE ROUND TOWER (FIGS. 3 AND 4).

This tower measures in its inside diameter, from 16 ft. 9 in. to 16 ft. 3 in. above the first course, and from 16 ft. 5 in. to 16 ft. above the second course. The outside girth at these heights came to 67 ft. and 60 ft. The heights of the four lowest courses are 2 ft. 1 in., 2 ft. 2 in., 2 ft. 1 in., 2 ft. There are twenty-three courses, and this would give about 50 ft. as the full height, in agreement with Buchon. The tower can never have been much higher, as very few stones have fallen from the top. The blocks are very big, many being over 5 ft. long, and 2 ft. thick; on the inside they are very rough, but on the curved outer face are finished with some care. Many of the joints are not upright but slope at an angle of about 70 degrees. Almost every joint is filled with mortar.

The doorway is 6 ft. 8 in. in height, its breadth at the top 3 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. and at the bottom 3 ft. 5 in. The lintel forms part of the fourth course, and is 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. The cuttings in the door-jambs may not all be of the same date; they suggest that the door swung on hinges; no pivot-holes appear. In the seventh course a hole is seen above the doorway, there is another opposite to it, and at least two others at the same height on either side; these would be joist-holes for an upper storey. In the tenth course there are three splayed loopholes reaching the whole depth of the course. In course sixteen there is a square hole over the door, and in course thirteen there seem to be at least two joist-holes; these would belong to a third storey.

Round towers are especially common on the Greek Islands, the most famous being the large tower at Andros.[1] In this a staircase was carried round the wall, while in our tower no trace of such a flight appears. The door of the Andros tower was high above the ground, and the lower part, built of larger blocks, was used as a basement; in the present case the entrance must always have been at the ground level. Splayed loopholes occur at Andros as here. Some of the towers in the islands have surrounding courts for the shelter of cattle in case of attack, but nothing of the kind seems to have existed in the case before us. There appears to be a remnant of a retaining wall, which supported a platform on which the tower stood; this was needed, owing to the slope of the ground. There is also a large mediæval cistern about twenty yards from the tower.

[1] Le Bas, *Voy. Arch.* Sect. *Îles de la Grèce*, Pl. 2.

The tower must in the first instance have been Hellenic work, but t
te of its building is uncertain; the presence of mortar in the join
ggests that it was repaired in the middle ages. Buchon states that he fou
nains of a mediæval wall joining the two towers, and he supposes t
have been built by the Franks, who may at the same time have repair
round tower with mortar. Of this wall nothing can now be seen n

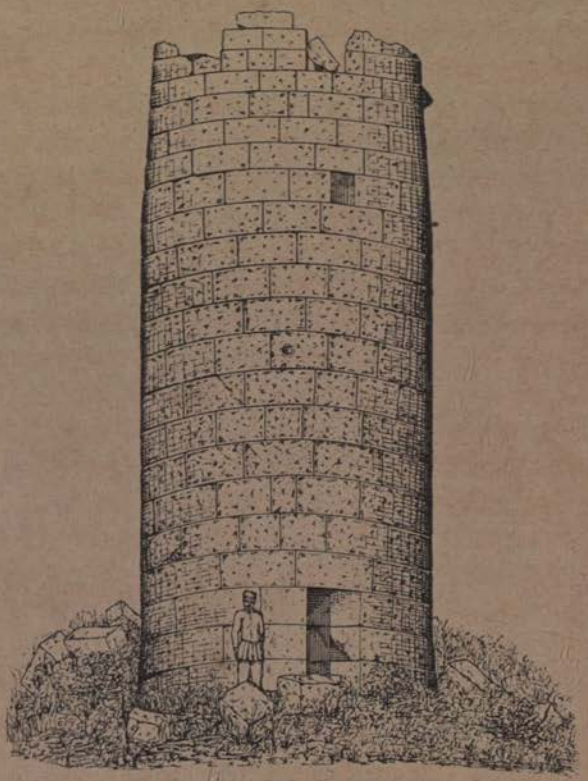


FIG. 3.—THE ROUND TOWER.

either of the towers. It is known that in 1256 William Villehardouin attacked Guy de la Roche, Duke of Athens, who had refused to do him homage. Villehardouin took the harbour of Megara, driving out the Corinthians, and marched up the Thebes road; by Mount Carydi he was met by Guy de la Roche, whom he routed. The quarrel was eventually referred to the King of France (Louis IX.), who decided that Guy should

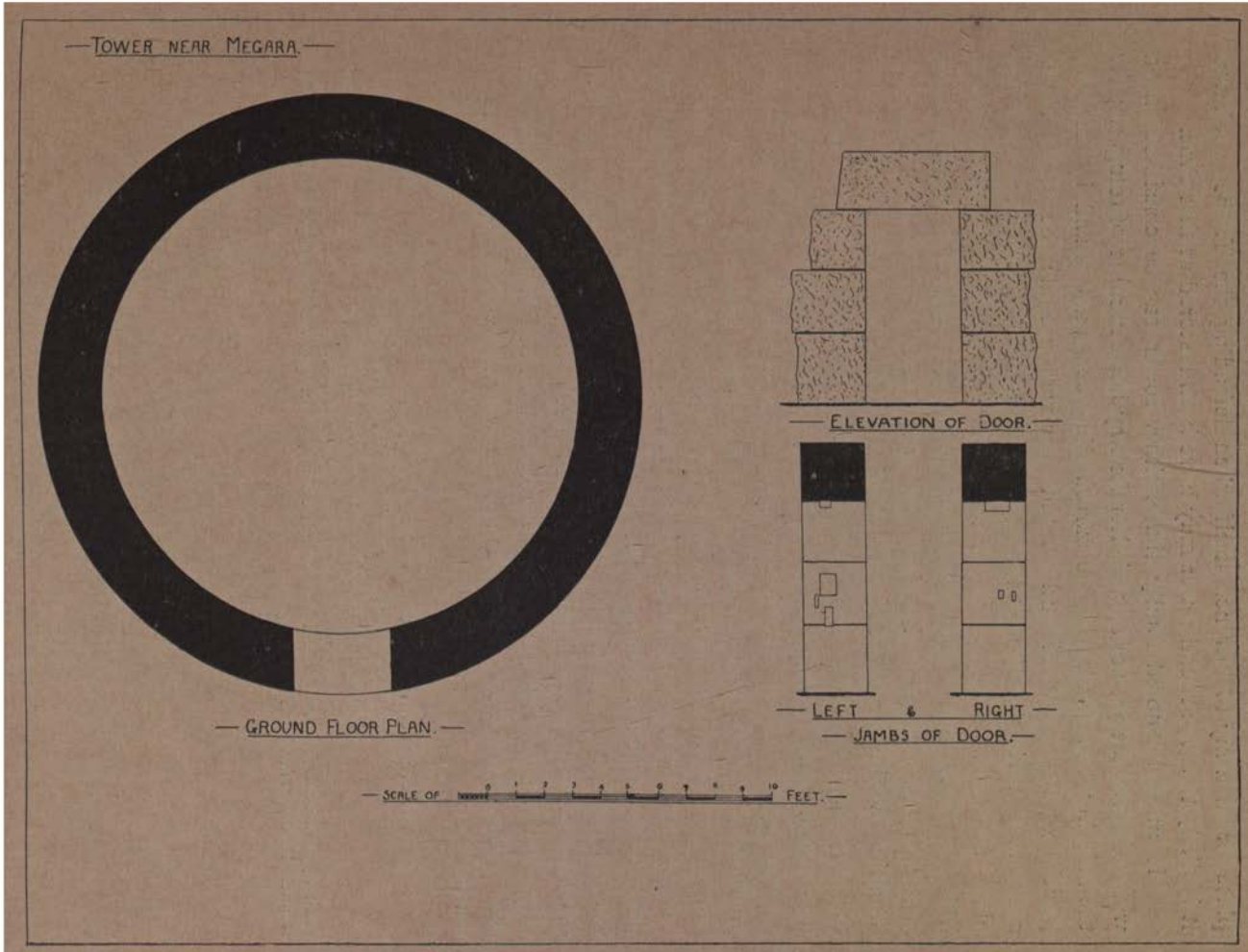


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF ROUND TOWER.

keep his dukedom.[1] The neighbourhood of the towers was the natural place for an army to entrench itself when defending the Thebes road, and it is likely that the round tower may have been restored at that time.

It must be noted finally that neither tower can be considered as a work of fortification, nor as a shelter for any large number of refugees ; for the buildings are small, have no surrounding court, and stand in exposed positions. For points of outlook both are well placed : the round tower commands a view of the land round Pagae, and the square tower of the plain of Megara. Although the principal view is towards the south and west, it is not likely that Aegosthena, even when it belonged to the Boeotian league, would have pushed so far south as to build these towers with hostile intentions against Megara : more probably the Megarians built the towers for the purpose of signalling to Pagae and Megara itself, in case of an attack from the north. It would have been easy to post watchers higher up the pass who could have descried an enemy approaching from the neighbourhood of Vilia, and so have given a timely warning ; at the same time, any goatherds or foresters who happened to be at work on Mount Carydi could have been sheltered in the towers. Aegosthena itself was not likely to be attacked from the south by an enemy of Megara, so that there was no need to send signals from Mount Carydi to Aegosthena. The towers, moreover, were rightly placed to serve as a temporary base for a Megarian army holding the pass against an attack from the north, and their strength of wall would secure the watchmen until reinforcements marched up.

[1] For these events cf. the *Chronicle of the Morea*, 3265 :

ἐπῆρεν τὰ φουσσᾶτα τοῦ κ' ἦλθεν εἰς ἀπάντην τοῦ,
κ' ἐκεῖ ἐσυναπαντήθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Καρύδιν . . .
κ' ἐκέρδισεν ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον.

Buchon, *Recherches Historiques sur la Morée* ; Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, iv. c. 7, § 3, p. 200 ; Sir Rennell Rodd, *Princes of Achaia*, i. 194.

H. J. W. TILLYARD

DAMOPHON OF MESSENE.

PART I.—HIS DATE.

OUR knowledge of Damophon of Messene is primarily derived from the fragments of the great group made by him for the temple of Despoina at Lycosura, and discovered there by M. Cavvadias during the excavations undertaken in the summer of 1889. The best known fragments are the three heads and the piece of embroidered drapery in the National Museum at Athens, but a great number of smaller pieces exist in the magazines at Athens and in the museum recently erected at Lycosura.

From Pausanias we learn that Damophon erected many statues in Messene[1] and in the sanctuary[2] of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis; that he worked at Aigion[3] and Lycosura;[4] and that he was entrusted with the repairs of the Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia.[5] There is no mention of Damophon in other classical writers.

Original works of Greek sculpture on the scale of the remains from Lycosura, without shadow of doubt as to their authors, might almost be counted on the fingers of two hands. They exist as the landmarks by which to discriminate between the others; and yet in the case of Damophon, the anomaly remains that we have not yet arrived at certainty as to his date within a period of five centuries. It is natural under the circumstances that he should have loomed large as a subject of recent controversy, but if any excuse be needed for another discussion of the subject, it may well rest on the fact that, while his style has been subjected to the minutest investigation, the available evidence from a historical, an epigraphical and an architectural point of view has only once[6] been collected,

[1] iv. 31, 6. 7. 10.
[2] viii. 31, 1–3.
[3] vii. 23, 5–7.
[4] viii. 37, 2–6.
[5] iv. 31, 6.
[6] A recent paper by Miss Thallon in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* x. 1906, 3, p. 302.

and cannot be said even in that case to amount to definite proof. In the present paper I do not propose to refer at all to the style of the Lycosura sculptures, partly for the reason mentioned, but principally because all such judgment must be suspended until the completion of the restoration of the great group at Lycosura, which is contemplated by the Greek Archaeological Society this spring. The heads and the drapery fragment are by no means sufficient for a fair criticism of Damophon's style, and those who have not examined all the fragments in the magazines of Athens and Lycosura are not really competent to pronounce upon the whole. There is, I think, sufficient evidence from external sources to decide the date of Damophon, and it is only on the sure basis of this knowledge, that a correct estimate of his genius, his methods and his place in the history of art can be obtained. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to the external evidence in the present paper, and at a later period, when all the available evidence has been brought together, to discuss the varied and interesting problems of his style.

The views hitherto expressed on the date of Damophon may be divided into three classes: those favouring the fourth century B.C., those favouring the third or second, and those favouring the epoch of Hadrian. The last view, maintained by Robert,[1] Sittl,[2] and Overbeck,[3] has been so generally abandoned, owing to the recent criticisms of Mr. Daniel in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, that I do not propose to discuss it at length; architectural and epigraphical considerations which will be mentioned later, render it impossible, even if Daniel's stylistic arguments are not sufficient. The fourth century date has been upheld by Cavvadias,[4] Waldstein,[5] Diehl,[6] Reinach,[7] Ernest[8] and Percy Gardner,[9] and Daniel,[10] and is perhaps generally held in England at present. On the other hand, Conze,[11] Milchhöfer,[12] Collignon,[13] Kekulé-Zahn,[14] and more recently Miss Thallon,[15] have placed the sculptor's career in the second or late third century. To the careful criticism of Daniel we owe a masterly description of the remains best known at present, and to Miss Thallon's recent

[1] *Hermes*, xxix. 1894, pp. 429–435.
[2] *Iwan Müller's Handbuch*, vi. p. 751.
[3] *Gesch. der Gr. Plast.* ii. pp. 181, 485.
[4] *Fouilles de Lycosura*, i. p. 13.
[5] *Athenæum*, 1890, i. p. 377.
[6] *Rev. des Ét. Gr.* 1899, p. 233.
[7] *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1894, i. pp. 229–233.
[8] *Handbook of Gr. Sculp.* pp. 399 ff.
[9] *Clas. Rev.* 1897, p. 71.
[10] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 41.
[11] *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 125.
[12] *B.P.W.* 1895, pp. 948 ff.
[13] *Hist. de la Sculp. Gr.* ii. pp. 626-630.
[14] Baedeker, *Greece*, 1905, p. cxxiv.
[15] *op. cit.* p. 315.

paper, which reached me when most of my own work on the subject was finished, I am especially indebted, not only for her careful treatment of the architectural and epigraphical evidence, but for her collection of current conflicting opinions.

The view which I shall endeavour to demonstrate in the following pages does not differ radically from her own, inasmuch as I would date Damophon's work at Messene at the beginning of the second century B.C., and his work at Megalopolis and Lycosura about 180 B.C. Apart from the epigraphical and other evidence which must be discussed later, it does not seem possible to place any Peloponnesian artistic revival, such as is pointed out by Damophon's career, later than 150 B.C.[1]

Strabo,[2] who visited Greece in 29 B.C., found Megalopolis a desert inhabited by a few shepherds. Ἐρημία μεγάλη ἐστιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις he quotes from a comic poet, and we can gather from his narrative how complete was the ruin of the towns of Greece under Roman dominion. The exploits of some of the Roman generals in Greece show clearly the Roman methods of barbarism in her conquered dependencies, before the epoch of the philhellene emperors. Mummius[3] in 146, not content with the razing of Corinth, made a tour of destruction and punishment through the cities of Greece. Even Aemilius Paulus,[4] philhellene and friend of Polybius, depopulated seventy cities in Epirus and enslaved 150,000 of the inhabitants. So complete was the ruin of the Greek cities by 80 B.C. that they gladly joined the forlorn hope of Mithridates, although his success could mean at best a change of masters, and the subsequent vengeance of Sulla provided a *coup de grâce* for the fortunes of some of them.

At the outset of the Roman dominion the outlook was rosy enough. Liberty was restored to Greece, and Polybius bears eloquent testimony to the prosperity of his country.[5] This is the last period at which we can expect to find an artistic renaissance in the Hellenic cities. It is at any rate certain, that once the Hadrianic epoch is rejected, Damophon's career must have closed before the end of the second century B.C.

[1] Hitzig and Bluemner in the recently published third volume of their commentary on Pausanias (*Pausanias*, iii.[1] p. 251, note on Paus. viii. 37, 2-4) also support a second century date.

[2] viii. 362, 388, ix. 410.

[3] Paus. vii. 16. 9; Polyb. xl. 11. 1-3; Zonaras, ix, 31.

[4] Polyb. xxx. 16. [5] Polyb. ii. 62.

§ 1.—ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE.[1]

The temple of Despoina at Lycosura is hexastyle prostyle and of the Doric order—*i.e.* it possesses a *pronaos* with six columns on its eastern

FIG. 1.—REMAINS OF TEMPLE OF DESPOINA, LOOKING EASTWARDS.

FIG. 2.—FRONT VIEW OF STATUE-BASIS IN TEMPLE OF DESPOINA.

front, but on the other three sides is built with plain walls. The cella,

[1] Cf. Leonardos in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. 1896, pp. 101 foll.

which occupies the whole building except the *pronaos*, is divided by a line of blocks into two portions, the easternmost of which, subsequently floored with mosaic, was intended for the worshippers, and was also accessible by a side door, while the western division contained the great group by Damophon (Fig. 1).

The greater part of the basis on which the group stood is preserved (Fig. 2), but the actual marble slabs supporting the statues are missing, and consequently we have no evidence of the actual position of the figures.

The architectural remains of the sanctuary may be divided into two

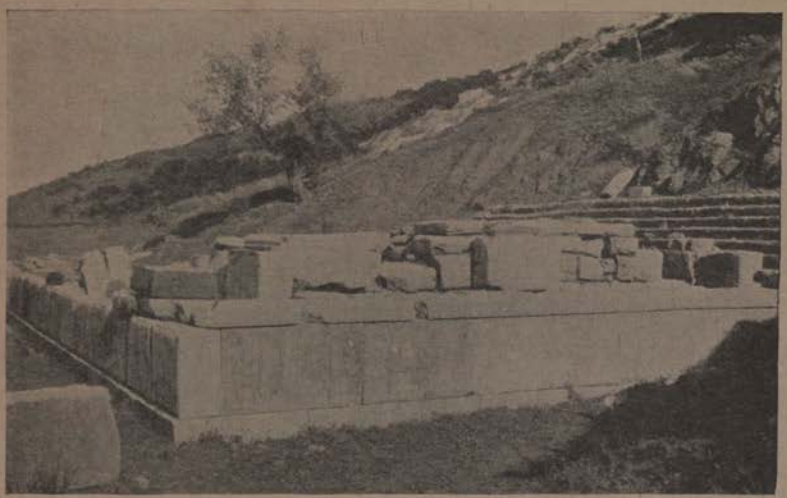


FIG. 3.—WEST WALL OF CELLA OF TEMPLE OF DESPOINA.

parts: the ground-plan of the temple with the lower courses of the cella wall and the statue base, and the marble remains of the eastern front and of the cornice that ran round the building.

Fig. 3 shows the construction of the cella wall. On a foundation of rough stone was laid a plain sill-course of squared limestone blocks; upon this (the lowest course visible in the illustration) rest the upright blocks or *orthostatai*, which have a raised panel, owing to the draft-edge which runs all round them. Two rows would go to the thickness of the wall, but the place of the inner row has been supplied by rows of rougher blocks, which were perhaps stuccoed on the inside. Above the

orthostatai is a string-course with a moulded profile. Upon these lower limestone courses rested a wall of baked bricks, of which a number are preserved outside the temple. With them is some mortar of a poor quality. The lower courses were bonded with ⌐¬ shaped cramps.

The statue basis in the cella is similarly constructed of limestone *orthostatai* between moulded sill- and string-courses, and, although there is some variety in the mouldings, the general appearance and execution are remarkably alike; the workmanship is moderately good, and compares closely with buildings at Olympia and Megalopolis.

The case of the marble members—the eastern front and the cornice—

FIG. 4.—MARBLE CORNICE AND PALMETTES FROM TEMPLE OF DESPOINA.

is very different. Here we find clumsy, careless work unparalleled in Hellenic times, and a system of proportions, *e.g.*, between the height of the architrave and the triglyph blocks,[1] which is unusual even in late Greek buildings. A comparison of the cutting of the palmettes in Figs. 4 and 5 will illustrate this difference better than any description. Fig. 4 shows a piece of the *sima* with two of the antefixes, and Fig. 5 a piece of the marble throne of the goddesses; the radical difference of the workmanship is at once obvious. Another badly executed palmette is shown in Fig. 6, a corner block of the *geison*.

[1] The architrave blocks are ·54 m. high; the triglyph blocks ·75 m.

There have been three theories with regard to the relative dating of these two groups of architectural remains: (1) that they both date from a Hellenic period, (2) that they both date from a Roman period, and (3) that they date, the former from a Hellenic, the latter from a Roman period.

Cavvadias[1] and most of the other authorities who support a fourth century date for Damophon's career attribute the marble members to a Roman reconstruction, while they date the walls and statue base in the fourth century. We have epigraphical[2] evidence for a restoration in Roman times, and the mosaic[3] found in the eastern portion of the cella shows that work was done in the temple during the imperial epoch. Evidence of its flourishing condition at this period is shown by several of the inscriptions.[4]

Dörpfeld[5] was at first inclined to attribute the whole building to one period. He argued that there were no remains of any front earlier than the present marble one, and that consequently it must have been of wood. It is hardly conceivable that a wooden front should have been built in the fourth century for the shrine containing so remarkable a group; the material too, Doliana marble, is the same as that of the statue group, and the state of weathering similar. He placed this period at first in Roman times, but afterwards in the first or second century B.C.; since the discovery of the restoration inscription, however, he has retracted[6] this view and has had the kindness to inform me that he believes in two periods of construction, a Greek period of perhaps the second century B.C. for the earlier work, a Roman period for the marble front. It is indeed hard to conceive that the marble work was executed at the same time as the limestone. Although a portico of wood is highly improbable in the fourth century, it is not unlikely in the second.

Daniel[7] would ascribe all the work to the fourth century; a theory which does not appear to me possible, in view of the details of the marble front, *e.g.* proportions of architrave and triglyph blocks, flat tops of triglyph cuttings, proportions of capital and column, etc., to say nothing of the degradation of the work.

[1] *Fouilles de Lycosura*, i. p. 8, note 1. [2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 236.
[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1899, p. 43, Pl. 3.
[4] *E.g.* the base in honour of Hadrian in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, 104.
[5] *Athen. Mitt.* xv. 1890, p. 230, and xviii. 1893, pp. 219–221.
[6] *Athen. Mitt.* xx. 1895, p. 373. [7] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 54.

Robert[1] would place the whole building in the Roman period. In this view he was influenced by Dörpfeld's first report, which he has since retracted, and by his own views as to the sculpture. The impossibility of this view is demonstrated by the bricks of the cella wall, which conform

FIG. 5.—MARBLE FRAGMENT FROM THRONE OF GODDESSES IN TEMPLE OF DESPOINA.

almost exactly to the Vitruvian[2] standard for Greek bricks, and are utterly dissimilar to the Roman ones. The bricks therefore go with the lower courses and belong to the earlier Greek period, as there can now be no reasonable doubt that we have to deal with two periods of con-

[1] *Hermes*, xxix. 1894, pp. 429–435.

[2] Vitruv. ii. 3. The standard *pentadoron* Greek bricks should measure ·37 m. square, and the half bricks ·37 m. × ·185 m. The Lycosura bricks measure ·38 m. square, and the half bricks ·38 m. × ·18 m.

struction. The bricks are in themselves a sufficient refutation of the Hadrianic theory.

Since the statue basis, and therefore the group which stood upon it, belong to the earlier date, we may now exclude the later period so far as Damophon is concerned, and examine the cella walls and statue basis to see if they can be approximately dated, since their date will be also that of the statue group.

Of primary importance are the ⌐¬ shaped cramps. This shape of cramp does not come into use before the second half of the fourth century,

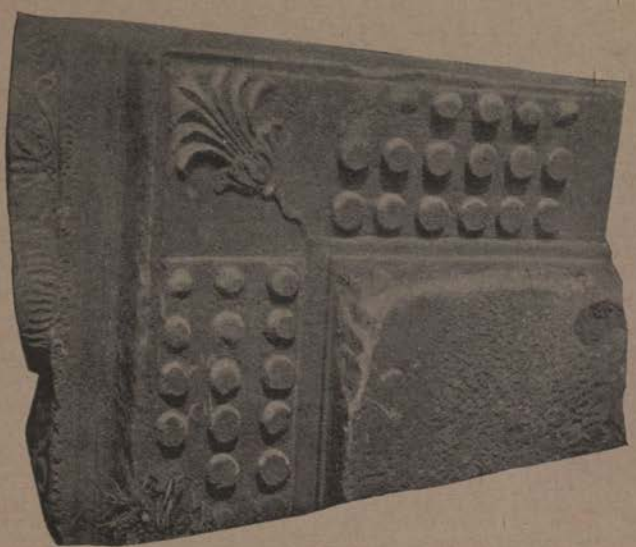


FIG. 6.—CORNER-BLOCK OF GEISON FROM TEMPLE OF DESPOINA.

and so we may take this definitely as a *terminus ante quem* for the building of the temple. Daniel[1] does not seek to put Damophon's work at Lycosura earlier than this period. A later limit is suggested by the bricks, which are pre-Roman ; so that we are left with not more than three centuries to choose from.

Daniel's[2] architectural arguments for a fourth century origin rest on certain similarities between the temple of Despoina and the Thersileion

[1] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 55. [2] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 54.

at Megalopolis; the points of resemblance on which he lays stress are: the construction of the wall by means of sill- and string-courses with *orthostatai* between, the draft-margin running round the *orthostatai*, and the double undercutting of the step-risers. But these features are in themselves no criteria for a fourth century date. Miss Thallon[1] has already pointed out that the *orthostatai* construction and the draft-margin at Lycosura are observable also in the wall of the Palaestra at Olympia,[2] which is dated by the excavators to the late third or early second century, and that the double undercutting of the step-risers is noticeable on the second century restoration of the Philippian colonnade at Megalopolis. As regards the resemblance with the Thersileion: there is still more resemblance in detail between the Thersileion and the Myropolis[3] colonnade at Megalopolis; in both we find a double draft on the uppermost step-riser, a raised panel between the columns, and square dowel-holes, set diagonally, for securing the columns. But the Myropolis colonnade can be dated accurately shortly after 265 B.C., since it was erected by Aristodemus to commemorate a defeat inflicted on the Spartans in that year. It is to be noticed that there is one signal difference from the Thersileion both at Lycosura and in the Myropolis colonnade, viz.: the use of ⌐¬ shaped instead of ⊢⊣ shaped cramps.

The construction by means of *orthostatai* between sill- and string-course is no criterion of date when used to support a brick superstructure. It is a natural way of building which was in use at all periods. Thus we find it in the so-called workshop[4] of Pheidias at Olympia which probably dates from the middle of the fifth century, in the Hellenistic houses of Priene,[5] and in the marble facing of the Stoa of Eumenes under the Acropolis of Athens.

A comparison of the mouldings and the proportions employed is more likely perhaps to point to contemporaneity of construction, and here we find a close resemblance between the temple of Lycosura and the group of so-called late Dorian buildings at Olympia, which include the Leonidaeum[6] and the Palaestra, and are dated in the third and second centuries B.C.

Fig. 7 shows a comparison in section between the wall of the Palaestra and the cella wall of Lycosura. The general resemblance in moulding will

[1] *A.J.A.* x. 1906, pp. 310, 311.
[2] *Olympia*, ii. p. 121.
[3] *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 12.
[4] *Olympia*, ii. p. 101, Pl. 71.
[5] e.g. *Priene*, p. 298, Fig. 317.
[6] *Olympia*, ii. pp. 83 and 101, Pls. 66, 75.

be noticed. An obvious point of difference rests in the fact that at Lycosura the place of the second upright block is supplied by rough stones; but this is due, it may be argued, not to any difference in date, but simply to a greater need for economy; the temple of Despoina was never a show place like Olympia, and the means at the disposal of the builders were naturally much smaller. This is certainly true, but at the same time it is not the method of Greek architecture during the fifth and fourth centuries; it is rather a sign of the poverty which had been produced by the disastrous wars of the third century, and points to a late period of construction. The more isolated temple of Bassae is built in a much more conscientious manner.

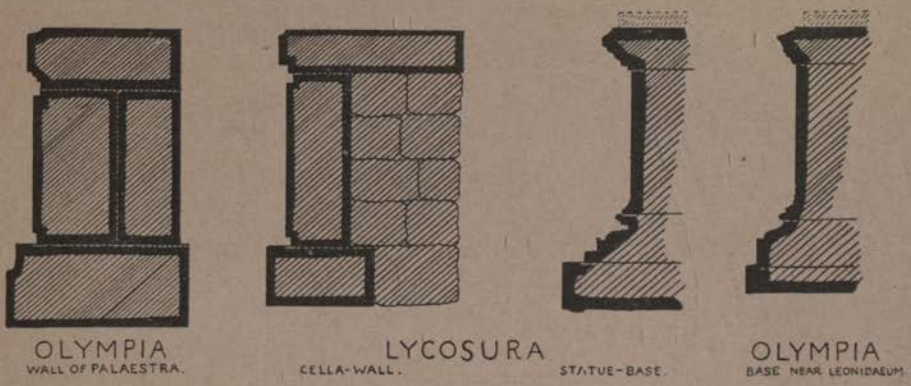


FIG. 7.—SECTIONS OF WALLS AND BASES AT LYCOSURA AND OLYMPIA.

Fig. 7 shows also a comparison in section between the statue base at Lycosura and one at the Leonidaeum at Olympia,[1] which can be dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century. Here again the general resemblance in proportions and in moulding is remarkable, while a further similarity in detail is noticeable in the fact that in each case there was a marble supporting-slab above the base, to carry the dedication. The rather clumsier and more finicky treatment of the Lycosura moulding suggests, if anything, a later date.

I have not mentioned the inscriptions[2] found on some of the roof tiles at Lycosura, and two[3] inscribed letters on one of the columns of the

[1] *Olympia*, ii. pp. 156–158, Pls. 94. 12; cf. also an altar at Priene, *Priene*, p. 168, Fig. 160.
[2] Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. 1896, p. 105. [3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 234.

pronaos, since they are not sure evidence for the date of construction. None of the tiles that I have seen, however, bears an inscription that need be older than the beginning of the second century.

The evidence of the architecture, then, cannot be said to be conclusive, but it points much more strongly to the beginning of the second than to the fourth century, and I have Dr. Dörpfeld's permission to state that this is the inference he would himself draw from the remains. It may be said that, in general, the excavations at Megalopolis pointed to two periods of building: one after the foundation in 370, and one after the destruction by Cleomenes at the end of the third century. *Prima facie* evidence may connect Damophon as well with the later as the earlier period, and we shall see that such a hypothesis is capable of demonstration.

§ 2.—HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

It has occasionally been assumed that the weight of historical evidence for placing Damophon's career in the fourth century, is overwhelming. The assumption rests on the connection of Damophon with the new cities of Messene and Megalopolis, two links in the chain of fortresses with which Epaminondas hoped to fetter the power of Sparta. Messene was probably founded in 370 B.C., but though the arrangements for the building of Megalopolis were made at the same time, there are good grounds for Niese's[1] theory that they were not completed until the reverse which the Theban arms suffered at Mantineia in 361 B.C. The population[2] of the new city was procured by the abandonment of forty of the neighbouring villages, hitherto divided among the tribes of the Cynurii, Maenalii, Parrhasii, Eutresii, Aegytii, Orchomenii, and the Tripolis of Callia, Dipoena, and Nonacris. Diodorus,[3] speaking of the founding of the city in 370, mentions only twenty villages, and we know from Xenophon[4] that Pallantion and Asea fought at Mantineia as allies, not component parts, of Megalopolis. But these towns are included by Pausanias among the synoecised villages. We learn further from Diodorus[5] that after the battle several of the villages attempted to abandon the new city, but that Pammenes the Theban compelled them to remain; probably therefore it

[1] *Hermes*, xxxiv. p. 527 foll.; cf. Dindorf, *Demosthenes*, vol. viii. *Scholia Pro. Meg.* p. 246.
[2] Paus. viii. 27. 3.
[3] Diod. xv. 72.
[4] Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 5.
[5] Diod. xv. 94.

was Pammenes who completed the foundation of Megalopolis by adding the other twenty villages, including Pallantion and Asea, which are mentioned by Pausanias. Thus Megalopolis only began to settle down to its anomalous civic position after the battle of Mantineia in 361 B.C.

Damophon we must suppose, if we assume for a moment that he lived at this period in the fourth century, made a name for himself in the decoration of Messene, and was accordingly invited, in company with artists like Cephisodotus and Xenophon of Athens, to participate in the work of ornamenting Megalopolis; subsequently he accepted a commission at Lycosura to execute a group similar to that at Megalopolis, and his growth of reputation found him patronage also at Aigion,[1] newly raised to importance by the earthquake which had removed her rival Helike in 373 B.C.; finally, in preference to all the artists of Greece, this sculptor of Messene, who is known to us only from the pages of Pausanias, is summoned to Olympia[2] to repair the Zeus of Pheidias, although he had never, so far as we know, executed a chryselephantine work. *A priori* this theory is attractive and interesting, and explains most of the facts known about Damophon's life, but its historical possibility rests on a single piece of dubious evidence: Pausanias[3] states in his description of Messene, that 'besides images of the god and his sons, and images of Apollo, the Muses and Heracles, the sanctuary' (of Asclepios) 'contains an Image of the City of Thebes and a statue of Epaminondas, son of Cleommis, an image of Fortune and one of Artemis, bringer of light. The marble images are the works of Damophon, the only Messenian sculptor of note that I know of. The statue of Epaminondas is of iron and is the work of some other artist.'

It is inferred from this passage that Damophon was the sculptor of the 'City of Thebes,' and that such a work could only be erected shortly after the restoration of the city by Epaminondas. The statement of Pausanias is not really very convincing; the words sound like the description of a local guide, who may have had the usual failing of attributing as many works as possible to some famous artist, and the phrase πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος suggests a group, not single statues. In any case there is no reason why a statue of the City of Thebes should not have been erected at a much later date in the third or second century, when the Achaean League was reviving

[1] Paus. vii. 23. 6 and 7. [2] Paus. iv. 31. 6. [3] Paus. iv. 31. 10.

Theban ideals in its struggle with Sparta. The statue of Epaminondas, which would be more conclusive for a fourth century date, is named as the work of another artist; 370 B.C. would be a surprisingly early date for the city-Tyche[1] type of statue.

There is very little evidence then, beyond a general historical suitability, for an early fourth century date for Damophon's career. On the other hand, there are historical considerations which prove fatal to it. They arise in regard to Lycosura. Was the Lycosura group made after, or before, the foundation of Megalopolis? We know that there was a sanctuary of the Mistress at Lycosura before the foundation of Megalopolis, for Pausanias[2] tells us that, when the other Arcadians wished to punish the men of Lycosura for refusing to join in the synoecism, they were spared owing to the traditional sanctity of the shrine of Despoina. We have already seen that the base of the statues is probably contemporary with the walls of the cella of the temple, and therefore, that statue group and temple at Lycosura were contemporaneous; but the group cannot be earlier than 370, for a study of the architectural details has shown the impossibility of dating the temple earlier than the second half of the fourth century. Damophon must have worked at Lycosura, therefore, not earlier than the second half of the fourth century, presumably after the success of his work at Megalopolis. This is the view of Daniel,[3] the most prominent supporter in recent years of a fourth century date.

Now we know from Pausanias that the people of Lycosura were compelled to assist in the foundation of Megalopolis in 361 B.C. They left their home on the spurs of Lycaon, and came to live in the city that was growing on the banks of the Helisson. Who then were the builders of the temple of Lycosura, and the dedicators of the group of the Great Goddesses, in the second half of the fourth century?

The Arcadian League, which made such a sudden and dramatic appearance on the stage of Greek politics, was the creation of a day. Ten years after its foundation it took different sides at Mantineia, and its federal coinage soon became a perquisite of Megalopolis. The latter city, whether under Macedonian influence or the rule of its tyrants,[4] continued to strike the coins of the League, though profoundly out of sympathy with its neighbours; it arrogated to itself the authority of the League, and we can

[1] Cf. Percy Gardner in *J.H.S.* ix. 1888, p. 47. [2] Paus. viii. 27. 6.
[3] *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 55. [4] B.M. Cat. of Coins, *Peloponnesus*, p. lxi.

imagine no moment after 350 B.C. when the Arcadian League was in a position to dedicate a great temple and statue group at Lycosura. As to Megalopolis herself, she continued to maintain a selfish and un-Arcadian policy. In 338 her Macedonian sympathies were rewarded by a special visit from Philip, and in 318 her championship of Cassander against Polysperchon resulted in an unsuccessful siege by the latter. Megalopolis then drops out of history until the rise of the tyrant[1] Aristodemus in the third century. That she was prosperous in the half century after her foundation is undoubted, but her policy was always selfish and out of sympathy with the other Arcadian towns; we cannot imagine that she would find room in her schemes of aggrandisement for the erection of a great shrine on a deserted hill top in the wilds of Mount Lycaon, when the question of her own fortification and embellishment was always pressing.

It is, in fact, hard to conceive that any community save the inhabitants of Lycosura would undertake the restoration of the sanctuary of Despoina. Nor is it conceivable that they should have made such an offering while remaining an unimportant fraction of the inhabitants of Megalopolis. The condition for such a dedication as that of Lycosura is that it should be made by a free and autonomous community, and we must therefore fix the *terminus post quem* for the building of the sanctuary, at the date when the Lycosurians recovered their independence.

The villages which had been forced to merge their identity in that of Megalopolis seem to have striven continually against the yoke. In 370, the date of the first conception of the scheme, we find the inhabitants of Lycaea,[2] Tricoloni and Lycosura offering a desperate resistance to the synoecism, while the Trapezuntians preferred to fly to the shores of the Euxine rather than lose their beloved autonomy. In 361,[3] after the disastrous battle of Mantineia, another stand was made, but the help of Pammenes and the Thebans secured the victory for the League. Further light is obtainable for the history of the separatist party in Megalopolis. An inscription from Tegea, published by Lebas,[4] mentions a revived Arcadian League in which the names of the Cynurii and Maenalii, two of the incorporated tribes, occur as independent allies.[5] Niese's arguments on the date of this inscription seem conclusive; he places it shortly after

[1] For an account of Aristodemus cf. Niese, *Gesch. der Griech. u. Maked. Staaten*, ii. p. 241.
[2] Paus. viii. 27, 5. [3] Diod. xv. 94.
[4] Lebas, *Voyage Archéologique*, ii. p. 194, No. 340 a. [5] *Hermes*, xxxiv. 542 foll.

the death of the tyrant Aristodemus, *i.e.* about the middle of the third century. Aristodemus was murdered by Ecdemus and Demophanes, who are mentioned as the teachers and forerunners[1] of Philopoemen. We know that Philopoemen belonged to the separatist party, for he liberated[2] several of the villages on his return to Megalopolis in 192; and therefore we may legitimately assume that the murderers of Aristodemus belonged to the same party, and that the separation of the Maenalii and Cynurii, shortly after the death of Aristodemus, was due to their influence. A second clear instance of the triumph of this policy has just been mentioned in the case of Philopoemen.

Thus we have evidence for a separatist party existing throughout the fourth and third centuries at Megalopolis. It was clearly against the interests of the dominant Macedonian party of the fourth century, or of the later tyrants, to diminish the power of the city as compared with its Arcadian neighbours, therefore we find only rare manifestations of the success of the opposition. Their first triumph comes, as stated, about 250, for the prosperity of the city, as shown during the siege of Polysperchon and the reign of Aristodemus, is clear proof that it had not as yet suffered diminution of population. The villages, however, that won their freedom after the death of the tyrant were only those of the Cynurii and Maenalii. Most of those which had been merged in Megalopolis never recovered their independence. When Pausanias[3] visited Arcadia he found Pallantium, Dipoea, Aliphera and Lycosura independent, and Gortys, Methydrium, Thisoa, Teuthis, Callia and Dipoena repopulated, but dependent on Megalopolis. Now the chief towns of the Cynurii and Maenalii are precisely Pallantium, Dipoea, Aliphera and Gortys; thus we obtain confirmation of the inscription. Also we find evidence for a second secession in the case of Lycosura and the other villages mentioned, which come from the Orchomenii and the Tripolis, while Lycosura was the chief town of the Parrhasii. Now there are two other periods in the history of Megalopolis when secession was possible. After the work of Ecdemus and Demophanes had been superseded by the tyranny of Lydiadas, the opposition party can never have been in power until the destruction of Megalopolis by Cleomenes in 223. The citizens[4] fled in a body, and presumably, on their return from Messene there must

[1] Plut. *Phil.* i.
[2] Plut. *Phil.* xiii.
[3] Paus. viii. 7 foll.
[4] Paus. viii. 27. 15.

have been an opportunity for secession. That some secession did take place, is probable from the strife that arose as to the restoration, since one party[1] wished to restore the old circuit while the other pointed out that the circuit was now far too large for the inhabitants; thus the loss of the Maenalii and Cynurii may have been supplemented by further withdrawals, while the conservative party, by maintaining the old circuit, hoped perhaps to lure or compel the seceders to return. At any rate, whether there was a further secession in 223 or no, we have the evidence of Plutarch for a secession in 192, on the accession of Philopoemen[2] to power. His return from Crete assured the victory of the popular party; further villages were released and the circuit, we may presume, narrowed. Philopoemen rightly believed that the Arcadians prospered better in villages than in large towns, and that Megalopolis was too large for its own advantage.

Lycosura must have obtained her independence by 190–180, for we find in the shrine of Despoina the base of a statue of the son of Philopoemen[3] dedicated by Philopoemen's father, and from this date commences the list of the other inscriptions found in the shrine.

At which date, 250, 223, or 192, are we to suppose that she recovered her freedom? Which date can we connect with Damophon?

We have seen that the inscription from Tegea makes no mention of Lycosura or the Parrhasii among the list of autonomous Arcadian communities in 250. A more definite proof that Lycosura did not participate in this movement rests on the following facts. In 223 B.C. the Spartans under Cleomenes surprised and sacked the town of Megalopolis: with regard to this sack, Polybius[4] tells us, that it was so savage and ruthless as to preclude the least hope that the town could ever be restored; this, of course, is an exaggeration, but it did as a matter of fact take at least fifty years to complete the fortification. According to Pausanias,[5] Cleomenes razed the city to the ground and burnt it; from Plutarch[6] we learn that he levelled the best parts of the city with the ground and sent off the works of art, both sculpture and painting, to Sparta. Doubtless some of these escaped, like the temple statues of Zeus Soter and the statue of Friendly Zeus, but, if we are to credit Plutarch's account at all, it is

[1] Polyb. v. 93. 5.
[2] Plut. *Phil.* xiii.; Niese, *Geschichte der Griech. und Maked. Staaten*, ii. 251, iii. 36.
[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 270. [4] Polyb. ii. 55. [5] Paus. viii. 27. 15. [6] Plut. *Cleom.* xxv.

impossible to believe that all the works of Damophon seen by Pausanias, some of which are small and easily portable, can have escaped both destruction and spoliation; they cannot, then, have been in place before the sack of the city. If the accounts of the taking of Megalopolis which have come down to us are even approximately true, we must exclude Damophon's work at Megalopolis not only from the fourth, but from the greater part of the third century.

We must now examine the history of Megalopolis during the thirty years from 223 to 192, to see at which period we are likely to find Damophon working in that city, and to which of the two later periods we should ascribe the enfranchisement of Lycosura. For many years after their disastrous defeat at the hands of Cleomenes, the Megalopolitans remained in a condition of great weakness and poverty. After the fate of Sparta had been decided at Sellasia in 222, the work of reconstruction commenced, and in 221 Antigonus[1] sent the peripatetic philosopher Prytanis to arrange the laws of the new town. In 218 the strife between the two parties, the rich, who wished to restore the old circuit, and the poor, who wanted a restricted area, became so acute that Aratus[2] was called in to arbitrate on the question. From 217, the end of the Social War, until 207, when a revived Sparta under Machanidas and afterwards Nabis, renewed the aggressions of Cleomenes, there is a brief lull for the Arcadian cities, but we can imagine that their efforts were directed rather towards fortification than adornment; especially was this the case with Megalopolis, whose walls were unfinished, as they still were thirty years later. During the wars with Nabis the distress was so great in the city, that the inhabitants were reduced in 200[3] to sowing the waste space within the walls, through their inability to defend their fields outside. Megalopolis had no rest until the return of Philopoemen in 192; shortly afterwards he led an army against Sparta, and in 188[4] captured the town and brought peace at last to the Peloponnese; with the proceeds of the sale of 3000 disfranchised Spartan citizens he rebuilt a Stoa[5] at Megalopolis, which, as we learn from Livy, had been in ruins since the sack by Cleomenes.

It is at this period, when Sparta was conquered and Megalopolis could once more feel safe, that it seems more probable to place the gradual work

[1] Polyb. v. 93, 8. [2] Polyb. v. 93. 9. [3] Plut. *Phil.* xiii. [4] Livy, xxxviii. 34. 7.

[5] This Stoa was probably the Philippian Colonnade, the chief ornament of the Agora at Megalopolis. Cf. *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 66 and 104.

of reconstruction and the activity of Damophon ; not in the brief decade from 217 to 207. If we desire to find a period which, apart from other considerations, is *prima facie* suitable for an artistic revival in the Peloponnese, it will assuredly be the period after Flamininus had restored her liberty to Greece, and Philopoemen had destroyed the mischievous power of Sparta; the period before the Macedonian wars of Perseus and the Romans. All too soon the rule of Rome began to crush all independent life in Hellas, but in the brief period suggested we get a veritable revival of Hellenic activity; it is the epoch of Lycortas, of Philopoemen, of Polybius, and the latter[1] wrote of it, that in his day the Peloponnese was enjoying the highest prosperity of which it was capable. This period may be reckoned as the second foundation of Megalopolis, and we have ample evidence of the extent of the building operations carried on[2]; the Philippian Colonnade in its restored form, the *peribolos* of the temple of Zeus Soter, which is another example of wall construction similar to the temple of Lycosura, the second period of the walls, and the development of the plan of the theatre, are all to be connected with the early part of the second century. It was a period of close alliance with Messene, and is marked by the prominence of Aigion as the capital of the Achaean League, so that the *a priori* historical arguments which have been applied to the early fourth century, have an equal force at the date in question. Moreover, if we are inclined to place Damophon's activity at Megalopolis in 217–210, rather than from 188 onwards, we shall find it hard to reconcile the date with his work in Lycosura, since the evidence for an independent Lycosura points more strongly to 192 than to 223; not only have we no sure evidence for an exodus at all in 223, but the fact that the series of inscriptions in Lycosura starts about 190, and starts with the family of Philopoemen, the emancipator of the villages, suggests the later date. Finally, as we shall see later, there is epigraphical evidence for Damophon's activity in Megalopolis at a much later period than the last decade of the third century.

The historical evidence, therefore, at our disposal leads us to adopt a period starting about 190–180 for Damophon's work in Lycosura and Megalopolis, and excludes any period before the sack of Megalopolis in 223 B.C.

[1] Polyb. ii. 62. [2] *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 53 and 59.

§ 3.—THE CULT OF THE GREAT GODDESSES AT MEGALOPOLIS.

Further light is thrown on the date of Damophon's activity both at Megalopolis and Lycosura by a consideration of the cult of the Great Goddesses whose statues he made. The sanctuary at Lycosura was known as the sanctuary of Despoina or the Mistress; this was the name of the earlier shrine before 370, as well as of the later shrine visited by Pausanias. Damophon's group, however, does not represent the Mistress, but two goddesses of equal rank and two subordinate attendants. In Megalopolis, where his group was housed in a new, not a restored, shrine, the sanctuary was called that of the Great Goddesses. This indicates a change in the later cult from the cult before 370, since the Mistress of early Arcadian worship has no real relation with the Great Goddesses of Eleusis. Despoina[1] is the *πότνια θηρῶν*, or the Great Mother, a primitive Arcadian earth-goddess and protectress of wild animals; her true affinity is with the Oriental Cybele or Magna Mater, who sometimes takes her place at a later period. Kore-Persephone is a foreign and a different conception; brought from Eleusis and acclimatised at a late period in Arcadia. Fortunately, Pausanias has preserved for us a notice of the introduction of the Eleusinian cult,[2] for he relates in his account of Megalopolis that there was a building containing statues of Callignotus, Mentas, Sosigenes, and Polus. 'These men are said to have introduced the mysteries of the Great Goddesses into Megalopolis, and the ceremonies are an imitation of those at Eleusis.' It is noticeable that adjacent to the temple of the Great Goddesses was an older sanctuary of the Maid,[3] with an image eight feet high and a pedestal always covered with ribbons. Men might enter it on one day only, in the year. It is clear that in this old sanctuary we must recognise the original home of the Mistress or Maid, the early Arcadian nature-goddess primarily devoted to women, and that in the great temple adorned by Damophon we find the later Eleusinian couple, colossal and magnificent as befits the new and victorious cult; in fact, it is very probable, as M. Bérard[4] has suggested, that the original cults of Megalopolis were those brought in straight from the villages, and that perhaps the old sanctuary of the Maid was the very one which was

[1] Cf. Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 271 foll.
[2] Paus. viii. 31. 7. [3] Paus. viii. 31. 5. [4] *Les Cultes Arcadiens*, p. 91.

substituted for the abandoned shrine of Lycosura. Only gradually were the separate systems replaced by universal Megalopolitan cults; the temple of Zeus Soter dates from the outset, Cephisodotus and Xenophon made the temple statues, and the god became the emblem of the Arcadian League, but the goddesses of Eleusis were a later importation.

Of three of the men who introduced the cult we know nothing else, but by great good fortune the name of one of them, Sosigenes, occurs on an inscription[1] found by the British excavators at Megalopolis, as father of one of the *damiourgoi*. This inscription is dated in the latter half of the second century B.C., Sosigenes,[2] though a common name in Athens, is exceedingly rare in the Peloponnese: under these circumstances we need find no difficulty in supposing that Sosigenes was an Athenian or Eleusinian who migrated to Megalopolis at the beginning of the second century, and helped to introduce the new cult.

It is likely that the Eleusinian idea would prevail in Megalopolis before it spread to Lycosura. Damophon was probably already engaged in his work at the larger town when the newly enfranchised Lycosurians determined to avail themselves of his skill. At Lycosura we find an addition to the dual goddesses in the shape of two smaller attendant figures, whose connexion with the cult of the Great Goddesses has never been satisfactorily explained. It seems probable that we must account for the Artemis and the Anytus by supposing that some elements of the earlier Mistress-worship were incorporated in the later cult. In Artemis the huntress, with quiver and dog, we see an admixture of an older chthonic deity with snakes and torch; all sides of the Mistress. Πότνια θηρῶν, are not represented in the Eleusinian couple, and here, as it seems to me, we find a chthonic huntress Artemis introduced to make good the deficiency.[3] The meaning of Anytus is more difficult to explain; Pausanias's story, that he was a foster-father to the goddess, is unparalleled elsewhere and unsatisfactory; probably the story was invented by the local priests to explain a myth they could no longer understand. It is quite possible that Anytus represents the oldest inhabitant of all in this shrine on the hill of Lycosura, some forgotten hero whose worship came to be incorporated in that of the Mistress. Similar instances are not unknown, and there is the classic

[1] *Excavations at Megalopolis*, Inscriptions, viii. B pp. 130–133.

[2] Cf. Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griech. Eigennamen*.

[3] S. Wide (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 111, note 2) suggests that the Artemis is Artemis Hegemone.

example of Diana and Virbius at Aricia. We find the hero still surviving as a make-weight to the Artemis on the other side of the Eleusinian group, and an aetiological myth invented to account for his presence.

If this theory of the rise of the Eleusinian cult in Megalopolis and Lycosura, and the identity of the Sosigenes on the inscription with the Sosigenes who introduced it, be accepted, we have further strong evidence for assigning the career of Damophon to the first part of the second century.

§ 4.—EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE.

The inscriptions found in the shrine of Despoina at Lycosura have been published with great care by Leonardos in the Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική,[1] but until Miss Thallon's recent article they had not been used for the purpose of dating the temple; they form a series of which the earliest are the dedications to Lydiadas and Philopoemen, while later inscriptions belong to the imperial epoch. Were another argument needed to demonstrate the impossibility of a Roman origin for the sanctuary, it would rest upon this series of dedications, which starts from the beginning of the second century B.C.

There is no need to go into these inscriptions in detail, with the exception of the dedication[2] to Lydiadas, and another that will be mentioned later. If the Lydiadas of the dedication were the tyrant of that name, we should have to date the inscription about 230 B.C., thus throwing back the construction of the sanctuary many years before the date suggested. Miss Thallon, in order to get rid of the difficulty, is inclined to put forward the suggestion that the stone, on which there is no mention of Despoina or Lycosura, was brought from Megalopolis to Lycosura; but there is no need to adopt such an explanation. There were two persons of the name of Lydiadas in the history of Megalopolis—one the tyrant, and the other an ambassador who was sent to Rome in 179 B.C. The forms of letters, which include an Λ with curved bar,[3] are more easily paralleled in the first half of the second century than in 230, which seems too early for the change; the inscription must belong to the ambassador not to the tyrant.

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 263; 1896, pp. 101, 217; 1898, p. 249.
[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 263.
[3] Cf. Loewy, *Inschriften Griech. Bildhauer*, p. 192, No. 272.

The earliest inscription, then, is the dedication by the family[1] of Philopoemen, and this gives us as a starting point for the series, about 180 or 190 B.C. The importance of this inscription for the dating of the temple is obvious.

The Stoa which stood in the precinct of the sanctuary contained four reliefs,[2] which are connected with the epoch of Polybius, since he appears on one of them; in the same Stoa there was a tablet of which Pausanias says, πινάκιόν ἐστι γεγραμμένον, ἔχον τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετήν. Fraser[3] understood this as a picture, but although the word πινάκιον is used as a tablet for painting on, by Theophrastus[4] and Lucian,[5] its regular use is a tablet for writing on; thus Aristophanes[6] uses it in *The Wasps* for a juryman's tablet, and Aristotle,[7] Aristophanes,[8] and Demosthenes[9] all use it for the slabs on which laws and public documents were inscribed. Pausanias's phrase is most naturally understood as meaning an inscription containing the usages and laws of the sanctuary. Under these circumstances there can be little doubt that Cavvadias and Leonardos are justified in identifying the ἱερὸς νόμος inscription[10] found at Lycosura, as part of the tablet mentioned by Pausanias. This inscription can be dated in the first half of the second century B.C., and we have every reason to suppose that the publication of the laws of the temple would be nearly contemporary with its erection; its letter forms seem contemporary with the Lydiadas inscription.

But there is other and more decisive epigraphical evidence to be taken into account. Three inscriptions that are known to us at present bear the name of, or seem to be connected with, a Damophon who is probably the sculptor of Messene.

The first of these, found on the site of the city of Messene near the stadium, is on the upper part of a base of grey marble; the left foot and other parts of the statue which stood on the base were found with it, but have since disappeared. The inscription is shown in facsimile in Fig. 8, it has been published already by Wilhelm[11] and Miss Thallon,[12] and there are

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 270. [2] Paus. viii. 37. 2.
[3] But cf. *Pausanias*, iv. p. 371, where he retracts this view.
[4] *H.P.* 3. 9. 7. [5] *Imagines*, 17.
[6] *Wasps*, 167. [7] *Politics*, 2. 8. 5.
[8] *Birds*, 450. [9] p. 96 fin. and 998, 4.
[10] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, p. 249. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosura*, i. p. 13, note.
[11] *Athen. Mitt.* xvi. 1891, p. 355. [12] *Op. cit.* p. 314.

practically no data for certain restoration. A smaller fragment from the same base which runs

Σ ΔΑΜ
ΩΝΟΣ ΔΑΜC
ΤΟΥΤΓ

need not be taken into calculation, as the lines are not the same distance apart, and the letters are cut much more carelessly and lightly; it is a later addition. The inscription informs us, at any rate, that it was erected by a son of one Damophon, whose name ended in ΛΟΣ. In l. 2 we can probably restore with safety ΑΓΑΛΜΑ|ΤΑΣ; the last letter is certainly

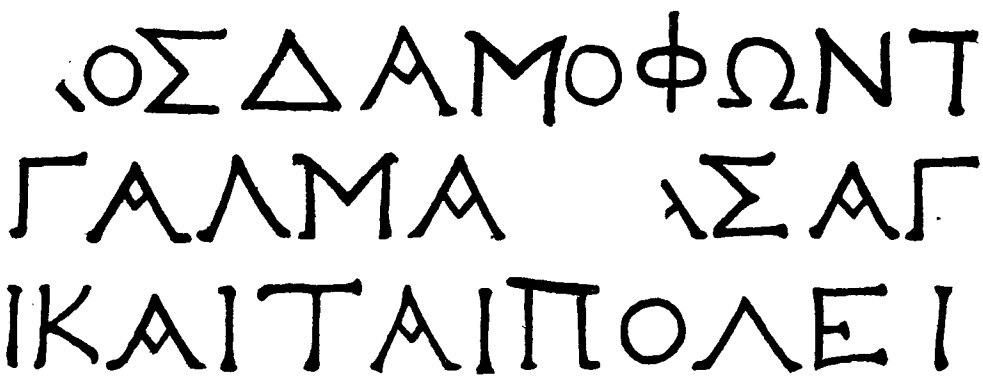


FIG. 8.—INSCRIPTION FROM MESSENE.

a Γ. The initial Ι of l. 3 must be the last letter of the name of the god or goddess to whom the dedication is offered; we may perhaps restore ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ at the end. Assuming for a moment that the son's name is ΞΕΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, we thus get lines containing about 26 letters.

A possible restoration might be

Ξενόφιλ]ος[1] Δαμοφῶντ[ος Μεσσάνι-[2]
ος τὸ ἄ]γαλμα [τᾶ]ς Ἀγ[ροτέρας[3]
Ἀρτέμιδ]ι καὶ τᾶι πόλει [ἀνέθηκε·

From the character of the letters Wilhelm dated the inscription towards the end of the second century. To find the name of Damophon as the father of a Messenian living in the second half of the second century,

[1] Cf. following inscription. [2] Cf. following inscription.

[3] For this restoration I am indebted to Mr. Tod. As an alternative to Ἀγροτέρας he suggests Ἀγεμόνας, cf. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 110–112.

is very strong evidence for connecting it with the sculptor, if we have other evidence that the sculptor's career lay in the first half of the same century.

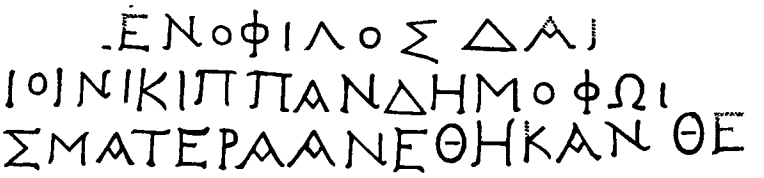


FIG. 9.—INSCRIPTION FROM LYCOSURA.

The second inscription is on a round base from the temple of Lycosura, and has been published by Leonardos;[1] it is shown in Fig. 9 in facsimile. The last sign of l. 1 must be part of Γ, Η, Ι, Κ, Μ, Ν, Π, or Ρ: the only two that are likely to make proper names are Μ or Ι, and the apex is more like that of a Μ. Leonardos states that the first sign of the second line ν is probably part of a Κ, and cannot be a Ν, but a comparison of the other Ν's and Κ's will show that the Κ's are formed quite differently, while the Ν's are formed in just this curious way. The plural ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ shows that there were two dedicators; the first line and half the second consist of their names, that of their father, almost certainly beginning with ΔΑΜ, and their nationality ending in -ΝΙΟΙ; the most natural suggestions are ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΙ or ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΙ; the shrine of Despoina is, however, so primarily local, that Messenians are far more likely than distant Sikyonians. Leonardos's restoration ΔΑΜΥΛΛΟΥ is too short, if we adopt his practically certain restoration of the last two lines, while ΔΑΜΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ provides just the right number of letters. We have already had evidence for a son of Damophon with a name ending in ΛΟΣ, and that fact, together with the nationality and the well-known connexion of Damophon with Lycosura, seems quite sufficient authority for this important restoration,[2] which gives us four generations of the family of Damophon.

Demophon
|
Nikippa
|
Damophon
|
ὁ δεῖνα καὶ Ξενόφιλος.

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 117.

[2] The existence of two sculptors, Xenophilos and Straton of Argos is attested by several inscriptions of the middle of the second century, but they always sign themselves Ἀργεῖοι, and so we are unable to conjecture a connexion.

The name of the grandfather Demophon is further evidence, since the Greek custom of giving children their grandfather's name is well attested. We are to suppose that the grandfather came from a district where Doric was not the current dialect, and so preserved the form Demophon.

The letter forms of this inscription, though differing in some details from those of Fig. 8, are not necessarily later; they belong to the end of the second century, thus we again have evidence of Damophon's career in the first half of the century.

The restored inscription will run—

ὁ δεῖνα καὶ Ξ]ενόφιλος Δα[μοφῶντος
Μεσσάν]ιοι Νικίππαν Δημοφῶ[ντος τὰν
τοῦ πα]τρὸς ματέρα ἀνέθηκαν Θε[αῖς.

The last inscription,[1] shown in facsimile in Fig. 10, is of even greater

FIG. 10.—INSCRIPTION FROM MEGALOPOLIS.

importance. It is engraved on the cross-bar of a trident which decorates the front of the fragment of a herm of Poseidon in the museum of Megalopolis, shown in Fig. 11, and is a dedication by Damophon to Poseidon Asphaleios. The letter forms[2] point undoubtedly to the first half of the second century B.C. Damophon appears as the dedicator, not the maker, of the statue, although he is, of course, likely to have made it also. The form ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ instead of ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ is rare, but instances[3] of it can be quoted; the form implies at any rate that the statue was presented by Damophon, perhaps as a thank-offering on the conclusion of his work at Megalopolis. Poseidon Asphaleios[4] is probably to be regarded primarily

[1] Published in *J.H.S.* xiii. 1893, p. 337.

[2] Note the Α with angular cross-bar, and Π with legs of equal length, pointing to the second century, while the Θ with central dot, the Ε, and the Σ with divergent bars show that it is decidedly older than the other two inscriptions, and must fall in the first half of the century.

[3] Cf. Loewy, *I.G.B.* p. 369, No. 540; p. 370, No. 541; p. 374, No. 547.

[4] Cf. Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 2, 1157, 1158. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 35.

as a god of earthquakes, and it is interesting to find that in the winter[1] of 183 there was an earthquake which affected Sicily and Aetolia seriously, though we have no mention of the Peloponnese.

With regard to this herm, we must also take into account the following statement in Pausanias:[2] 'Within the enclosure of the goddesses there are also the following images, all of square shape: Hermes, surnamed Leader, Apollo, Athena, Poseidon, also the Sun with the surname of Saviour, and Heracles.' The inscribed herm was found only a few hundred yards from the probable situation of the temple of the Great Goddesses, and

FIG. 11.—PART OF INSCRIBED HERM FROM MEGALOPOLIS.

is small enough to be easily portable; there is thus every reason for connecting it with the herm of Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias. It was in the temple of the Great Goddesses that all the other works of Damophon were set up, and thus it was natural for him to offer his votive herm in the same sanctuary.

But of course the primary fact of importance about this inscription is that it gives us a date for Damophon entirely conformable, not only with the two other inscriptions, but also with all the evidence we have collected as to his career. The Damophon of the inscriptions can be no other than

[1] Julius Schmidt in Deffner's *Archiv. für Mittel-u. Neugr. Phil.* i. 1. p. 108.
[2] Paus. viii. 31. 7.

the sculptor; it would be an unthinkable coincidence that another Messenian of the same name should occur on inscriptions, precisely in the towns and in the same sanctuaries in those towns, that are connected with the sculptor; and when all the historical evidence points to the sculptor having lived exactly at the period indicated by the inscriptions, there would seem to be no refuge from the conclusion that Damophon of Messene lived and worked in the first half of the second century B.C.

GUY DICKINS.

MESSAPIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

IN November and December 1906 I travelled in the south of Italy in order to examine Messapian inscriptions. These inscriptions, believed by Mommsen to belong to the first and second centuries B.C., have been rather neglected of late, but rumours[1] of forgeries, accepted and published with too little criticism, made some investigation desirable. Ten years ago Sig. Bartolomeo Nogara[1] ascertained the number of these inscriptions then known to exist, but without, I think, any detailed criticism of them. I followed in his footsteps, and my enquiries, which were directed to everyone likely to be interested in such matters, covered the whole ground, so that I believe that I saw all still extant.[3] Of course other inscriptions, of which nothing has yet been heard, may have been found lately in country places, but my time, unfortunately, was too limited to allow of my searching through every village in that crowded district, though I was fortunate enough to light on some as yet unpublished, and not widely known.

Of those hitherto published, especially of those contained in Fabretti's work,[4] the greater number have disappeared mysteriously. Many were published in the first instance merely from copies, and to-day there exist less than forty; the total number of existing inscriptions is just over one hundred. For reasons given below I cannot be absolutely precise

[1] Cf. F. Rühl, *Bezzenbergers Beiträger*, vol. 14, p. 307; Viola, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 128.

[2] Nogara, *Annuario della r. Accademia Scientifico-Letteraria di Milano*, 1895–6.

[3] With the exception of some vases published by Mayer, *Röm. Mitt.* xii. 208. These however do not require further criticism.

[4] Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, Suppl. I and III, 1867–78.

as to the total, but I saw, and was able to form some judgment of eighty-eight.

As to the genuineness or the reverse of individual inscriptions, I can but give my personal opinion, drawn from their condition, the lettering, and the circumstances in which they are found. These may be such as to inspire confidence. (*a*) An inscription, for instance, in the possession of a man who is no collector and regards it as a curiosity found on his own land, carries its own guarantee, which is not the case, where (*b*) the inscription has been bought by a rich, enthusiastic, and wholly uncritical collector, nor entirely so, when (*c*) the inscription lies in a Museum to which it may have been presented by such a collector.

The condition of the stone, or bronze, is perhaps the best evidence available. The material of almost all is the Lecce limestone, which is very soft and weathers easily, so that unweathered inscriptions are rather suspect. One or two conspicuously unworn write their own condemnation. Inscriptions in class (*a*) are naturally valuable, as standards with which others in less fortunate circumstances may be compared; the greater number seem to be Grave-inscriptions, and are of course short. It is not uncommon for the stone to be crowned by a cornice sometimes showing traces of red and blue paint, while traces of red in the actual letters are not infrequent.

This table gives a brief schedule of my results :—

	Published	*Unpublished*
Forged	8	21
Doubtful	0	2
Genuine	22	35

In the following account of the inscriptions which I examined, arranged according to the places where they now are, F., F.P., F.T., stand for Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, and the supplements I. and III. to that work. V. stands for those published by Professor Viola. Unless a note is made to the contrary it may be assumed that the material is the Lecce limestone and that the inscription is genuine.

ORIA.

In the Biblioteca Communale two published,[1] and one unpublished inscription (Fig. 1, No. 1).

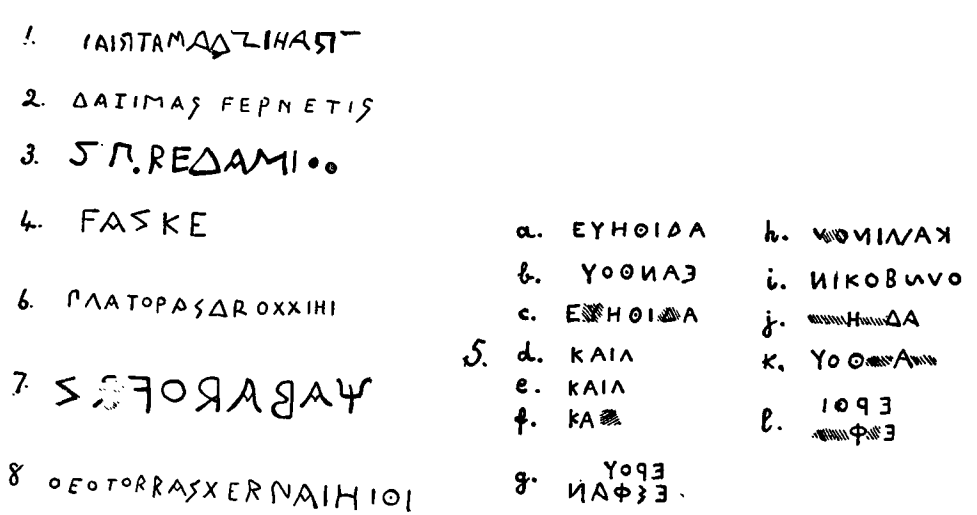


FIG. 1.

F. 2981 is all in one line (not two as published) and fails to the right.

The inscription published in the *Notizie* is in a sunk line, is complete and shows traces of red paint. Above is a projecting cornice, stuccoed and painted in lines of red and blue.

The third inscription (Fig. 1, No. 1) is on a stone measuring 1·05 m. × ·8m. × ·3 m. with a rectangular socket ·06 m. deep at either end. The inscription is complete and is about ·9 m. long.

In the neighbourhood of Oria inscriptions on bronze are being forged to-day. Twelve of these I saw in the possession of Sig. Carissimo at Oria, and one belonging to Sig. Carlo Arno at Manduria. Two of these are reproduced (Fig. 5, Nos. 22, 23). No. 22 is on a pyxis (the lower line is on the lid); the rest are all rectangular bronze plates with rounded holes at the corners, sometimes decorated with reliefs, *e.g.* an eagle between serpents, and a head above an acanthus leaf. The bronze of all, though

[1] (1) F. 2981, (2) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1881, p. 249.

showing a green patina, is certainly new, and the lettering also is decidedly dubious. No. 23 (that possessed by Sig. Arno) is characteristic, and shows two forms of *a*, two of *o*, and four of *σ*; some letters, also, are upside down, and it is not rare to find letters arranged retrograde without reason. It is not too much to say that any inscription on bronze coming from the neighbourhood of Oria should be condemned, until it is proved to be genuine. Whatever inscriptions may have been preserved in the Bishop's palace at Oria have disappeared.

CEGLIE MESSAPICA.

In the possession of Dr. Luigi La Gamba I saw twelve lead sling bullets with letters in relief (Fig. 1, No. 5). They are oval, about ·04 m. long, show the joins of the mould,[1] and are found frequently in the earth round Ceglie. I am certain that these bullets are not forgeries, but I am not so certain of their Messapian nature, for the Υ and four-stroked Σ do not generally appear. Dr. La Gamba also possesses three unpublished inscriptions (Fig. 1, Nos. 2, 3, 4).

No. 2. The stone measures 1·05 m. × ·4 m. × ·15 m. and has a slightly raised cornice. The inscription (which has *no break* between the words) is about ·9 m. long and is complete.

No. 3. Found on Dr. La Gamba's estate at *Monte Vicoli* in August, 1906. This inscription runs along a piece of cornice measuring ·23 m. × ·21 m. and is circ. ·13 m. long. It is broken to the left.

No. 4. On a stone measuring ·2 m. × ·18 m. × ·1 m. The inscription is about ·12 m long and is broken to the right.

The inscription shown in Fig. 1, No. 6 is in the possession of Sig. Rocco Andelmi. It shows traces of red in the letters, is complete, and is ·3 m. long. The stone measures 1·05 m. × ·14 m. × ·15 m.

BRINDISI.

In the house of Sig. Giuseppe Nervegna I saw five published inscriptions.[2] (1), on bronze, is undoubtedly genuine and is in strong

[1] One such with the same inscription as (*a*), (*c*), and (*j*), I saw in the possession of Sig. Carissimo at Oria.

[2] (1), (2), V. *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*, 1878, vol. 4, p. 70; (3), (4), (5), V. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 128, § xxv. *a*, *b*, *c*.

contrast to the Oria bronzes. (2), (3), (4), (5) call for no remark. Sig. Nervegna showed me also two unpublished inscriptions. One (Fig. 5, No. 32) is incised round a piece of pottery, probably the knob-handle of some large lid. It is incised through the sepia paint after baking, and I believe it to be genuine, though Sig. Nervegna himself expressed some doubt; it was found in Brindisi 'some time ago.' The other is on a bronze lamp (Fig. 5, No. 24). The bronze I believe to be new, and the inscription, consequently, though in itself plausible, to be a forgery. The lamp probably comes from the same source as the Oria bronzes, and was 'found' three years ago. The vase published by Lenormant,[1] Sig. Nervegna did not show me, but no further opinion is needed.

In the Brindisi Museum (formerly the Church of San Giovanni al Sepolcro) is a published inscription.[2]

LECCE.

In the Museo Provinciale there are ten published inscriptions. Of these F.P. 541, F.P. 555 (two inscriptions really)[3] and F.P. 542 are certainly forgeries. They are, however, luckily quite short and of no importance. $\left.\begin{matrix}\text{F.T. } 478\\ \text{F. } 2984\ d\end{matrix}\right\}$ I am inclined to think genuine; the two forms of A are the only suspicious detail.

There are also five unpublished inscriptions (Fig. 1, Nos. 7, 8, Fig. 2, Nos. 9, 10, 11).

No. 7. The inscription, which comes from Rugge, is painted on stucco on a stone measuring ·72 m. × ·17 m. × circ. ·18 m. To the right is a painted snake. I am rather doubtful of it, because of the shape of the Ψ and because the letters look late, yet are retrograde. In favour of its genuineness is the fact that it is painted not incised, whereas the only other known painted examples are F. 535, and F.T. 459. The length of the inscription is about ·4 m. It is protected by talc, so that it was hard to see if the inscription is complete, or if more letters, for which there is room, have faded.

[1] Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1881–2, p. 108.

[2] V. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 117.

[3] F.P. 560, F.P. 535, $\left.\begin{matrix}\text{F. } 2984\\ \text{F.T. } 478\end{matrix}\right\}$, F.P. 541, F.P. 555, F.P. 542, F.T. 461, F.T. 447; V. *Notizie aegli Scavi*, 1884, § xxix. *o* and *p*.

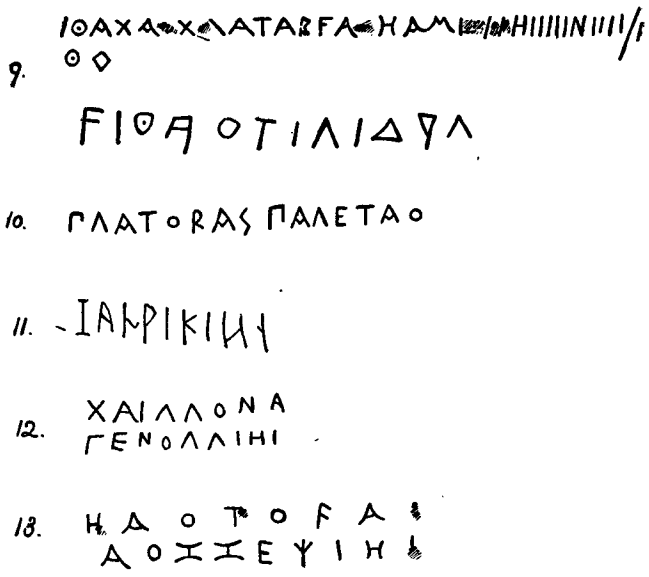


FIG. 2.

No. 8. This also comes from Rugge and is about ·5 m. long. The stone measures .77 m. × ·2 m. × ·11 m.

No. 9. Of uncertain origin. The stone is irregular, measuring roughly ·46 m. × ·35 m. × ·18 m. The upper line is ·27 m. long; about the lower line I am not quite certain, it seems to have been added later. The stone is not much weathered.

No. 10. Of uncertain origin. Length circ. ·45 m.

No. 11. Of uncertain origin. Length ·25 m. This inscription is queer, so queer that it is hardly likely to be a forgery. The stone, which measures ·3 m. × 26 m. × ·17 m., has a narrow trough along the upper edge, and is squared so that the inscription seems complete.

I ascertained[1] that nine inscriptions which were in the Museum, had been recognised as forgeries by the Museum authorities and destroyed. These were F.P. 524, 525, 544, 546, 547, 559, and F.T. 448, 449, 479.

[1] Cf. Nogara, *op. cit.* The two vases published by Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1881–2, p. 104, I did not see.

ARNESANO.

In the villa Sant' Antonio belonging to Sig. De Simone there are, I think, between thirty and forty inscriptions collected by the late Sig. De Simone. They are built into an outer wall and are consequently a good deal weathered, and partly hidden by creepers. The time at my disposal also was short, for much more time than I had been led to expect had been lost in reaching the villa, and I could not trespass further on the courtesy of Sig. De Simone, so that I was able to consider critically only eighteen inscriptions. Those which I could neither identify nor judge are about a dozen.

Of the eighteen, ten have been published.[1] Of these F.T. 464, 466 476, 477, and 481 are forgeries. Besides these there are unpublished seven forgeries (Fig. 5, Nos. 25–31), and one genuine inscription (Fig. 2, No. 12). These do not call for any note other than that the copies, though correct, are not absolutely in facsimile, owing to the shortness of time at my disposal. In the case of the forgeries the lettering, in some cases the spacing between words, and the general crudity of their appearance combined to leave no doubt.

F.T. 459 and 471 I could not see, as they are kept locked up and Sig. De Simone had forgotten to bring the key. Judging from the shape of the letters of a cut facsimile of F.T. 459 I should think that this painted inscription was genuine.

Apparently F.T. 468 is the only published inscription possessed by the late Sig. De Simone which I did not examine; those therefore which I was not able to examine must all be unpublished. The general impression which I received was that, through being built into an outer wall exposed to the weather, even the most reprobate inscription could gain an air of respectability; but since out of eighteen on which I did form a judgment twelve in my opinion are forgeries, I should be strongly inclined to suspect the rest of the collection of the late Sig. De Simone, for he must have been utterly uncritical. Those, not his own, communicated by him to Fabretti must fall under the same judgment.

[1] F.T. 466, 442, 443, 464, 476, 477, 481; V. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, § xxv. (*d*) and (*e*) {(*e*) = F. 2974 *bis*}; F. 2990–2 (a better copy is given by Castromediano and Maggiulli, *Le iscrizioni Messapiche raccolte*, 5*a*).

MURO LECCESE.

In the house of Sig. Luigi Maggiulli I saw :—

Fig. 2, No. 13. An inscription on a base surmounted by a cornice with a maeander. The length of the inscription is about ·39 m., but the stone is rather chipped to the left, so that one letter may be missing from the lower line. I was a little doubtful, for the lettering more resembles that on the sham bronzes than that of inscriptions undoubtedly genuine. It is kept out of doors in a court-yard, so that its weathered appearance does not count for very much: yet on the whole I am inclined to believe it genuine; it was found three years ago.

Fig. 3, No. 14. Sig. Maggiulli also possesses a Doric drum with sixteen flutings (Ht. ·45 m., diam. ·21 m.). The stone is harder than the Lecce

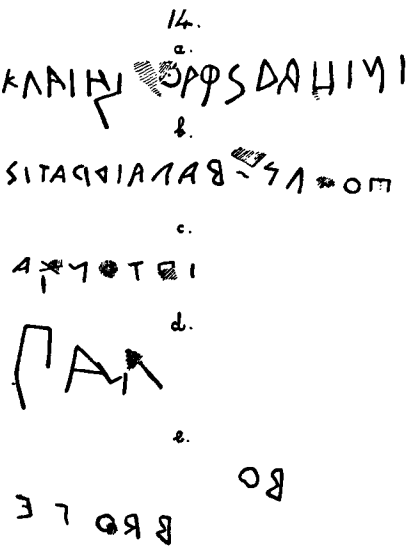


FIG. 3.

stone, and on one side are traces of stucco with a pink tinge. Four flutings bear the inscriptions, (*d*) being on the same as (*c*) but to the left and upside down. Lengths :—

(*a*) ·23 m. (It may be broken to the right.)
(*b*) ·21 m. complete.
(*c*) ·08 m. „
(*d*) ·04 m. „
(*e*) ·1 m. „

VASTE.

In the possession of Antonio Carluccio I saw the two decayed inscriptions shown in Fig. 4, Nos. 15, 16. They were utterly unknown and their owner had no idea that they could have any interest; thus they bear a better guarantee even than those possessed by Dr. La Gamba or Sig. Colosso.

No. 15. This is on one edge of a flat stone circ. ·4 m. square. On the upper surface is a circular depression. The inscription runs the whole length of the edge, but is complete, unless the stone had been cut down long ago.

No. 16. This is on the underside of a stone used in roofing a hole in the farm-yard wall. The inscription is broken at both ends and is about ·7 m. long.

CASTRIGNANO DEL CAPO.

Fig. 4, No. 17. This is an inscription found in December 1905, and

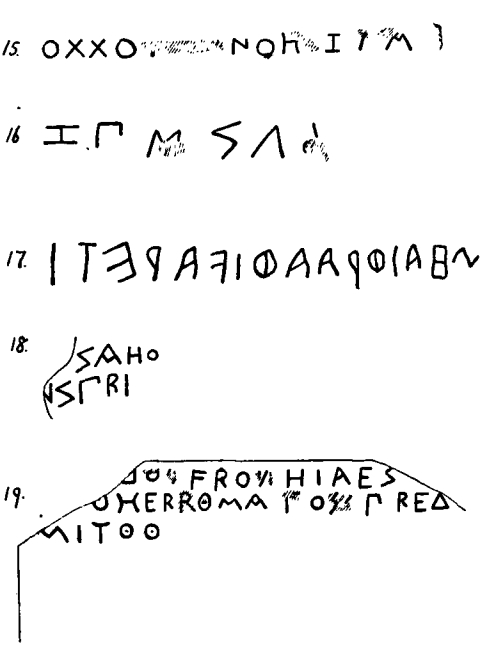


FIG. 4.

published by Prof. C. De Giorgi[1] who, however, was not furnished with an accurate copy. Length of the inscription ·45 m.

[1] De Giorgi, *Nuove Scoperte in Vereto, in Valesio, and in Terenziano* (*Della Rivista Storica Salentina* Anno III. N.I.).

UGENTO.

In the house of Sig. Luigi Colosso I saw one published[1] and two unpublished inscriptions (Fig. 4, Nos. 18, 19). Sig. Colosso told me that another which he had possessed was now lost; I expect it was that published with the first by Viola. Though I could not see it I place the fullest confidence in any inscription which Prof. Viola has published.

No. 18. This was found quite lately near Ugento. The face of the stone had a raised border. The inscription, which is broken to the left, measures from the left end of the lower line to the right end of the upper line ·15 m.

No. 19. This inscription, which measures about ·9 m., is on a worked block of stone with a base. One other similar long side and two shorter sides, uninscribed, were also found, so that it formed part of an elaborate tomb. The inscription, which is out of doors, is in a very bad condition; to the right several letters must be missing from both lines, but to the left, I think, not more than one is missing from the bottom line. Above is a slight projection, so that no further lines are gone. Lower down, where both ends are left, the stone measures about 1·3 m.

TARANTO.

In the Museo Provinciale I saw the two inscriptions shown in Fig. 5, Nos. 20, 21. Both came from Manduria five years ago.

No. 20. This is on a pillar with twenty flat faces, length 1·27 m., diam. ·65 m.—·55 m. The inscription, which is broken to the right at the narrow end of the pillar, measures ·81 m.

No. 21. This is on the narrow side of a broken block, on the broad side of which is part of a hollowed circle containing sculpture now indistinguishable. The inscription, which is broken to the left, measures ·74 m.

The inscriptions noted by Nogara as existing in the Naples Museum, at Ostuni in the Biblioteca Communale, and at Fasano in the house of Signora La Savio, are no longer to be found.

In conclusion I wish to thank for their kindness and courtesy

[1] V. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, § xxviii. n.

Prof. Francesco Ribezzo at Benevento, who is preparing a critical edition of the Messapian inscriptions embodying his results on the linguistic problems which they present; Prof. Quagliati and Prof. Viola at Taranto, Sig. Carissimo at Oria, Sig. Arno at Manduria, Dr. La Gamba at Ceglie, Sig. Calamo at Ostuni, Sig. Nervegna at Brindisi, Prof. De Giorgi and

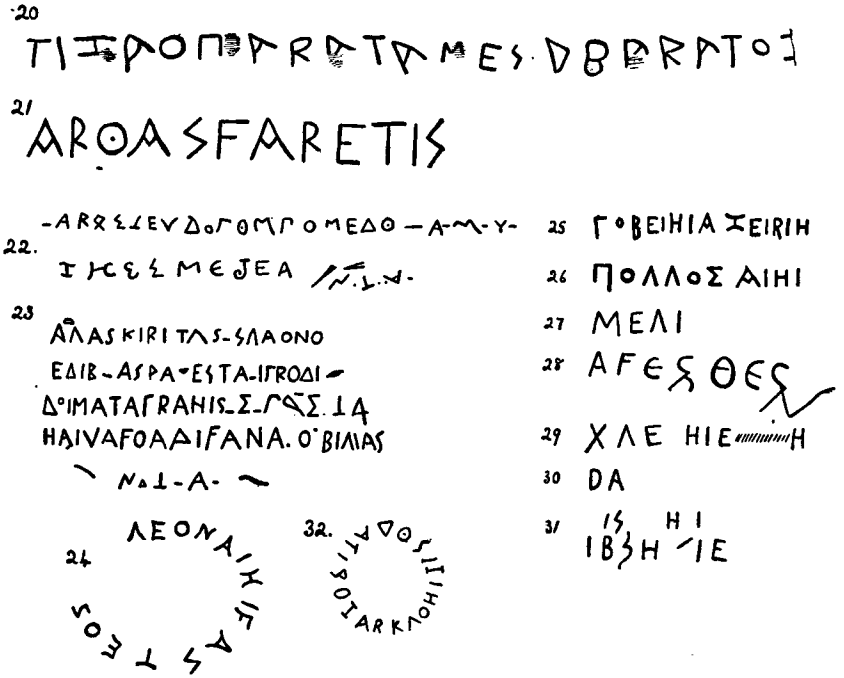


FIG. 5.

Sig. De Simone at Lecce, Sig. Maggiulli at Muro Leccese, Sig. Cagnazzo at Patu and Sig. Colosso at Ugento. Without their help and generosity in placing their collections at my disposal my search could not have carried me far. My great regret is that so many inscriptions have disappeared beyond the range of any evidence but that which philology can bring forward.

J. P. DROOP.

LIST OF MESSAPIAN INSCRIPTIONS EXAMINED IN 1906.

PUBLISHED BY FABRETTI.

Number.	*Place.*
F. 2981	Oria. Biblioteca Communale.
F. 2990–2	Arnesano. Villa Sant' Antonio.
F. 2974 bis. (V. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 129 e)	" " "
F.P. 560	Lecce. Museo Provinciale.
F.P. 535	" " "
F.P. 541 *	" " "
F.P. 555 *	" " "
F.P. 542 *	" " "
F.T. 478)	" " "
F. 2984 *d*)	
F.T. 447	" " "
F.T. 461	" " "
F.T. 477 *	Arnesano. Villa Sant'Antonio.
F.T. 466 *	" " "
F.T. 481 *	" " "
F.T. 443	" " "
F.T. 442	" " "
F.T. 464 *	" " "
F.T. 476 *	" " "

* Forged.

PUBLISHED BY VIOLA.

Reference.	*Place.*
Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei, 1878, vol. 4, p. 70. Two (one bronze).	Brindisi. House of Sig. Nervegna.
Notizie degli Scavi, 1884, p. 128 (*a*), (*b*), (*c*)	" " "
(*d*)	Arnesano. Villa Sant' Antonio
(*o*), (*p*)	Lecce. Museo Provinciale.
(*n*)	Ugento. House of Sig. Colosso
Notizie degli Scavi, 1884, p. 117.	Brindisi. San Giovanni al Sepolcro

PUBLISHED OTHERWISE.

Reference.	*Place.*
Notizie degli Scavi, 1881, p. 249.	Oria. Biblioteca Communale.
De Giorgi, *Nuove Scoperte in Vereto, in Valesio e in Terenziano*, Pl. 17.	Castrignano del Capo. Possessed by Sig. Cagnazzo.

INSCRIPTIONS UNPUBLISHED.

Reference.	*Place.*
One (Fig. 1, No. 1)	Oria. Biblioteca Communale.
Twelve on bronze* (*e.g.* Fig. 5, No. 22)	Oria. In the house of Sig. Carissimo.
One on a lead bullet	" " " "
One on bronze * (Fig. 5, No. 23)	Manduria. In the house of Sig. Arno.
Twelve on lead bullets (Fig. 1, No. 5)	Ceglie. In the house of Dr. La Gamba.
Three (Fig. 1, Nos. 2, 3, 4)	Ceglie. In the house of Dr. La Gamba.
One (Fig. 1, No. 6)	Ceglie. In the house of Sig. Rocco Andelmi.
One on a piece of pottery (Fig. 5, No. 32)	Brindisi. In the house of Sig. Nervegna.
One on a bronze lamp * (Fig. 5, No. 24)	Brindisi. In the house of Sig. Nervegna.
Five (one doubtful) (Figs. 1 and 2, Nos. 7–11)	Lecce. Museo Provinciale.
One (Fig. 2, No. 12)	Arnesano. Villa Sant' Antonio.
Seven * (Fig. 5, Nos. 25–31)	" " "
Six ((one doubtful.) Fig. 2, No. 13. Five on one pillar, Fig. 3)	Muro Leccese. In the house of Sig. Maggiulli.
Two (Fig. 4, Nos. 15, 16)	Vaste. Belonging to Antonio Carluccio.
Two (Fig. 4, Nos. 18, 19)	Ugento. Belonging to Sig. Colosso.
Two from Manduria (Fig. 5, Nos. 20, 21)	Taranto. Museo Provinciale.

* Forged.

Messapian inscriptions are referred to in the following :—

S. Bugge ; *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, vol. 18.
Deecke ; *Rheinische Museum*, vols. 36, 37, 40, 42.
Fabretti ; *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, *Suppl.* I. and III.
Gamurrini ; *Appendix* to above.
Helbig ; *Hermes*, vol. xi. p. 257.
Hirt ; *Die Sprachliche Stellung der Illyrischen.*
(*Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, pp. 179–188.)
Kretschmer ; *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 262 *seq.*, pp. 272 *seq.*
Lenormant ; *Gazette Archéologique*, 1881–2, p. 108.
Mayer ; *Bull. dell' Instituto Archeologico Germanico*, vol. xii. pp. 208 *seq.*
Mommsen ; *Die Unteritalischen Dialecte*, pp. 40 *seq.*
Nissen ; *Italischer Landeskunde*, I, pp. 544 *seq.*
Pais ; *Storia d'Italia* I, pp. 335 *seq.*
Ruhl ; *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, vol. 14, p. 308.
Torp ; *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. v. p. 193.
Viola ; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, pp. 128 *seq.*
Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei. 1878, vol. 4, pp. 70 *seq.*

J. P. D.

NOTES FROM THE SPORADES, ASTYPALAEA, TELOS, NISYROS, LEROS.

THESE notes are part of the results of a journey undertaken by us in the summer of 1906. We have been led to put them together in the hope that they may be of some service to other travellers, and perhaps serve as a basis for a fuller and more perfect account of the islands concerned. Any references not given in footnotes to the text will be found in the Bibliography at the beginning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Astypalaea. To the references in Pauly-Wissowa *s.n.* should be added: *Portolano del Mare* (appendix to *Consolato del Mare*), Venice, 1656; Boschini, *Archipelago* 1658, p. 20; Randolph, *Present State of the Islands of the Archipelago*, 1687, p. 30; Piacenza, *L'Egeo Redivivo*, 1688, p. 239; Dapper, *Description de l'Archipelago*, 1702, p. 185; Frieseman, *Description de l'Archipelago*, 1789, p. 127; Inscriptions, *I.G.* xii. 3. 167 *seqq.*; Rouse, *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 178; Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 363.

Telos. Herodotus vii. 153, cf. Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 27; Strabo, x. 488; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 23; Scylax, c. 99; Stephanus, *s.n.*; Buondelmonte c. 16; Boschini, *op. cit.* p. 18; *Portolano del Mare*, p. 23; Randolph, *op. cit.* p. 24; Piacenza, *op. cit.* p. 159; Coronelli, *Isola di Rodi*, pp. 72, 89, 262 *seqq.* 333; Dapper, *op. cit.* p. 161; Frieseman, *op. cit.* p. 80; Lord Sandwich, *Voyage round the Mediterranean*, 1799, p. 339; Lacroix, *Îles de la Grèce*, p. 194; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. p. 403; *Mediterranean Pilot*, iv. 3rd Ed. 1900, p. 164; Bent, *J.H.S.* 1885, p. 233; Ross, *Reisen auf d. griech. Inseln*, iv. p. 42; Vincenz, *Globus*, 1900, pp. 46–8; Inscriptions, *I.G.* xii. 3129. Coins, Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 543. Maps, Kiepert, *Westl. Kleinasien*, xiii.; Admiralty Chart, 1898. History, etc. Holleaux, *Rev. de*

Phil. xvii. p. 184; Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers*, ii. p. 301, 397; Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 367. Modern Greek dialect, etc. Χαβιαράς, Ζωγραφεῖος Ἀγών, p. 265.

Nisyros. Eustathius ad *Iliad* ii. 676, et ad Dion. Perieg. 530; Herodotus, vii. 99; Diodorus, v. 54, xiv. 84; Strabo, x. 488, xiv. 656; Pausanias, i. 2. 4; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 133; Scylax, c. 99; Apollodorus, i. 38; Stephanus, *s.n.*; Buondelmonte, c. 17; *Portolano del Mare*, p. 23; Boschini, *op. cit.* p. 18; Randolph, *op. cit.* p. 24; Piacenza, *op. cit.* p. 163; Coronelli, *op. cit.* 320 *seqq.*; Dapper, *op. cit.* p. 178; Frieseman, *op. cit.* p. 66; Lacroix, *op. cit.* p. 195; Ross, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 67 *seqq.*; Pantelides, *B.C.H.* 1891, p. 488; Cuinet, *op. cit.* i. p. 438; Hiller von Gaertringen, *Arch. Anz.* 1896, p. 23; Id., *Thera*, i. p. 374; Σταματιάδης, Χρυσαλλίς, 1869, i. p. 481; Ἀνδριωτάκης, Πλάτων, x. p. 351, xi. p. 78; Inscriptions, *I.G.* xii. 3. 86 *seqq.* Coins, Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 537, *B.M.Cat. Caria*, p. 222. Maps, etc. Kiepert, *loc. cit.*; Admiralty Chart, *loc. cit.*; *Mediterranean Pilot*, iv. 3rd. Ed. 1900, p. 166; Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 366. Modern Greek dialect, Παπαδόπουλος, Ζωγραφεῖος Ἀγών, p. 381.

Leros. A full bibliography and account of the island is given by Bürchner, *Die Insel Leros* (München, 1898). To the references given by him should be added: Randolph, *op. cit.* p. 57; Piacenza, *op. cit.* p. 229; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, iii. p. 351, Pls. 20, 21.

§ 1.—ASTYPALAEA.

This island, although so rich in inscriptions,[1] has few other Hellenic antiquities. This is probably due to the fact that the mediaeval castle of the Quirini and the modern town (Chóra) occupy the sites of the ancient acropolis and city (Fig. 1). They stand on a high promontory that juts out to the east at the south end of the isthmus, between the two parts of the island. The promontory is capped by a steep rock accessible only from one side; this acropolis is now occupied by the castle, whose entrance yet bears the arms of the Quirini, while inside it there still exists the inscription[2] of Giovanni Quirini, its builder. Within the castle, which is still inhabited, is a maze of narrow streets and crooked courts. In one house there is a late Greek grave relief, much weathered and of a common type. In the town also one or two houses have built into them some battered pieces of sculpture, and several churches on its outskirts are built almost entirely of squared marble blocks. Similar blocks and inscriptions are common both in the town and castle.

The only traces of Hellenic building still to be seen, are below the

[1] *I.G. loc. cit.* [2] Ross, *op. cit.*

acropolis to the north, close by the church called Megále Panaghía. Here there is a terrace wall, somewhat over two metres high, polygonal in style and built of big blocks, two of which measure respectively ·75 by 1·10 m. and 1·45 by 1·40 m. It may be as early as the fifth century. Here we were told a 'platform of marble' was found with some inscriptions. The following inscription is supposed to come from this site :[1]—

ΛΑΚΡΙΝΗΣΠ
ΛΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΗ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ:Ε
ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟ

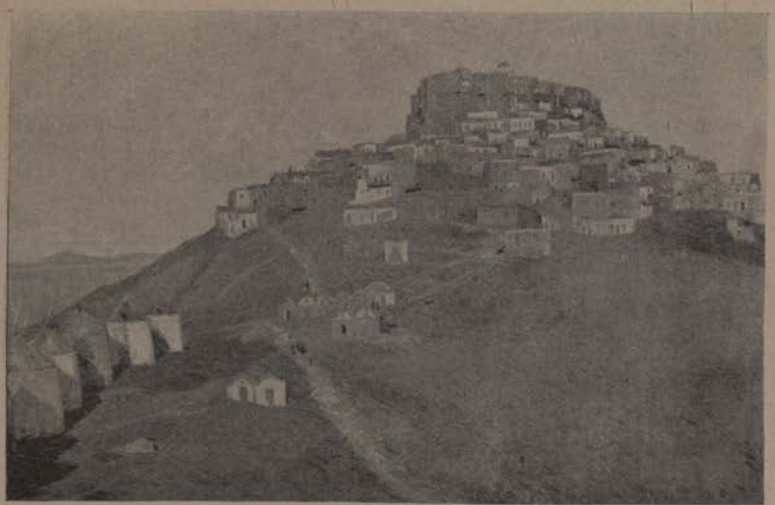


FIG. 1.—ASTYPALAEA, THE TOWN AND CASTLE.

The stone is broken on the right; the letters are well shaped and have no apices. We may thus assume that there was here a shrine of Apollo, for whose cult in the island we have other epigraphic evidence.[2] A little below this spot other 'marbles' have been dug out by the natives, but nothing is visible on the surface.

Outside the town, beyond the spring on the north side of the neck

[1] We were shewn this secretly and not allowed to copy it, so the transcription is from memory only.

[2] *I.G.* xii. 3, 185.

uniting the promontory with the backbone of the island, is the church of the Haghioi Anárgyroi. To the west of it so many broken terracottas are said to have been found, that a local adventurer bought the land and excavated in the hope of finding an Athena temple, but the site, which is on a steep hill-side, shews nothing to support this idea, and does not seem big enough for an important shrine. The church, however, contains several antique blocks, two Doric capitals, and a late inscription.[1]

In the rich valley called Livádhia (Meadows) to the south-west of the town, is a place called Hellenikó. Here there is nothing to be seen except remains of late houses, although the natives aver that 'squared marble blocks' exist here.

Two hours distant from the town on the south-west coast is the Kastro of Haghios Ioannis, mentioned, but not visited by Ross. This stands on a steep isolated rock near the sea and is difficult to approach. The Kastro consists of a central round tower with outworks; it is built of small stones and mortar, and is probably a mediaeval fort. Near by is a fertile glen (Perivólia, Gardens), whose trickling streams and shady trees make it a paradise compared with the bare wind-swept uplands. In the centre of the south part of the island is the now deserted village, Armenokhóri. Here, as only too often in Astypalaea, one sees fields that have too long lain fallow, grass-grown threshing-floors and traces of felled trees.

On the east coast of the northern half of the island lies the bay of Agrilídhi. Here close to the beach are ruins of houses, and the church of Haghios Ioannis close by contains two inscriptions. Another part[2] of one of these inscriptions is built into the castle of the Quirini, and we may thus assume that both the blocks at Agrilídhi were transported by sea from Chóra. Thus it is probable that the settlement here was late and unimportant. On the low hill that divides this valley from that of Vathý to the west, is the ruined church of Haghios Georgios. Its plan is somewhat interesting: at the east end there is only one apse at the end of the nave; the north aisle, which still stands, is divided into four bays roofed with barrel-vaults that run north and south.

Half an hour distant from this church is the land-locked harbour of Vathý, whose narrow entrance opens southwards on the bay, west of the

[1] *I.G.* xii. 3, 235.

[2] *I.G.* xii. 3, 180, 181.

central isthmus. At the head of the harbour, in a ruined and nameless church, are some square blocks, an altar base, a Doric and a late Corinthian capital, and the gable of a late grave monument. Since this is the best harbour in the island for small vessels,[1] it is not surprising to find Greek remains here. On the rocky spit on the north side are the ruins of a Hellenic watch tower. The walls of the tower, which is not quite square, are 1·10 m. thick, and built of hewn blocks laid in courses, but with irregular joints. The most noticeable feature is the manner in which the rough foundation course projects, forming a plinth before the walls as much as ·35 m. wide[2] (Fig. 2). The door is away from the harbour entrance.

FIG. 2.—TOWER AT VATHY, ASTYPALAEA.

Against the eastern corner a late enclosure has been built. To the south of the tower are the remains of the walls of a large court, the plan of which, as far as can now be determined, is shewn in Fig. 3. It seems to have had an inside wall on the west and south, and the line of the outer wall is not continuous. The court has also a separate gate, also away from the harbour mouth. Apparently the tower was built first, and the court was added later, since the walls are not bonded together, and, if it were part of the original plan, the tower would have been entered from it. The walls of the court are similar in style, but less than a metre thick. The

[1] Cf. the tower at Hellenikó in Skopelos, *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, p. 126. 3.

[2] The *Mediterranean Pilot* says there is a bar at the mouth with only nine feet of water on it.

south wall, although so little of it survives, probably joined the tower at its southern angle.

Towers such as this are very common throughout the islands of the

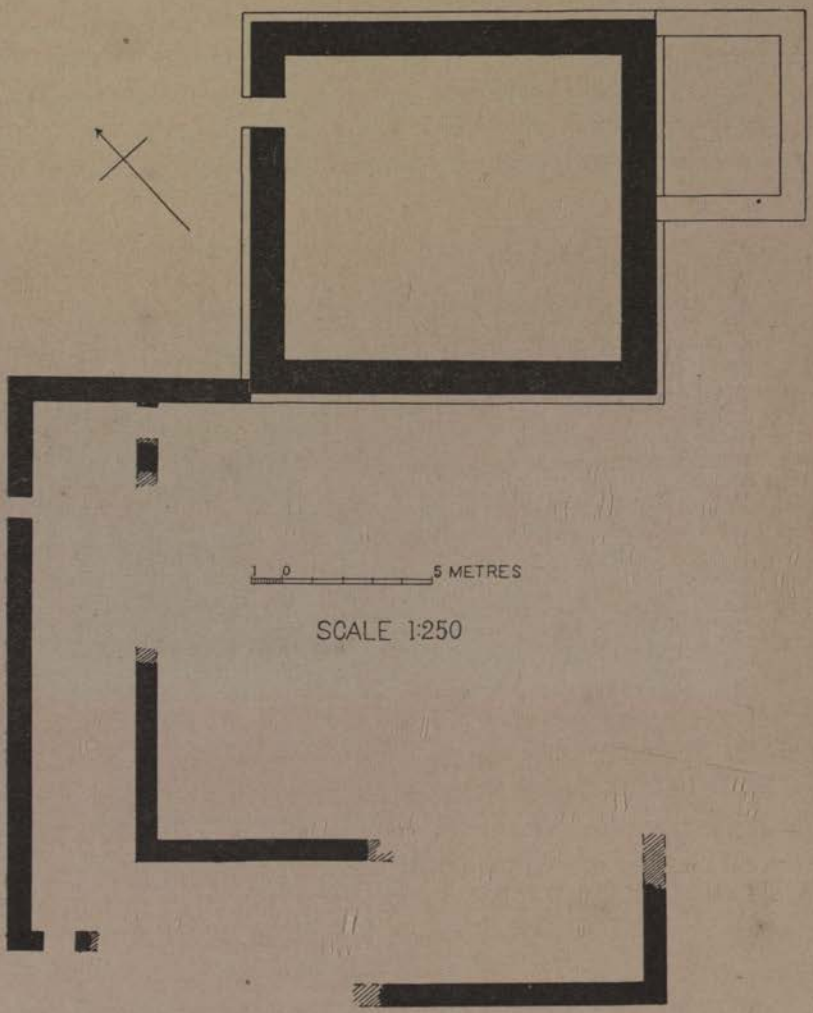


FIG. 3.—GROUND PLAN OF TOWER AT VATHY, ASTYPALAEA.

Aegaean. The best known is the famous example in Andros[1]; next in

[1] Fiedler, *Reisen durch alle Teile Griechenlands*, ii. Pl. 4; Ross, *Reisen auf d. griech. Inseln*, ii. p. 12; Le Bas-Landron, *Voyage Arch.* Îles, Pl. 2; German Institute, Athens, Photos, Nos. 2485, 2487, 2488, 2489, 4157.

importance is the well known tower at Haghia Marina in Keos,[1] in which is and there are two others; there are two in Seriphos,[2] one in Kythnos,[3] one well preserved specimen in Naxos,[4] about a dozen in Siphnos,[5] two in Skiathos,[6] four in Skopelos (Peparethos),[7] one in Skyros,[8] and twelve in Amorgos.[9] Besides these there are doubtless many others, including the two in Leros described below.[10] These towers are round or square, and stand either alone or with an adjacent court. Round and square towers occur in the same island, for instance Skopelos and Amorgos, and both are found with or without courts. The Andros tower is the best round one, and that at

FIG. 4.—TOWER AT HAGHIA TRIADHA, AMORGOS.

Haghia Triádha in Amorgos (Figs. 4, 5) is the best square example. Since no special study has yet been made of these towers it is impossible to dogmatize about them. The views expressed by Ross[11] still hold the field. They are found as a rule in the fertile parts of the islands at a considerable

[1] Ross, *op. cit.* i. p. 132; Bröndsted, *Voyages et Recherches*, i. p. 26, Pl. X.; Savignoni Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 230. Fig. 4.

[2] Ross, *op. cit.* i. pp. 132, 136. [3] Ross, *op. cit.* i. p. 120. [4] Ross, *op. cit.* i. p. 43.

[5] Ross, *op. cit.* i. pp. 132, 139; Γκίων, Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Σ., p. 124.

[6] *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, p. 104. [7] *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, p. 126. [8] *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, p. 277.

[9] Ross, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 43 with plan, Pl. I.; Μηλιαράκης, Ἀμοργός, p. 46: the other towers are at Ῥίχτα (round), Ἅγιος Παῦλος, Τρυπητή, Τερλάκη, Ἐξωμεριά (round), Στρούμβους, Κορνακοπός, τὸ Πυργί, Πύργος τοῦ Γιαννούλη, Ἀρμένισσα, Περιστεριά. Cf. Tsountas-Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 261. Fgs. 135, 136.

[10] Furtwängler's map of Aegina (*Aegina* II) marks five towers.

[11] *Op. cit.* I. p. 132.

distance from a town; he therefore supposed that they served as temporary refuges for the population of those districts in case of a sudden raid—the tower would shelter the men, and the court the flocks. Some, however, such as this one in Astypalaea, were perhaps intended rather as forts to ward off an attack, than as refuges.

The fort at Kataphýghi close to the north-west end of the central isthmus, which Ross thought Hellenic, is very similar in plan and construction to that at Haghios Ioannis already described; it also is probably mediaeval. At the head of Port Maltezána on the east of the isthmus there are more ruins of the same period.

As we have noticed above the depopulation of the island, a few re-

FIG. 5.—TOWER AT HAGHIA TRIADHA, AMORGOS. (Front View.)

marks on this point will perhaps not be out of place. In the southern half, only the valley of Livádhia and the glen of Perivólia are really cultivated; the districts of Armenokhóri and Panormós are in partial cultivation, although most of this part is good arable land, but the hills require planting; on the isthmus there is a fine stretch of good land at Maltezána, but it is not well tilled. The northern half is almost entirely given up to sheep rearing, a circumstance which precludes all chance of tree growing. There are three cultivable regions, Vathý, Agrilídhi, and Vaí, but a large part of the land lies fallow. The present population is about 1500, and is steadily decreasing; many natives of Astypalaea have settled at Scála Nova near Ephesus. This is due to the decay of agriculture, caused by

disafforestation and consequent scarcity of water, as well as by lack of means of communication, and it is quite likely that before long history will repeat itself and the island will again become almost deserted. By the beginning of the fifteenth century Astypalaea had so suffered from the constant wars and continual piratical raids that it was almost depopulated. In 1413 Giovanni Quirini, lord of the island, recolonized it and built the castle, but by 1470 under his son Francesco I the population had sunk to 400. As to its condition in the seventeenth century the authorities differ widely,[1] but to judge from most of their evidence and from the signs of past prosperity that are now to be seen in the island, it probably recovered a good deal in this and the succeeding century. Its latest decline perhaps began early in the nineteenth century, when western European manufactures ruined the Levant trade. Nowadays its condition is miserable, the island barely producing enough to support the present population; as for horses, for which the island was once famous, there are only two, and these from our own personal experience cannot possibly be called good.

§ 2.—TELOS.

As the traveller approaches this island it appears to be even more desolate and hilly than most of the Archipelago, but when he has once entered the bay of Plagió, a broad fertile tree-covered plain appears between the hills. From the landing-place in the south-eastern corner of the bay, it is a pleasant walk of half an hour to the village of Meghalochorió, the capital of the island. This, like many towns in the Aegean,[2] is hidden from the sea, for fear of corsairs; it stands at the foot of a high hill, on which are the ruins of the mediaeval capital, probably the San Stefano of the Italians. This hill was also the ancient Acropolis, and on its southern slope, which runs up from the modern village, are the remains of the Hellenic city and its walls.

[1] The *Portolano del Mare* in 1656 says the island was *dishabitata*, but places it on the route for a voyage from Venice to Rhodes and Cyprus. But Boschini in 1658 says it was inhabited. Randolph in 1687 tell us the inhabitants had not long since agreed to pay a tribute of 1000 dollars a year. Piacenza in 1688 gives a glowing description of the island, probably much exaggerated. It produced good horses, cheese, wine, corn, and fruit, and possessed several villages. He estimates the population at 4500. His account is followed and probably copied by Dapper, Frieseman, and Lacroix.

[2] *E.g.* the old town of Leros, and Mandráki in Nisyros.

As one reaches the top of the castle hill, one notices that the lower part of the southern wall seems to be Greek; the stones are laid in regular courses without mortar, but are very small. Just on the right of the gate the lower part is polygonal and looks early (Fig. 6). The mediaeval entrance is built over the remains of the Hellenic gate, which is out of the centre of the later archway. There are two steps outside the door which, as shewn by the traces on the doorstep, was double and 1·55 m. wide; the holes for the central bolt and the hinges are still visible.

FIG. 6.—THE ACROPOLIS GATE, TELOS.

Inside the gateway, 1·60 m. from the door, is a flight of steps which lead up to the level space where now stands the church of St. Michael (Ταξιάρχης). Three steps (·40 m. wide and ·25 m. high) lead to a small landing (1·05 m. wide), beyond which there are four more steps and a flight of ten to the left (Fig. 7). These stairs probably formed part of the propylaea in front of a temple of Athena Polias or Zeus Polieus,[1] standing on the site of the existing church. This was Ross' opinion, and it seems correct, since in front and at the side of the church good Hellenic walls are still to

[1] Cf. the inscription *I.G.* xii. 3. 40, which was found in front of the church.

be seen. The church is also built of squared blocks, quantities of which lie scattered about. Bent thought that the temple still existed, and had been converted into a church: this is hardly possible; the squared blocks of the walls are set with mortar, and parts of the inscription that is built in with them, are found on two other blocks[1] that lie loose; the plan of the church also does not seem very like that of a temple.

The Acropolis is small, and covered with the débris of late houses.

FIG. 7.—STEPS ON ACROPOLIS, TELOS.

These seem to deserve Boschini's account of them, *quelli che vi vivono hanno le loro habitationi più costo da animali che da huomini.* The Hellenic circuit may be traced all round in the lower part of the mediaeval walls. At the north-east corner the Greek wall still stands to a considerable height.

The rock on which the castle stands is precipitous on all but the

[1] *I.G.* xii. 3. 31, 32, 33.

south side, where the gate is. The wall of the lower town accordingly does not bond with the enceinte of the Acropolis, but ends at the foot of the precipice. To the south-east the wall is clearly traceable below the cliff: it is built in a late polygonal style (Fig. 8); eight courses still stand, and the wall, 1·30 m. thick, is built solid. Not far from the cliff is a tower at a set-back in the wall. From here the wall can be traced in a gradually curving line down the hillside into the village, where it turns and ascends the hill again towards the precipice on the west side of the Acropolis. All

FIG. 8.—POLYGONAL WALL, TELOS.

the lower part of the wall is built of squared blocks laid in regular courses, of which as many as six are often preserved; the best preserved part is just above the church, where twelve courses are still standing (Fig. 9).

Within this enceinte, on the steep slope above the village there are still to be seen the terrace walls that probably once supported houses or roads[1]; most of these are built of roughly shaped blocks laid in irregular courses, but they do not seem to be earlier than the fourth or fifth century, since the corners are as a rule drafted (Fig. 10). Outside

[1] Stamped amphora handles are often found here.

the town, on the slopes between it and the landing-place, graves are often found. It was here apparently that Bent excavated.

The only other Hellenic remains are to be seen in the east of the island in the rich plain of Livádhia, below Mikrochorió, the other of the two villages. Here an isolated rocky hillock called Kástello rises at the foot of the hills some little distance from the sea; round it can be seen remains of an Hellenic wall, the Mycenaean fort of the *Mediterranean Pilot*;

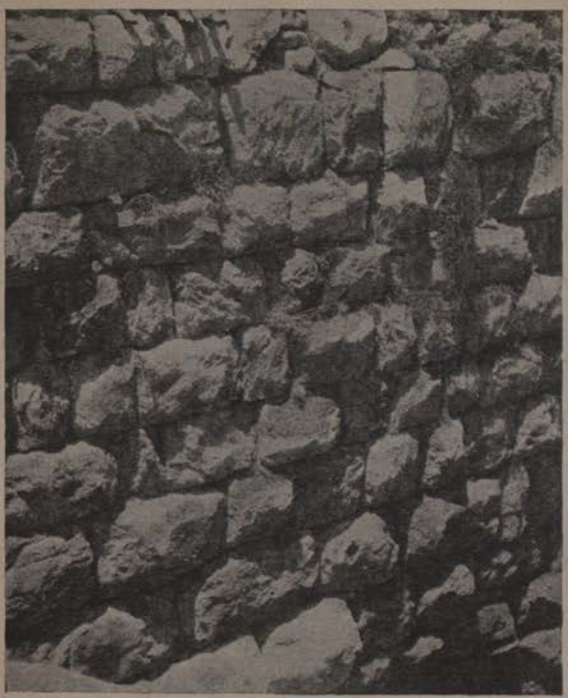


FIG. 9.—CITY WALL, TELOS.

below on the sea-side is part of a tower and of the wall adjoining it. Eight irregular courses of rough blocks survive: above, on the side against the hills, a corner can be distinguished, which is in a similar style, but is not so well preserved. These remains are probably of an outlying fort, intended to protect the cultivators of the fertile plain, which is more than two hours distant from the capital, from a sudden raid by enemies.

Besides these classical ruins, Telos is comparatively rich in mediaeval

castles ; the principal one is of course that of San Stefano on the site of the ancient Acropolis, probably built by the Knights of St. John, since the island was held by them until the fall of Rhodes in 1522.[1] The castle contains nothing remarkable except the church of St Michael mentioned above, which seems to shew a few Gothic elements.

Midway between the two villages is a fort called Mesariá. In Mikrochorió itself is a mediaeval watch-tower, and high above the village, looking over the bay to the west, is the ruin called τοῦ Λάμπρου τὸ Κάστρο, probably the Lamprida of the Italians. In this same district, on a high hill above the plain of Livádhia, is a similar fort called Ἅγριο Συκί. On the

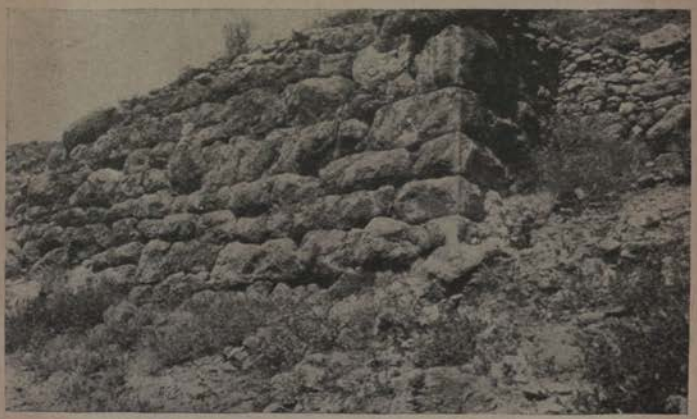


FIG. 10.—TERRACE WALL, TELOS.

other side of the island, on the mountain to the west of the southern bay, and two hours from Megalochorió is a fourth fort called Ἀστοῦ Κολάζα.

The mediaeval name of the island was Piscopia. Coronelli says, *Altri la chiamarano Dilusano; Episcopi la disse Sofiano, e finalmente lo stuolo de' Moderni col Negro Piscopia. Quest' ultimo nome vuol dire 'Guarda lontano.'*[2] He mentions two castles, San Stefano and Zuchalora, Zuccora, or Caucalora. Piacenza, besides these, speaks of the Lamprida referred to above, Proso, and Cychalo ; he says Zuccora was in the east, Buondelmonte places it in the west, where Boschini also puts it; Piacenza marks Cychalo ; very likely this is only another name for Zuccora, which

[1] Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times*, p. 24.

[2] The same explanation is given by Buondelmonte, who mentions two towns only.

Coronelli calls Caucalora. There seems to be no hope of identifying any of these castles with the existing forts. Piacenza's map is apparently quite fanciful.

In 1366 Barello Assanti of Ischia, *Borghese di Rodi* received the island in feud for an annual payment of two hundred gold florins, in 1373 it became a magistral domain.[1] During the grand-mastership of Pierre d'Aubusson in 1479 the 'Bacha Paleologue'[2] attacked the island, then garrisoned by the knights, and though he breached the walls, failed to take it[3]; the corsair Camali made a fruitless raid in 1505,[4] and in 1522 on the fall of Rhodes, Telos became Turkish.

Another explanation of the name Piscopia as 'Bishop's Island' may perhaps be confirmed by Randolph's statement that it had been the seat of a bishop, but had lately (1687) been united to the see of Rhodes. Possibly the Sabinus, bishop of Delos,[5] who attended the council of Chalcedon, was really bishop of Telos.

On the sea-ward side of the steep mountain in the west of the island is the monastery of its patron saint Haghios Panteleimon. This unfortunately we were unable to visit.

§ 3.—NISYROS.

Mandráki, the chief town of Nisyros, is built at the north-western corner of the island by the site of the Greek and mediaeval capitals. Here is a long and somewhat narrow hill, cut off by a low valley to the south, and by a deep ravine to the east, and further defended by precipitous cliffs against the sea. On this hill stood the Greek town, whose walls can still be traced; on the top of the hill to the south they are well preserved, and the gate at the south-eastern angle is almost perfect. This gate is placed in a set-back close to the corner tower (Figs. 11, 12), and is entered obliquely as usual,[6] but contrary to the Vitruvian canon, the tower that guards it is not on the right or shieldless side of those entering. The gate is two metres wide, and there were two doors, single or double, whose

[1] Coronelli, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] The renegade Manuel Palaeologus, second son of Thomas, last Despot of the Morea, and nephew of Constantine XI the last Byzantine Emperor.

[3] Vertot, *op. cit.* p. 301. [4] Vertot, *op. cit.* p. 397.

[5] Lequien, *Oriens Christ.* i. p. 945.

[6] Vitruvius, i. 5. 2; cf. the gates at Pergamum, *Athen. Mitt.* 1902, p. 40, Figs. 7, 8.

position is shown by the holes for the bolts or bars on either side; it is partly buried in the soil, and half its width has been built up by the owner of the vineyard to which it now gives entrance; it is roofed by six massive blocks from 3·60 to 4 metres long. The gate as well as the wall is built of squared blocks of black volcanic stone, said to come from a quarry on the south side of the island. On either side of the gate angle is a tower to give further protection to this weak point.

Ready access to the top of the wall is afforded by two flights of steps,

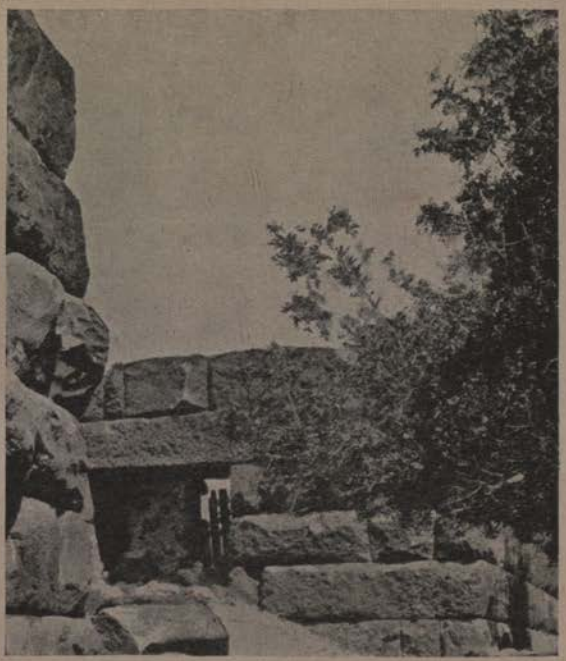


FIG. 11.—THE GATE, NISYROS.

of which that to the north of the gate is almost perfect (Fig. 13). Following the southern wall from the gate to the sea, on the west we find four more towers and one other set of steps. The second tower from the sea is in excellent condition,[1] and still stands to its original height—nineteen courses—as shewn by the presence of some of the guttering blocks *in situ* at the top. The wall throughout is built in

[1] Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera* I, p. 374, 40.

regular courses, whose jointing is not often irregular; its thickness by the gate varies from 3·50 to 4 metres, elsewhere it is not above three metres. To the north of the gate, on the other side of the angle beyond the steps mentioned, a second staircase[1] and two more towers are traceable before the circuit is too much destroyed to be readily distinguished. The inscription ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΠΟΔΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΤΕΙΧΕΟΣ[2] on the first tower north of the gate is interesting, since two similar inscriptions are known, one at Paros[3] and the other in the tower at Ephesus,

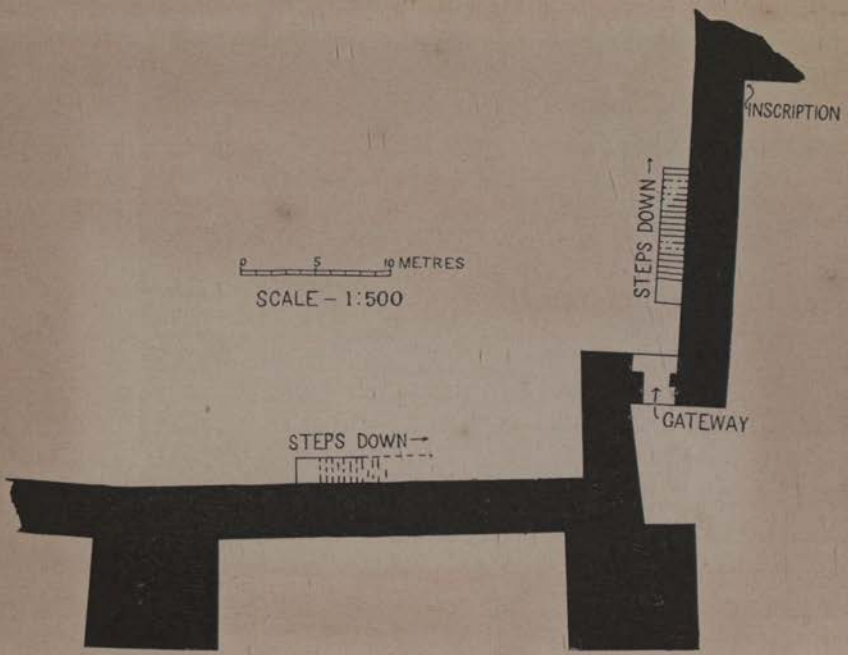


FIG. 12.—PLAN OF GATE, NISYROS.

miscalled St. Paul's Prison[4]: here five feet were to be left clear before the wall, at Paros only three, and at Ephesus forty feet inside and fifty feet outside. On the other hand Philo[5] recommends that as much as sixty cubits should be left unoccupied; the object of course was to prevent an enemy obtaining assistance in scaling the walls from trees or houses. The inscription is of the fourth century, and thus dates the wall, but

[1] Hiller von Gaertringen, *op. cit.* p. 374, 43.
[2] *I.G.* xii. 3, 86. [3] Dittenberger, *Syllogé*[1], 308.
[4] Benndorf, *Jahreshefte*, 1899, *Beiblatt*, p. 33. [5] Τειχοποιικῶν, § 11; cf. Benndorf, *loc. cit.*

the style of building changes to the south of the inscription, and the gate section is apparently later than the rest. The thickness of this part is remarkable, and recalls the later Hellenistic wall at Miletus,[1] so perhaps this portion of the walls of Nisyros is of the same period, the third century B.C.[2] The frequency of the flights of steps also seems unusual in existing Greek fortifications, the best examples of which are at Miletus[3] and Priene[4]; in the latter city round the whole enceinte there are only three staircases, here we have four in a very small space.

From the point where it is destroyed, the conjectural line of the wall can be followed down to the sea on the north, where stands the castle

FIG. 13.—WALL FROM INSIDE SHOWING STAIRS AND GATE, NISYROS.

of the Knights of Rhodes. In the foundations of this fort are many traces of Hellenic work, especially to the east. To the south of the castle there is a break in the line of the hill, which was perhaps made by the knights as a kind of fosse. The castle now contains only

[1] Wiegand, *Arch. Anz.* 1902, p. 148.

[2] Ross says (*op. cit.* p. 70) that part of the wall on the south is polygonal. This is due apparently to late restoration, since Hellenic work is visible below.

[3] *Arch. Anz.* 1901, p. 193, Fig. 4. Ramps as well as steps occur here.

[4] Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 42, Fig. 27. Similar stairs occur in the walls of Messene (*Expéd. de Morée*, I. pl. 39) and the Piraeus (*B.C.H.* 1887, p. 205, 1888, Pl. XV.). The stairs at the Piraeus seem to have been called κλίμακες (*I.G.* ii. 1. 167, l. 46), κλιμακτῆρες (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 84. l. 6), and ἀναβασμοί (*B.C.H.* 1888, p. 355).

a monastery built above the rock church, Panaghía Spilianí, where incubation is practised.[1] Mrs. Bent states that the monastery used to issue paper money[2] which passed as small change. This has long since been stopped by the government, but such a custom is not unknown elsewhere.[3]

The old town of Mandráki is built in the ravine to the east of the

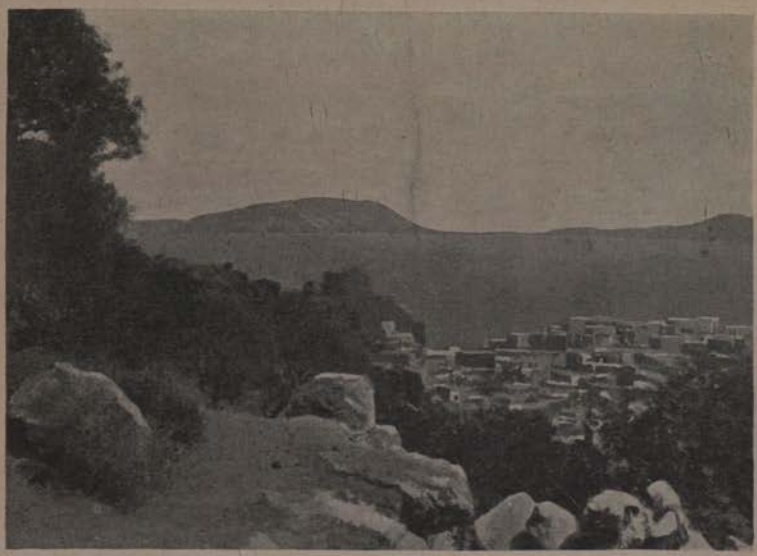


FIG. 14.—MANDRÁKI AND THE CASTLE OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN, NISYROS.

castle and is invisible from the sea (Fig. 14); the modern town now spreads further east over the flat land, which is said by the natives to have

[1] This is probably the cave referred to by Buondelmonte: *aa trionem in pede montis, contigua maris, spelunca constitit, ad quam circumstantes, doloribus oppressi, accedunt, et diu morati, in patriam incolumes reverteruntur.* Boschini and Piacenza mention a wood possessing the same properties; possibly this is a mistake on their part.

[2] *Journal Anthropological Institute*, 1885, p. 402.

[3] Mrs. Bent mentions a similar case in Samos, where two of the notes were worth a penny, that is apparently twenty paras. Mr. Hasluck tells us of the following cases in Mysia; at Aboulliond (Apollonia ad Rhyndacum) the church of St. George issues card checks with the figure of the saint; the colours vary with the values, which are five and ten paras; in the Cyzicus peninsula the church of the Ζωοδόχος Πηγή at Yeni Keui issues brass bracteates with the name of the church, which pass as five paras; at Ermeni Keui ('Armenian village') similar bracteates worth five paras are issued with an Armenian inscription; at Vathý the church uses brass German counters stamped with the value, five, ten, and twenty paras. Tozer gives details of similar church currencies in Thasos and Samothrace (*Islands of the Aegean*, pp. 295 and 336).

been the ancient harbour. There does not now seem to be much reason for this belief, though Ross apparently agreed to it, and says that thirty years before his visit there was a marsh here. The terrace wall, which he mentions, at the foot of the eastern hills still exists, and is built of large rough-hewn blocks laid in irregular courses. Above it tombs are often found, and quite recently the torso of a late grave statue was found here. All the lower slopes of these eastern hills are full of graves, so that there seems no doubt that they were outside the town. Whether the ancient harbour was where the natives believe it to have been, must be left an open question.

The only other remains of antiquity in Nisyros are the ruins of late Roman baths by the hot springs near Pali, at the chapel called Panaghia Thermiani; these have been described elsewhere by Dr. Pantelides.[1] The ruins called *τὰ Ἑλληνικά* close by at the north-eastern cape of the island seem to be mediaeval, although local tradition places here the temple of Poseidon.

Buondelmonte says that the island possessed five castles, Mandrachi, Palaeocastro, Pandenichi, Nicea and Argos. Palaeocastro is the modern name for the Greek wall described above, and it hardly seems possible that it and Mandráki formed separate towns. Nicea is almost certainly the modern *Νικιά* at the south-eastern corner; close to it is a small mediaeval castle called *Παρλέττια*, now deserted. Argos is the name now given to a district in the south, where there is the mediaeval castle *'στὸ Σταυρό* described by Ross. Here are said to be other antique quarries, as well as those for millstones seen by Ross. Piacenza also mentions five towns, Nichia, Mandrachi, Paltro, Pandenichi, and Argo. The worthlessness of his map is shewn by the fact that he places Nichia and Mandrachi in the same place. Paltro is apparently the same as Palaeocastro. Pandenichi is perhaps to be identified with the third existing castle, that in the village of Emporió on the hill above Palí. This fort stands in the middle of the village and is still partly inhabited. It has two gates—from the east and west; on the other two sides the rock is precipitous.

Nisyros is a volcanic island, and its crater is mentioned both by classical and mediaeval writers as being active. The volcano is still active to-day as a *solfatara*, its present outlet being in the valley just below *Νικιά*

[1] *B.C.H. loc. cit.*

(Fig. 15). An attempt made some years ago to work the sulphur proved a failure. The hot springs at Pali, near Mandráki and elsewhere on the sea-shore, are due to volcanic action. Telos, the west end of Cos and the barren islands between Cos and Nisyros are also volcanic.[1]

The island is to-day rich, fertile, and well wooded, although it possesses only two springs of fresh water, one near Pali, and the other just below Emporió. It well deserves its Turkish name of 'Fig Island,' and in addition to this fruit produces in abundance grapes, almonds, olives, and vallonia.[2]

There is no need to repeat here the classical and mediaeval history of

FIG. 15.—THE CRATER, NISYROS.

the island, which is easily accessible in the works of Hiller von Gaertringen and Coronelli; in antiquity it was partly independent, and partly subject to Rhodes; in the middle ages it was, till the Ottoman conquest, under the Knights of Rhodes.

To the east are two desert islands, Περγοῦσα and Παχιά.[3] On the latter there is one, and on the former two, Hellenic watch-towers, and the barren rock of Strongyli to the north is said to have a mediaeval fort. None of these however had we time to examine.

[1] We could hear nothing of the deep salt lake in the interior mentioned by Coronelli and Piacenza.

[2] The acorn-cups of the Vallonia oak used for dyeing and tanning.

[3] Wrongly called by Kiepert 'Perigusa' and 'Rakhia.'

§ 4.—LEROS.

The island has been so fully described by others that we only wish to add some supplementary remarks on the Hellenic remains. Of the ancient capital no trace survives, though it was probably where the modern town and the mediaeval castle now stand.

The best known ruins on Leros are those on the shore of the northern harbour of the island at Parthéni, supposed from the name to be the site of the temple of Artemis Parthenos. Here on a rocky knoll are some Hellenic ruins, in which Oikonomopoulos[1] recognised a temple *in antis*, believing it to be that of Artemis; Paton,[2] however, has rightly corrected this opinion. As he says, there was here merely a tower, 8·50m. square,

FIG. 16.—TOWER AT PARTHENI, LEROS.

built of squared blocks with drafted corners, laid in regular courses (Fig. 16). Twenty metres from the east side of the tower are a corner and part of the wall of a court, built in the same style; we have then to recognise here merely one of the usual island watch-towers such as we have discussed above. Amonst the débris on the site we found a fragment of a brick, inscribed -ΜΟΨ. As Paton says, the exact site of the temple of Artemis Parthenos has still to be found, nor must it as yet be identified with the mediaeval monastery ruins on the shore near the tower.

The only other Greek work on the island is to be seen at the small fort of

[1] Λεριακά, p. 164. [2] *Classical Review*, 1894, p. 376.

Xerókambo (Fig. 17), in the extreme south. It stands on a rocky hill that commands the bay of Lákki to the north, as well as that of Xerókambo.

FIG. 17.—FORT AT XEROKAMBO, LEROS.

Oikonomopoulos[1] published a plan of this fort, but was led into error by including the later walls, for the fort has been rebuilt in later times, and

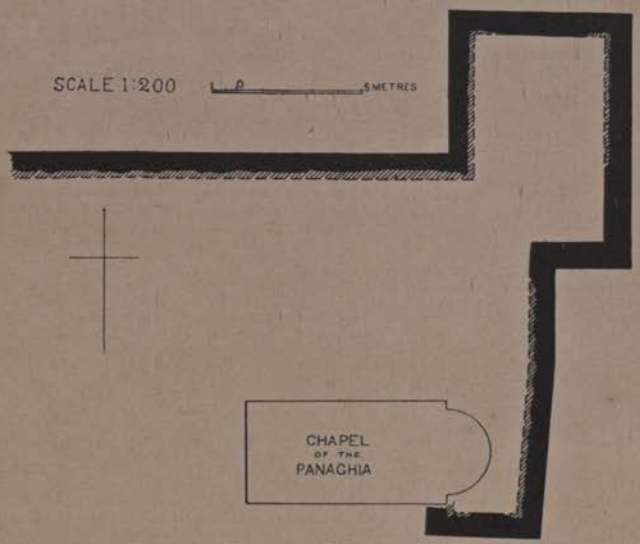


FIG. 18.—PLAN OF FORT AT XEROKAMBO.

a chapel built within it. Our plan (Fig. 18) shews how much Hellenic

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 166.

wall still exists. The wall on the south side of the chapel cannot have been set back very much, since in front of the chapel door there are remains of a mosaic pavement. The wall is built of squared blocks with straight joints laid in regular courses, of which as many as six or seven are still standing; it is about one metre wide, and composed of two thicknesses of blocks bonded at intervals; the corners are drafted. It is impossible to decide whether we have here a tower and court of the usual type, or a small acropolis; in any case, to judge from its style, it does not seem earlier than the latter part of the fourth century; the mosaic pavement is made of rather coarse black, brown, and white tesserae, in which a geometrical pattern of the network type can be made out. It is quite possible that it is late Greek work.

R. M. DAWKINS.
ALAN J. B. WACE.

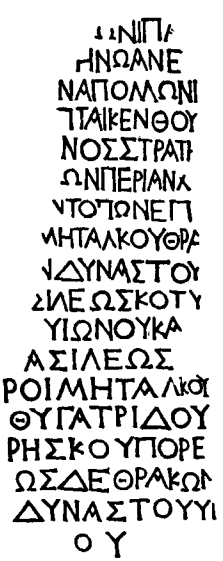
INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIZYE.

DURING a visit to Bizye (modern Viza) in February 1906,[1] I gathered the inscriptions which are here published. Mr. Hasluck has supplied the initialled notes and restorations, and I am responsible for the texts only.

R. M. D.

Viza lies seventy miles to the north-west of Constantinople, and twenty miles to the west of the Black Sea. It was the seat of the chiefs of the Astai (whence Ἀστική as a subdivision of Thrace), and afterwards of the Thracian kings whose relationships are discussed below.

1. On a marble block, built into the corner of what is now the last house on the left at the lower edge of Viza. Inscribed face ·175 m. wide, broken at top and partly on left side. Letters ·15 m. high.



Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Πα-
κτυ]ηνῷ ἀνέ-
θηκε]ν Ἀπολλών[ι-
ος Ἑ]πταικένθου
γενόμε]νος στρατη-
γὸς τ]ῶν περὶ Ἀνχ-
ιάλη]ν τόπων ἐπ-
ὶ Ῥοι]μητάλκου Θρᾳ-
κῶ]ν δυνάστου
βα]σιλέως Κότ[υ-
ος] υἱωνοῦ κα[ὶ
β]ασιλέως
Ῥοιμητάλκου
θυγατριδοῦ
Ῥησκουπόρε-
ως δὲ Θρᾳκῶν
δυνάστου υἱ-
οῦ.

[1] See *J.H.S.*, xxvi. 191 ff.

Πα[κτυ]ηνῷ is purely conjectural: an ethnic adjective is evidently to be supplied, and the nationality of the dedicator suggests a Thracian ethnic.

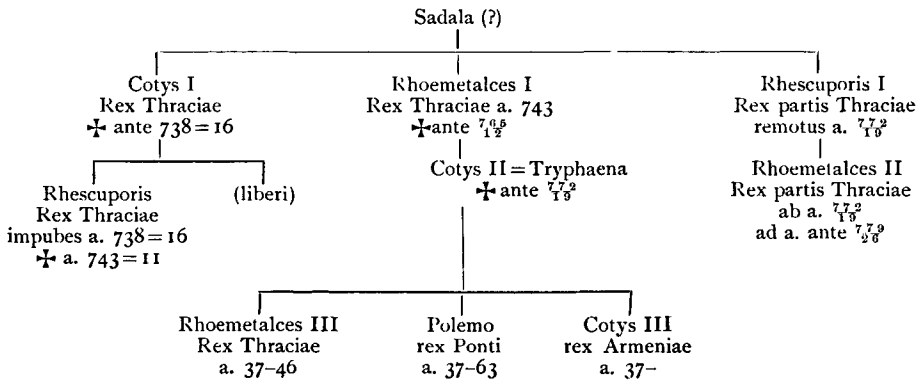
Ἐπταικένθου: Ἐπταικένθης is a well-authenticated Thracian name. Cf. Dumont, *Inscrr. de la Thrace*, No. 12 (see also p. 553) and *B.C.H.* xxii. 488.

στρατηγός: for the στρατηγίαι as territorial divisions of Thrace see Mommsen, *Provinces* i. 306, note 3. Many of them are named by Ptolemy (III. ii. 8, 9) and a στρατηγὸς Ἀστικῆς is mentioned in an inscription of Tchorlu (*Eph. Epig.* ii. 352 = Dumont, *loc. cit.* No. 62*f.* cf. *ibid.* p. 317, Q1.

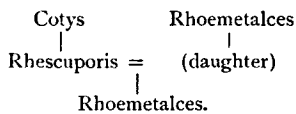
Anchiale or Anchialus was a small town near Apollonia Pontica (Strabo vi. 6, etc.), which, to judge from its coinage, became an important fortified place under Trajan.

The elaborate genealogy after the name of Rhoemetalces is rendered necessary by the complicated *stemma* of the Thracian royal house, which, owing chiefly to the recurrence of two or three names, is still by no means clear; our information is derived from casual references in the historians at such periods as the Romans concerned themselves with Thracian politics, and from Thracian inscriptions, of which at least two like the present are from Bizye.[1]

The pedigree elaborated by Mommsen,[2] which, happily for the reader, has not been disputed at the point which concerns us, runs as follows :—



From the inscription before us we gain the following *stemma*



[1] Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* ii. 1235; *Eph. Epig.* ii. 256.

[2] *Eph. Epig.* ii. 250 ff. Cf. the modification suggested by Crowfoot, *J.H.S.* xvii. 321 ff.

It will be seen that we have already (in Rhoemetalces II) a Rhoemetalces, son of Rhescuporis ; but there is absolutely no evidence for supposing that his grandfathers were named Cotys and Rhoemetalces.[1] On the other hand we have (in Rhescuporis II) a Rhescuporis, son of Cotys and nephew (possibly son-in-law) of Rhoemetalces, but, according to Mommsen, 'interfectus est (by Vologaeses in 11 B.C.) juvenis, *stirpe nulla relicta*.'[2] For the latter statement, however, I find no authority, and therefore feel justified in considering our Rhoemetalces the son of Rhaescuporis II and of an anonymous daughter of Rhoemetalces II. This leaves us in an awkward position with three Rhoemetalcae on our hands, two even in the same generation.

Confusing as this may be, all the three are well authenticated. We cannot, without inventing the requisite grandfathers, identify our Rhoemetalces with the son of the anti-Roman Rhaescuporis I, nor with the much younger son of Cotys, who came to the throne in 37 A.D. It is sufficient, pending further records, to remark that the confusion was recognized by contemporaries, as is shewn by the present inscription's laudable attempt to make all clear; while the epithet *νεώτερος* added to the name of Rhoemetalces III in an Attic inscription,[3] shews that two princes of the name were actually reigning at the same time.

It may be worth while to remark that the wording of Rhoemetalces' pedigree goes far to render certain the restoration of the inscription in honour of another Thracian prince, S. Julius (Cotys?) *Κότυος δυνάστου. Θρᾳκῶν υἱωνὸν .. καὶ θυγατριδῆ τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν δινάστου, Ῥοιμητάλκα* etc.[4] —F.W.H.

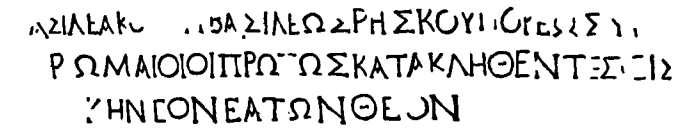
2. On a limestone block ·18 m. high × ·22 m. deep, built into a gate-post at Kastro, a hamlet just above Viza. It is broken on the right, and the greatest length preserved is ·57 m. The top line is much worn. Height of letters ·02 m.

[1] The father of the three brothers was, according to Mommsen, Sadala, according to Crowfoot, Rhescuporis.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 253.

[3] *C.I.A.* iii. 1284, on which see Neubauer in *Hermes*, x. 145. He takes the two to be Mommsen's Rhoemetalces II and III.

[4] *Athen. Mitt.* vi. 40; cf. *J.H.S.* xxii. 131, xxiii. 91.



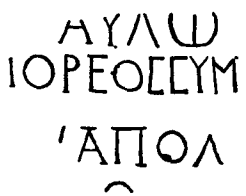
B]ασιλέα Κό[τυ](ν) βασιλέως Ῥησκουπόρεως υἱ[ὸν
Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πρώ(τ)ως κατακληθέντες εἰς
κῆνσον ἑατῶν θεόν.

κῆνσος is of course the Roman *census*, but so little is known of the provincial census that the word gives no clue to the date.

For the form ἑατῶν, characteristic of the Augustan period,[1] cf. the Thracian inscription *C.I.A.* iii. 552 (quoted *Eph. Epig.* ii. 252).

Mommsen refers Cotys Rhescuporeos (mentioned in *C.I.A.* iii. 585) to a different family, but the occurrence of this inscription at Bizye helps to substantiate Crowfoot's ingenious hypothesis that he was identical with Cotys I.—F.W.H.

3. In front of the School, on a block of white marble, broken on all sides except the right. Greatest width ·20 m. Height of lettering ·03 m. There is a moulding between l. 2 and l. 3, so that the lower lines are cut on a recessed surface.



αυλω
. . π]όρεος συμ . .
. . απολ

One of the many Thracian names ending in -πορις must evidently be restored in *l.* 1, possibly Αὐλώπορις for Αὐλούπορις *B.C.H.* xxii. 486, *l.* 25, 526, *ll.* 48, 61). For the whole inscription οἱ] Αὐλ(ου)πόρεος συμ[μύσται] Ἀπόλ[λωνι . . . may be tentatively suggested, but the stone is so fragmentary that conjecture is unprofitable.—F. W. H.

[1] It occurs from 74 B.C. onwards (Meisterhans, *Gram. d. Att. Inschrr.* p. 154).

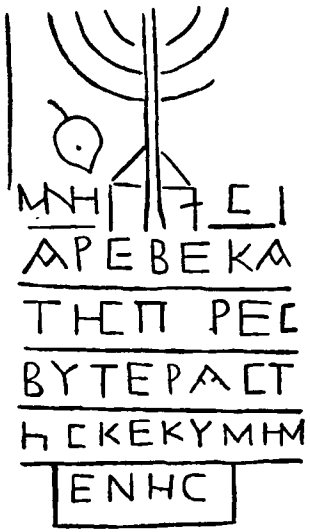
4. On a grey limestone stele (inscribed face ·42 m. wide, thickness 41 m.) in an open space at Kastro. It is broken below; height preserved 1·00 m. Height of lettering ·03 m.

ΕΝΘΑΚΑΤΑΚΙ	*Ενθα κατακῖ-*
ΤΕΗΔΟΥΛΗΤΥ	*τε ἡ δούλη τοῦ*
ΘΕΟΥΘΕΚΛΑ	*θεοῦ Θέκλα.*

Thekla is a likely name to be found here, for St. Thekla (August 19th, old style), martyred in the reign of Maximianus, was born at Viza. The Synaxarion gives the following distich:

Ἔμοιγε κλῆσις Θέκλα, πατρὶς Βιζύη,
Γάζης τόπος θέατρον, ἆθλον θὴρ δάκνων.

5. In the courtyard of the School. Grey marble stele, ·23 m. wide and broken off below the lettering. Letters ·025 m. high.



Μνῆ(μ)α Ῥεβέκας τῆς πρεσβυτέρας τῆς κεκυμημένης.

Above the lettering is a representation of the seven branched candlestick, a distinctive mark of a Jewish epitaph.[1] With the title *πρεσβυτέρα*

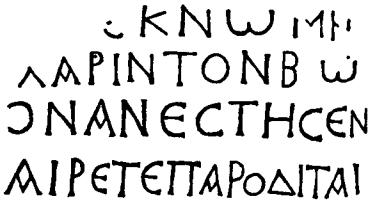
[1] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 652.

compare the epitaph of the Jewess Rufina of Smyrna: Ῥουφεῖνα Ἰουδαία ἀρχισυνάγωγος κ.τ.λ.[1]

6. In the courtyard of the Khan at Kastro. A broken limestone base, ·41 m. square, and at the bottom of the moulded foot, ·59 m. square. Lettering with apices, ·05 m. high, deep and cleanly cut.

ΑΥΡΛΟΥΚΙΑΝ	Αὐρ. Λουκιαν(οῦ)
ΣΚ ΩΝΟΥ	Σκ(ιπι)ῶνος
ΙΣ	ις

7. Built into the wall of a house, in the town below the church. Inscribed face ·29 m. wide, and ·20 m. high, broken at the top, and below not smoothed for writing. About ·03 m. has been cut off the left side of the stone. Lettering ·025 m. high.



[ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεινὶ ἰδίῳ
τ]έκνῳ μν[ήμης]
χάριν τὸν βω-
μ]ὸν ἀνέστησεν.
χ]αίρετε παροδῖται.

There is hardly space for μνήμης in full, but ligatures may have been used.

R. M. DAWKINS.
F. W. HASLUCK.

NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THRACIAN KINGS.

I.

SINCE writing the above I find that a further contribution to the *stemma* of the Thracian Kings has recently been published by Kalinka[2] in an inscription from Apollonia Pontica: the text runs as follows:—

[1] Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 430.
[2] *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* (1906), No. 157.

'Απόλλ]ωνι 'Ιητ[ρῷ | ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς 'Ροιμ[η|τάλκου] βασι[λέ|ως
Κότ]υος κα[ὶ | βασιλ]έως 'Ρο[ι|μητά]λκου [υἱω|νοῦ κ]αὶ
Πυθο[δω|ρίδος β]ασ[ι]λέω[ς | 'Ροιμητ]άλκου [καὶ |
βασιλε]ως Πολ[έ|μωνο]ς θυγατρι[.. δῆς ὑγ]ίας καὶ
σ[ω|τηρία]ς εὐξάμ[ε|νος Λ]ούκιος 'Α.. | . .]ρήνων.

The editor interprets the relationship of the persons concerned, Rhoemetalces and Pythodoris, curiously: he apparently takes *υἱωνός* as 'grandson' simply, and *θυγατριδῆς* as 'granddaughter.' He consequently considers that the pairs of ancestors cited are both grandfathers, whereas the Thracian regal inscriptions generally give the father and grandfather. He also prefers not to identify the Rhoemetalces and Pythodoris mentioned, with a Rhoemetalces and Pythodoris referred to in a very similar inscription found at Bizye,[1] and considers them as descendants (elsewhere unknown) of the three sons of Cotys II and Tryphaena. The Bizye inscription runs as follows:—

θεῶι ἁγίωι ὑψίστωι . . . | ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ροιμη|τάλκου καὶ
Πυθο|δωρίδος ἐκ τοῦ κα|τὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λ]ητικὸν |
πόλεμον κινδύνου | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενος | καὶ
ἐπιτυχὼν Γάϊος | 'Ιούλιος Πρόκ(λ)ος χαρι|στ[ήρι]ον.

The identity of the names and the repetition of *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας* naturally lead one to the assumption that the inscriptions are complementary to each other, provided that the genealogical details can be made to harmonise with known historical facts.

Looking first at the data supplied by the Bizye inscription, we find safe ground in the allusion to the *Κοιλαλητικὸς πόλεμος*, which is known from Tacitus (*Annales* .iii. 38) to have taken place in 21 A.D.: the Rhoemetalces of the inscription has hitherto been identified with Rhoemetalces II. The circumstances of the war were these: in 19 A.D. Cotys II had been murdered by his uncle and partner in the kingdom Rhescuporis I; the latter was deposed by Rome, his kingdom being divided between his son Rhoemetalces II and the children of the murdered Cotys. The eldest of the children, afterwards Rhoemetalces III, was still a minor, and a Roman, Trebellienus Rufus, acted for him. In 21 A.D. a rebel army of

[1] *Eph. Epig.* ii. 256 = Dumont, *Inscrr. de la Thrace*, p. 377, No. 62*e*.

the Coelaletae and other tribes discontented with the joint government shut up 'the king'[1] in Philippopolis. Later on we find the sons of Cotys being educated at Rome with the young Caligula.

It is thus proved that at the date of the Coelaletic war there were two princes living named Rhoemetalces, viz. Rhoemetalces II and the son of Cotys still in his minority.

Turning to the *stemma* given by the Apollonia inscription, I find the following relationships implied:—

(*a*) Rhoemetalces
|
Cotys
|
Rhoemetalces

(*b*) Polemo
|
Rhoemetalces = daughter
|
Pythodoris

(*a*) fits in with Mommsen's genealogy only if we accept 'Rhoemetalces' as Rhoemetalces III. This means that the son of Cotys and not Rhoemetalces II was the king shut up in Philippopolis, and the fact that neither inscription qualifies him as *βασιλεύς* or even *δυνάστης* is greatly in favour of the assumption.

As to (*b*), Polemo Eusebes of Pontus (who married a Pythodoris) was the father-in-law of Cotys II, and not impossibly of Rhoemetalces II also. The younger Pythodoris could not have been married to Rhoemetalces III already, but would be in any case a useful hostage as the heiress of Rhoemetalces II.

For the sake of clearness I repeat the Thracian royal pedigree, the new figures being indicated by italics:—

Sadala (?)

Cotys I — Rhoemetalces I — Rhescuporis I — Polemo Eusebes = Pythodoris

(liberi) Rhescuporis II = *filia* — Cotys II = Tryphaena — Rhoemetalces II = — *filia*

Rhoemetalces (2) Polemo (3) Cotys (1) Rhoemetalces (? =) *Pythodoris*

[1] Tacitus never mentions the name; in iii. 38 he says '*Regem* urbemque Philippopolim circumsidunt,' in iii. 39 '*Regis* opportuna eruptione.' The younger Rhoemetalces is never mentioned by name in Tacitus, who speaks consistently of the 'liberi Cotyis.' Even when local inscriptions come into direct conflict with Roman literary evidence the former unquestionably carry the greater conviction.

II.

It may be permissible here to insert a note on the text of Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 366, one of the Cyzicene inscriptions referring to the Thracian royal house. A bad copy, apparently by an Armenian, of the latter part (from *l.* 15) of this inscription was given me by a Greek in Mudania last year. This copy proved on examination to have been made before the breakage at the right hand lower corner of the stone: it consequently preserves the following fuller readings, which I have here compared with Limnios' (the first) copy,[1] and Dittenberger's final text:

	Armenian copy.	*Limnios.*	*Dittenberger.*
(1) l. 25	ΕΛΙΝΔΙΟΙΙ	ΕΑΝ . . .	(σ)αν[ίσι]
(2) l. 26	ΕΠΤΡΑΦΙ	ΕΠΙ . . .	ἐπι[γραφήν
(3) l. 27	ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ	ΥΠ	ὑπ[ηρεσίαις]
(4) l. 28	ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΗΣΤΡΙΥΦΑΙΝ	ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΗΣ . . .	σεμνοτάτης [βουλῆς
(5) l. 29	ΠΡΟΣΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΕΑΙΔΕΚΑ	ΠΡΟΣΚΑΤΑΣΤΗ . . .	προσκαταστῆ[σαι δὲ

(1) warrants the substitution of (σ)*ανιδίοις*[2] for σ(αν)[*ίσι*]. The initial E is a well-attested lapidary's error,[3] the rest possibly due to ignorance of the copyist. In (4) the recurrence of Tryphaena's name, especially with the epithet *σεμνοτάτης* is remarkable.

F. W. H.

[1] *Athen. Mitt.* xvi. 1891, 141–144.

[2] This was Joubin's original restoration (*R.E.G.* vi. 9).

[3] ΤΗ in l. 16, another lapidary's error reproduced by Limnios and disputed by Joubin, is also given by the copy.

A ROMAN BRIDGE ON THE AESEPUS.

THE course of the Roman road along the southern shore of the sea of Marmora between Priapus and Cyzicus has hitherto been known only from the Peutinger table and from a single milestone[1] (the thirteenth) found in a Turkish cemetery above Tchaoush-keui, not far therefore from its original position. The Peutinger table notes only one point between the places named—the crossing of the Granicus. That of the Aesepus, a much more important river, is still marked by the considerable remains of a fine Roman bridge, which, owing to its secluded position at a turn of the valley, has hitherto escaped the notice of such travellers as have passed along the coast road.[2] Hearing at Boghashehr, where I had shewn an interest in the fast-vanishing ruin of Ak-kupru, that a similar bridge existed on the road to Gunen, I took that route and was rewarded by the discovery of the best-preserved ancient bridge in the district.

This bridge, locally called Guvertchin Kupru ('Dove Bridge'), lies about three and a half miles from the mouth of the river, just at its exit from the valley to the plain of Tahir-ovassi.

Its direction is about E.S.E. by E. and though no main arch is preserved in its entirety, the remaining piers—only one has fallen—still

[1] *B.C.H.* xvii. 546 (35) 'above Tchaoush-keui' = *C.I.L.* iii. *Supp.* 2, 13687; cf. *C.I.L.* iii. 1, 7178 = *Eph. Epigr.* 2, 351. Both are thirteenth milestones, if indeed the stones are not identical.

[2] W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the East* (1820), iii. 200 ff.; O. F. von Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (1822), 421 ff.; F. Ruge in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxxviii. (1892) p. 228 (map); W. Judeich in *Sitzber. Berl. Akad.* (1898), ii. 550 ff.

stand to their full height and even preserve their sections of the roadway intact.

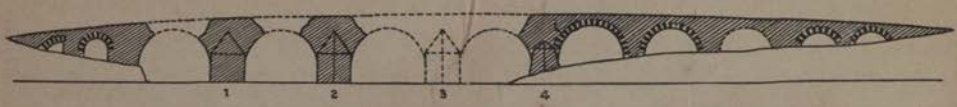


FIG. 1.—ELEVATION OF BRIDGE.

The main stream was spanned by four arches built solidly of rubble, faced with granite ashlar and vaulted with the same material (Fig. 3). The westernmost, which was the only one accessible at the time of my visit, had a span of about 12·20 metres, the height of the pier (footing-course to roadway) being about 8·80 m. The roadway was borne on four slab-roofed vaults parallel to the direction of the bridge (Fig. 2). The third pier from the west bank has fallen. The piers are planned with sharp triangular cutwaters against the stream, while on the lower side they are furnished with blunt buttresses of hexagonal plan presenting a flat face outwards.

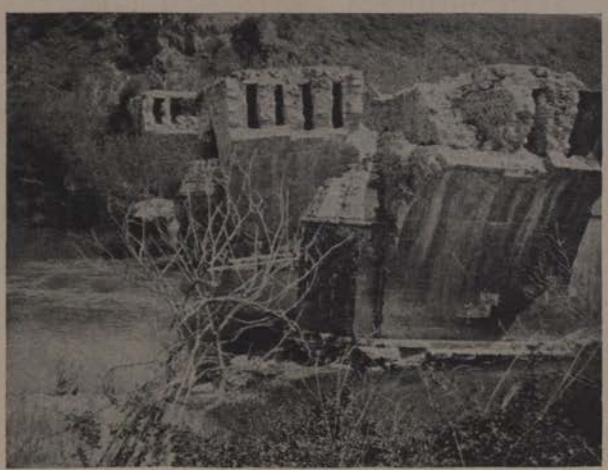
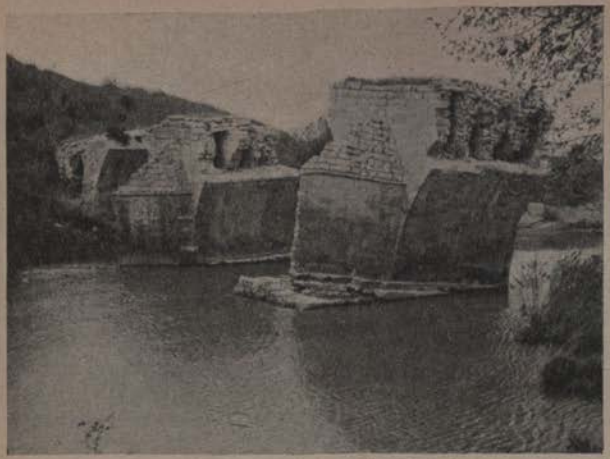


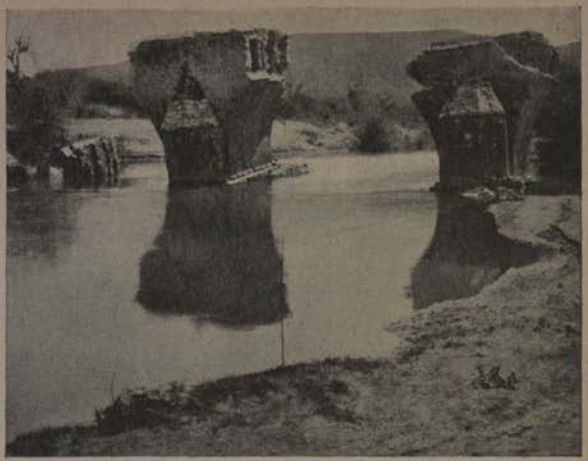
FIG. 2.—VIEW FROM W. END, SHOWING VAULTS SUPPORTING ROADWAY.

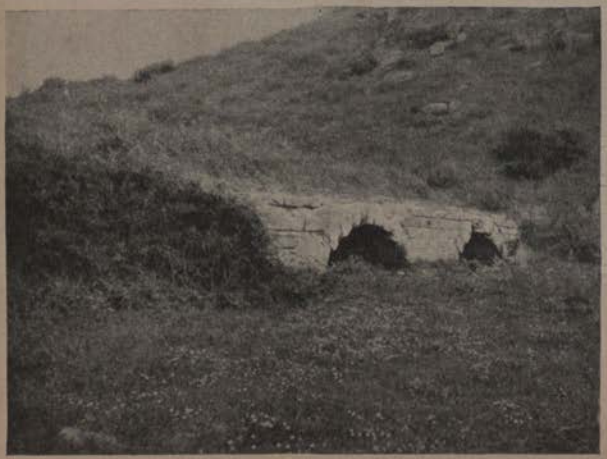
The stream at this point passes close under the west slope of the valley, so that the western abutment is short. It is pierced by a small arch and half-arch with tile vaults, the outer voussoirs being alternately stones and groups of tiles; this is the construction used throughout in the less massive bridge at Sultan Chair to which I shall refer later.

CENTRAL PIERS, S. FRONT.

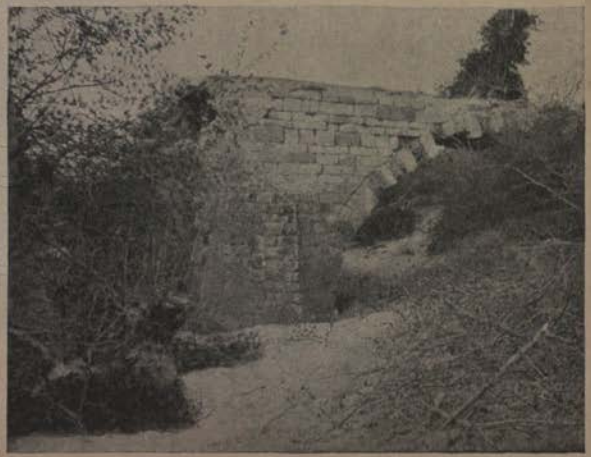


CENTRAL PIERS, N. FRONT.





EXTREMITY OF E. ABUTMENT.



ABUTMENT ARCH ON E. BANK.

FIG. 3.—ROMAN BRIDGE OVER THE AESEPUS.

The eastern abutment is much longer than the western, and is well preserved, though much overgrown, right up to the main stream, a distance of about 58 metres (Fig. 3). The westernmost pier is of a different type from the others, having a low, squat cutwater with sloping profile; both this and the easternmost pier are relieved by a vault running across the bridge; the vault is completely masked on the stream side, but on the down side is made conspicuous by the alternate tile and stone voussoirs we have before alluded to. The first dry arch (Fig. 3), which has a span of 12·20 m., is treated in the same manner, and this construction is continued in the culvert arches, gradually decreasing in size, which support the extremity of the abutment. One of these is completely overgrown and is conjecturally indicated on the sketch-elevation.

The roadway is built of large stones, only occasionally squared, and is about 5·60 metres wide: at the end of the eastern abutment are remains of an *exedra* in brick (paralleled at the Sangarius bridge of Sabanja),[1] round which the road forks. An upright cylindrical stone 0·80 m. high and 0·40 m. in diameter, stands beside it and may have been intended to record repairs.

The road from between the bridge and Cyzicus is still to some extent the original Roman way; it is paved with small round stones to a depth of 5 or 6 inches, well pounded or rolled together in earth. It commands magnificent views of the Aesepus mouth and the peninsula of Cyzicus, and was till quite lately the usual route between Boghashehr and Panderma; a lower route fording the Aesepus at its mouth and striking inland at Musatcha is now preferred.

Two hours east of the bridge, behind Tchaoush-keui, are remains of an old Turkish *khan*, near which, in a cemetery, stands the thirteenth milestone from Cyzicus mentioned above.

For the date of the bridge we have no evidence except such as is afforded by its construction. It is paralleled most closely by the bridge of Sultan Chair on the Macestus, of which measured drawings have been published by Dr. Wiegand[2]: this is a very similar structure, though the design is varied to fit the wide and shallow bed of the Macestus. The bridge itself is lower and longer, consisting of fifteen arches with a total

[1] Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, i. 55 (pl. iv.): l'extrémité du pont va s'appliquer directement contre une montagne; et la route tourne à angle droit pour se diriger au nord . . . et au sud. Une grande niche de 6·33 de large, avec des portes latérales qui existent encore, fermant sans doute une salle voûtée qui offrait un abri aux voyageurs.

[2] *Athen. Mitt.* xxix. Pl. XXIV.

length of about 300 metres. The arches are throughout of tile from just above the springs, the outer voussoirs being of tile and stone alternately. The piers have cutwaters against the stream, but no corresponding buttresses on the lower side; they are lightened by transverse vaults over the piers and in the spandrels. These vaults shew the same decorative treatment of the outer voussoirs, except on the stream side over the cutwaters, where they are masked.

A third bridge with the same characteristics is the Ak-kupru ('White bridge'), now nearly destroyed, which crossed the Granicus below Boghashehr. It is first mentioned by Chishull,[1] in whose time (1699) it was still in use; he ascribes it to Mohammed IV (1648–87), in which he is followed by Kiepert,[2] and it has certainly been repaired in Turkish times, but the fullest account which has come down to us—that of William Turner who crossed it in 1815—bears witness not only to its antiquity but also to its essential similarity to the bridges we are discussing.

He describes it as 'a very magnificent Roman bridge built with brick and small stones and cased with large squares of fine marble. It consisted of eight arches, four large ones over the river, and four small ones, two at each end, at the extremities on land: the largest arch was of eighteen paces' span and eight in width: it was irregular, for it was one of four with none large enough to correspond with it. The pressure on the bridge was lightened by small arches built immediately under the pavement. The width of the river's bed was 75 feet, but of these only 22 feet were now provided with water.'[3]

Tchihatchef, who passed the bridge on his road from Gürelje to Bogashehr in 1847, still saw enough to convince him that the bridge was ancient,[4] and Janke's description points in the same direction.[5]

I passed the remains of this bridge in 1906; much has disappeared

[1] *Travels in Turkey* (1747), p. 60.

[2] *Das Schlachtfeld am Granicus* (based on researches of 1842) in *Globus*, 1877, xxxii. pp. 263–4.

[3] *Journal of a Tour in the East* (1820), iii. 206.

[4] *Asie Mineure*, i. 212 'très-beau pont antique . . . repose sur trois arcs et s'est écroulé à sa moitié.' See also his route book (ed. Kiepert, *Petermanns Mitt.* Ergänzungsheft 20), p. 5, Dec. 13, 1847, which shews that the bridge was on the Granicus itself, not on its western affluent, as Texier, *Asie Mineure* (*L'Univers*, xii), p. 155.

[5] *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden* (1894), p. 137. 'Am linken Ufer stehen noch mehrere Bogen mit runden Gewölben und Ziegel, während die Pfeiler auf schön behauenen, 1 m. langen ½ m. hohen Steinen ruhen. Oben ist die Strassenanlage eingestürzt. Auf dem rechten Ufer steht noch ein Pfeilerrest dessen Unterbauten besonders regelmässig scheinen.'

even since Janke's description, the ruins having been plundered for material during the building of the Karabogha-Boghashehr *chaussée*; the principal relic is a tile-vaulted arch of the western abutment with the adjoining pier. The span of the arch is 2·70 m., and the width of the roadway, which was traceable by the foundations of its bounding walls for some yards, 7·40 m. The outer voussoirs of the arch have been removed with the ashlar facing of the bridge, leaving the plain tile vault bare; inside the arch alone a few courses of ashlar survive. The upper part of the bridge, so far as it exists, is of very rough rubble with tile carelessly used. This is certainly due to Turkish repairs, and Mohammed IV may be responsible. The road was an important one in Turkish times as leading to Gallipoli.

A fourth of the series is probably to be found in the ruined bridge on the Rhyndacus at Ulubad (Lopadium); of this again very little remains, no arch is entire, and only a few ruined piers still exist on the north bank.[1] It is consequently impossible to say more than that the bridge is built of ashlar-faced rubble. The Rhyndacus bridge was built after 258 A.D.,[2] and was known in Byzantine times as the 'bridge of Constantine'; on it stood a chapel dedicated to him by S. Helena.[3] We know that Constantine remodelled the road system of Asia Minor to make it converge on Constantinople, and it is to a period subsequent to the change of capital that we must assign the Sultan Chair bridge, since it implies an eastward deflection of the important Macestus Valley road which led originally to Cyzicus. The Sultan Chair bridge is, as we have seen, closely connected by its style with those on the Aesepus and the Granicus, so that we have some reason for assigning to the age of Constantine the construction of the series of bridges of which Guvertchin Kupru is the best example in this part of the country.

F. W. HASLUCK.

[1] The ruins are shown in Landron's drawing of Ulubad (Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique, Itinéraire*, pl. 44.

[2] Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 160.

[3] Anna Comnena, i. 321, B (*γέφυραν*) *ἐν ᾗ καὶ τέμενος πάλαι παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας ᾠκοδόμητο Ἑλένης ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἡ γέφυρα μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐκτήσατο.*

BOATS ON THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS.

HERODOTUS, BK. I. CHAP. 194 (RAWLINSON'S TRANSLATION).

'*The boats which come down the river to Babylon are circular and made of skins. The frames, which are of willow, are cut in the country of the Armenians above Assyria, and on these, which serve for hulls, a covering of skins is stretched outside, and thus the boats are made, without either stem or stern, quite round like a shield. They are then entirely filled with straw, and their cargo is put on board, after which they are suffered to float down stream. Their chief freight is wine, stored in casks made of the wood of the palm-tree. They are managed by two men, who stand upright in them, each plying an oar, one pulling and the other pushing. The boats are of various sizes, some larger, some smaller; the biggest reach as high as five thousand talents' burthen. Each vessel has a live ass on board; those of larger size have more than one. When they reach Babylon, the cargo is landed and offered for sale; after which the men break up their boats, sell the straw and the frames, and loading their asses with the skins, set off on their way to Armenia. The current is too strong to allow a boat to return up-stream, for which reason they make their boats of skins rather than wood. On their return to Armenia they build fresh boats for the next voyage.*'

THE words of Herodotus describe a class of vessel still in use, but when dealing with Mesopotamia generally, it is necessary to rid ourselves of the vagueness which seems to enshroud all topics in that region, and to realise some of the differences of custom on the Euphrates and the Tigris. During historic times the different races of what is now called Turkish Arabia have acted and reacted on each other and on Persia, to such an extent that their real differences are sometimes overlooked. Even the country has changed. Ancient ports are now far inland, and at the same time the lower reaches of the Euphrates have silted up, so that boats of any size can no longer sail from the Persian Gulf to Babylon. Hence the great trade-centres have shifted from the Euphrates to the Tigris; Babylon and the still more ancient cities on the banks of the Euphrates have been deserted, while first Ctesiphon and then Bagdad have arisen as the great

marts through which pass the traffic between Western Asia and the Persian Gulf. On the other hand the Euphrates valley is the direct high road from Mesopotamia to Syria and the Mediterranean, so that the trade from Felujia northwards is as flourishing as ever, although the goods pass through, not Babylon, but Bagdad.

Thus the trade route from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf lies along both rivers in part, and it might be expected that similar vessels would be employed on each, but owing partly to the conservatism of the people and partly to the different natures of the rivers and the lands through which they pass, there are clearly defined local types which are

FIG. 1.—SHAHTOOR.

seldom if ever interchanged. Of these the chief are the *Shahtoor* on the Upper Euphrates; the *Killik* on the Tigris; the *Kufa* in and near Bagdad; and the *Dhow* on the lower reaches of both rivers, the Shatt el Arab and the Persian Gulf.

The *shahtoor* (Fig. 1) is used to convey heavy goods from the Upper Euphrates to Felujia, picking up passengers or cargo from Aleppo at Meskiné. From Felujia the journey of sixty miles to Bagdad is made by caravan. In describing a *shahtoor* it is perhaps better to avoid the terms of ordinary shipbuilding, for they suggest relationship with some known craft, which would be misleading. It is a species of punt, about

20 feet in length and 8—10 feet in beam; flat-bottomed, straight-sided, and with both ends square, sharply undercut and a little higher than the middle; in fact just like a large but roughly-made Noah's Ark. Moreover it is constructed in the strictly patriarchal manner, not clinker-built, but caulked with pitch. Long planks about half an inch thick are nailed to upright ribs rough hewn and with some of the bark still on them. The hull is further strengthened by narrow strips of plank nailed firmly over the seams from within, and with the nails clinched on the outside; a point which sticks in the memory, if not the skin, of anyone who has climbed into such a boat after swimming in the river. To brace the framework, a tall young tree is sometimes sawn in two lengthwise, laid horizontally along the tops of the ribs and fastened to each of them with a bolt. Thus the whole structure is both strong and elastic, and fairly watertight, unless badly strained, in which case it can be caulked with mud. When loaded with sacks of raw cotton, which can be arranged according to the wish of passengers and crew, such a boat has a draught of about one foot, and stands about three feet above the water-line. The larger boats are more ambitious, with smooth edges and trimmed planks, but in spite of these affectations they are the same in all essentials. Thus it seems as if the Babylonians had felt such legitimate pride at the proved superiority of the original Ark over all other contemporary shipping, that they have continued to build on the same lines ever since, and the much derided pictures of our childhood seem substantially correct after all. It is usual for Kurds to navigate these boats as far as Deir Zor, after which their place is taken by Arabs, for below that town the river becomes wider and shallower. Except during flood-time the main channel is in many places comparatively narrow and winds among shoals. Consequently the boat runs aground frequently, and then the boatmen jump overboard and wade about till they find deeper water. Then they put their backs to the boat and shove, without any apparent method or combination, but after the manner of ants moving a large straw. The boat is guided by means of a pair of oars and a punt-pole. These oars are saplings from 12—15 feet long (according to the number of times they have been broken), to the ends of which is nailed a small piece of plank. Feathering is impossible, for each oar is attached to the rowlock by a sort of wooden collar. These implements ensure the maximum of effort with the minimum of result. A few boats carry a steering-oar in the stern instead of a pole, and below Deir a

primitive rudder is generally used, but above Deir, steering in the ordinary sense is omitted, the boat simply spinning round as wind and current choose; as long as it drifts down stream and avoids the bank all is well; when grounding seems imminent the oars are plied, with varying success. At the journey's end the boat is usually broken up and sold for firewood, but the more carefully built are towed up empty to Deir in twos and threes by parties of men.

The craft on the Tigris agree with the descriptions of Herodotus and the bas-reliefs of the Assyrian kings. The *Killik* is a raft made up of a

FIG. 2.—KUFA.

number of goat- or sheep-skins inflated and tied together; palm-tree poles are laid on these and form the deck, on which the passengers sit with their luggage. It was some such device that was suggested to the Ten Thousand for crossing the Euphrates, but rejected as impracticable. The current of the Tigris is swift and the banks are steep; hence it is not unusual for the raft to collide more or less heavily with the bank. Minor collisions occur with tolerable frequency, but sometimes a knock will burst some of the skins. Should this occur, too often the killik shares the fate of most institutions which are supported only by windbags, but if it

survives, as it generally does, the poles are sold for what they will fetch, and the skins are used to carry back a kind of butter which is exported from the neighbourhood of Bagdad.

The *Kufa* (Fig. 2) is used in and around Bagdad. Though quaint and primitive as a vessel, it is a triumphant solution of the problem which has a never-ending fascination for the Mesopotamian waterman, namely, how to bump violently into the bank without material damage. It is round, with a diameter usually of about four feet, and is made of hides

FIG. 3.—DHOW.

stretched on a wicker framework and coated with pitch. These *kufas* help to take the place of carts and carriages in Bagdad. There are no canals, but the river runs through the middle of the city and forms its chief highway. In summer one can see numbers of these boats being paddled down-stream carrying one or more passengers, who perhaps sit in little chairs which can be placed in them if required ; or else a cargo of big green melons may be piled up, reaching high above the brim. Anyone who tries to propel and steer a round bowl by standing in it and making digs at the water on alternate sides with a species of flat wooden spoon, will realise

that it is not the most effective method of making headway against a strong current. Indeed the whole Nursery Rhyme of the three wise men of Gotham who went to sea in a bowl, and met their fate forthwith, may possibly be a reminiscence of certain Eastern sages who were swept down stream in a *kufa*. Their successors, less learned but more practical, generally tow their boats against the stream, the boatmen stumbling through bathers of all ages who line the shores in summer, and who sometimes give his boat a friendly shove; through no less happy buffaloes wallowing by the bank; through beasts who come in droves to drink; or through water-sellers who replenish their stock from this same all-giving stream.

Below Bagdad the vessel usually met with is the well-known *Dhow* (Fig. 3). It has many variations in size and shape, but remains the same in essentials wherever it is seen, on the Shatt el Arab, the Arabian and Red Seas, and even in the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba. It is long, low, and very fast; the stem and stern are high, the bow much cut away below, and the ship is rigged for a kind of shoulder of mutton sail. Such are the pirate craft which suddenly appear from nowhere, if a ship is wrecked and cut off from outside help; and which still, in spite of British gunboats, pounce on *dhows* coming up the Persian Gulf from India, with money on board to buy dates at Bosra in September.

In addition to these regular types it is worth noting that at Bosra the main streets are canals, in which a kind of gondola is in general use, that I have seen a genuine 'dug-out' near Akaba, and that a river is usually crossed by tying one's clothes above one's head and then swimming on an inflated skin, exactly as is shown on the Assyrian bas-reliefs.

K. T. FROST.

NOTES ON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM RELATING TO LEVANT GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL.

(PLATE I.)

A not unprofitable search among the manuscripts of the British Museum for travellers' accounts of Cyzicus and its neighbourhood, has persuaded me that an annotated list of those manuscripts which deal with Levantine geography may be a useful contribution to the bibliography of travel. It is needless to say that this paper has no palaeographical pretensions; such points as the dates of handwriting have been for the most part supplied me by Mr. J. A. Herbert, to whom I am also indebted for much other assistance.

The MSS. I have examined fall generally into one of three rough classes :—

(1) Isolarii and accounts of individual Aegean islands.

(2) Voyages and travels to Constantinople.

(3) Travels in Asia Minor.

Except in a few cases where I have stumbled upon discoveries worth noting, I have confined myself to MSS. of geographical and archaeological interest. The long series of official papers relating to the Ionian Islands and the Venetian despatches have therefore been ignored. Neither have I dealt with Palestine Pilgrims, as having their own bibliographers, nor with

the Portolani, which, so far as they concern the Mediterranean, have been described by Admiral W. H. Smyth.[1]

I.—ISOLARII, ETC.

These, owing to the large number of printed works on the subject,[2] do not add much to the sum of our knowledge; their chief interest is cartographical, and no attempt to deal with them adequately can be made without copious illustrations. They are not written as personal accounts of travel but rather as seamen's guides compiled from a common stock of knowledge.

The list is headed by the MSS. of Buondelmonti's 'Liber Insularum.' Seeing that this treatise has been twice published,[3] the MSS. need no more than a brief notice here. They are:

(*a*) **Vespasian A. XIII.** *ff.* 1–41, quarto, vellum.

Incipit liber insularum Arcipelagi editus per presbiterum Christophorum de bondelmontibus de Florencia quem misit de Ciuitate rhodi romam domino Jordano cardinali de Vrsinis Anno domini m̊ ccc[c] xx[ij].

This is noticed by de Sinner, p. 27, as 'male annum 1320 prae se ferens.' One *c* and *ii* have been erased from the date in title. The MS. is apparently damaged by damp; its maps seem to

[1] *The Mediterranean*, 1854, pp. 329 ff. Later additions to the series are, however, numerous, viz.: Add. 18,454 (1463), 31,315 (1469), 31,318 A. (1470); Eg. 2,855 (1473), 2,712 (xv cent.); Add. 9,810 (1502); Eg. 2,803 (1508), 2,857 (1520); Add. 19,927 (1536), 27,471 (1537), 22,348 (1538); Eg. 2,854 (1540); Add. 21,029 (1559); Eg. 2,856 (1562), 2,860 (1562), 2,858 (1570); Add. 31,317 (1573?); Add. 9,813 (c. 1600), 9,814, 21,592, 31,316 (xvi cent.); Eg. 2,861 (1623); Add. 31,319 (1629), 19,916 (1640), 22,618 (1642), 11,765 (1644), 19,976 (1650).

[2] Buondelmonti (1420); Bartolommeo da li Sonetti [1485]; Bordone, 1548; Porcacchi, 1575 [G. Rosaccio (Viaggio da Venetia a Cos'poli), 1598]; Boschini, 1658; Coronelli, c. 1685; Randolph, 1687; Piacenza, 1688; Dapper, 1688. A Turkish Isolario of 1520 is noticed by R. Herzog in *Athen. Mitt.* xxvii. 417–430, Pl. XV.

[3] L. de Sinner, Lipsiae, 1827, with reproductions of two maps. E. Legrand, Paris, 1897 (Vol. i., containing the Greek text of the Seraglio MS. with a French translation, and reproductions of sixteen of the maps: the promised commentary has not been published). To the bibliography of Buondelmonti given in L. Bürchner's review of Legrand's edition (*Byz. Zeitschr.* x. 1901, 230), add the recent articles of O. Rubensohn (*Athen. Mitt.* 1900, 343 ff. and Pl. V. Paros) and E. Jacobs (*Neues von Cristoforo Buondelmonti* in *Jahrb. des Inst.* xx. 39–45, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti* in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie A. Wilmanns gewidmet* (1903) 312–340).

resemble closely those of the Paris MS., from which de Sinner printed, retaining the colours prescribed in the author's preface.

(*b*) **Arundel 93,** *ff.* 129–160, folio, vellum.

[Title lacking.]

The latest date is given by the colophon: 'Hoc volumen comparavit Raphael de Marcotellis Episcopus Rosensis, etc. . . . anno domini 1485.' The maps are elaborately executed in many colours and in a picturesque style, but much less is marked on them than in other MSS. In the Constantinople map (*f.* 155) (Pl. I. Fig. 2), however, at the south-west corner of the city is marked very plainly '*portus sed destructus precepto Teucrorum,*' and a mole is shewn jutting from the west side of the moat. This mole is shewn also in (*a*), where an inscription seems to have been erased. The harbour is Van Millingen's 'Portus Aureae Portae,' whose existence is doubted by Pears,[1] against the authority of Ducas.[2] In the Thera map is the legend *Hec pars submersit et non reperitur fumdum* (sic) between Thera and Therasia.

(*c*) **Sloane 3843,** *ff.* 62, small folio, paper.

Liber Insularum Archipelagi Christophori de Bondelmontib. cuius autographum extat in bibliotheca Thuana Lutetiae: hoc autem exemplar propria manu descripsit Iacobus Palmerius a Grentemesnil Nobilis Cadomensis Anno Dni Dionysiano 1642.

Maps drawn in ink without colour. Paulmier de Grentemesnil is mentioned by de Sinner[3] as one of those who made use of Buondelmonti.

(*d*) **Titus B. VIII.** *ff.* 245–8, folio, paper.

The booke of the Ilands of the Archipelago written by Christopher Bondelmont of Florence Priest and sent by him from Rhodes to Rome, to Cardinall Jordan de Vrsinis A° Dni 1420.

Fragment of a sixteenth century English translation of Buondelmonti down to the end of § 7. No maps.

[1] *Destruction of the Greek Empire,* p. 437.
[2] Pp. 268–9 (λιμὴν τῆς χρυσῆς πύλης).
[3] P. 11.

Add. 15,760, *ff.* 75, folio, vellum.

Insularium illustratum Henrici Martelli Germani (c. 1490).

Beautifully written in an Italian hand: the maps are elaborately coloured and framed. In spite of the author's claim in his preface to have visited some of the places he describes, in the Greek islands at least, he follows Buondelmonti's order and abridges the latter's descriptions. Beyond Buondelmonti's islands the volume includes maps of 'Ciprus, Sicilia, Corsica, Sardinia, Anglia, Ibernia, Norvegia, [Creta (large folding map without text)] (Pl. I. Fig. 1), [Terra Sancta], Taprobana, [Italia], [Mundus],[1] Oceanus septentrionalis, Mare Mediterraneo Mare Mauro.'

(*a*) **Iulius E. 11,** *ff.* 1–59, small folio, paper.

Isulario de Antonio millo nel quale si contiene tutte le jsolle del mar mediteraneo, etc. Dated 1587.

(*b*) **Add. 10,365,** *ff.* 36–96, small folio, paper.

Isulario De Tuto El Mare meditereno, etc., *De Antonio Millo Armiralgio Di Candia* [preceded by an *Arte del Navicar* of the same author, dated 1581].

The author is evidently Leunclavius' 'senex multarum rerum peritus, Antonius Meliensis, Graeco patre natus in Melo insula, conductus a navarcho ut index itineris esset.'[2] He is also responsible for a map of the world dated 1582 (Add. 2740).

The work is primarily a sailors' handbook, the accounts of the islands, even of Melos itself, being very short and practical. The Greek islands are arranged as follows: Corfu, Pachso and Antipachso, Zafalonia, S. Maura, Zante, Sapiencia, etc., Cirigo, Millo, Serfo, Sifanto, Fermenia, Sira, Zia Andro, Tino, Micono, Dila, Paro, Nichsia, Negroponte, Schiro, Schiato and Schopoli, Dromo and Sarachino, Lemno pelagisi, Linbro, Tenedo, Mitilin, Sio, Psara, Nicaria, Samo, Patino, Stampalia, Nio, Santorini, Amurgo, Iero,

[1] Reproduced 1863, "publicado pelo Conde de Levradio," British Museum press-mark 920 (38)' [note in volume].

[2] *Pandectes Rerum Turcicarum* § 24, cf. § 86.

Calamo, Anafi, Lango, Calogiero, Nisaro, Pischopia, Cargi and Limonia, Rodi, Scarpanto, Candia, Cipro. The maps are conventionally drawn and mark little.

Add. 23,925, *ff.* 71, 4to, paper.

'*Libro de le* [*Isole del Mondo*' ?]

The volume contains 131 maps of various islands, about half being Greek. They are carelessly executed in colour and arranged in a haphazard manner, without separate text. Ancient and modern names and brief remarks, generally on physical features and natural products, are appended in an Italian hand of about 1500. In the margin are later notes, generally classical references and quotations.

Lansdowne 792, *ff.* 55–94, small folio, paper (Fig. 1).

'*Isolario dell' Arcipelago et altri Luoghi particolari di Francesco Lupazolo, nel quale si vede il loro nome Antico et Moderno, modo di vivere, il numero delli populi, habbito delle donne, et le Antichita, si come altre cose particolari fuor dell' Isole, fatto l'Anno del S.* 1638 *in Scio.*'

Tournefort[1] saw at Smyrna, 1702, 'Signor Lupazzolo, a venerable old man of 118 years of age,' who was consul for Venice.

The volume contains descriptions and maps of [Sea of Marmora], Pillastro di Pompeo, Li Castelli del Stretto di Galipoli, Colonna historiale (Constantinople), Metelini, [Smyrna], Scio [Costumes of S.], Samo, Psara, Nicaria, Patmos, Micone, Sdiles, Tine, Sira, Andro, Zea, Thermia, Siphanto, Milo [Costume of M.], Nio, Policendro, Pario, Naxia [Costume of N.], Arachlea, etc., Amorgo, Stampalia, Zinara and Levita, Iero, Calamio, Namphio, Santorini, Candia, Cithera, etc., Scarpanto, Rodo, Euboea, Coo, Piscopia, Sciatos and Scopelos, Dromo, Pelagisi, Tasso, Tenedo and Lembro, Samotracia, Schiro, Caloiero, Cicilia—(the MS. breaks off here).

Chronologically, Lupazzolo fills a distinct gap in the series of Isolarii. Most of the accounts are quite short; the author devotes seven pages to

[1] Vol. ii. Letter 10.

his native island, five to Naxos, and four and a half to Santorini. The maps and costumes are clumsily done and in no great detail.

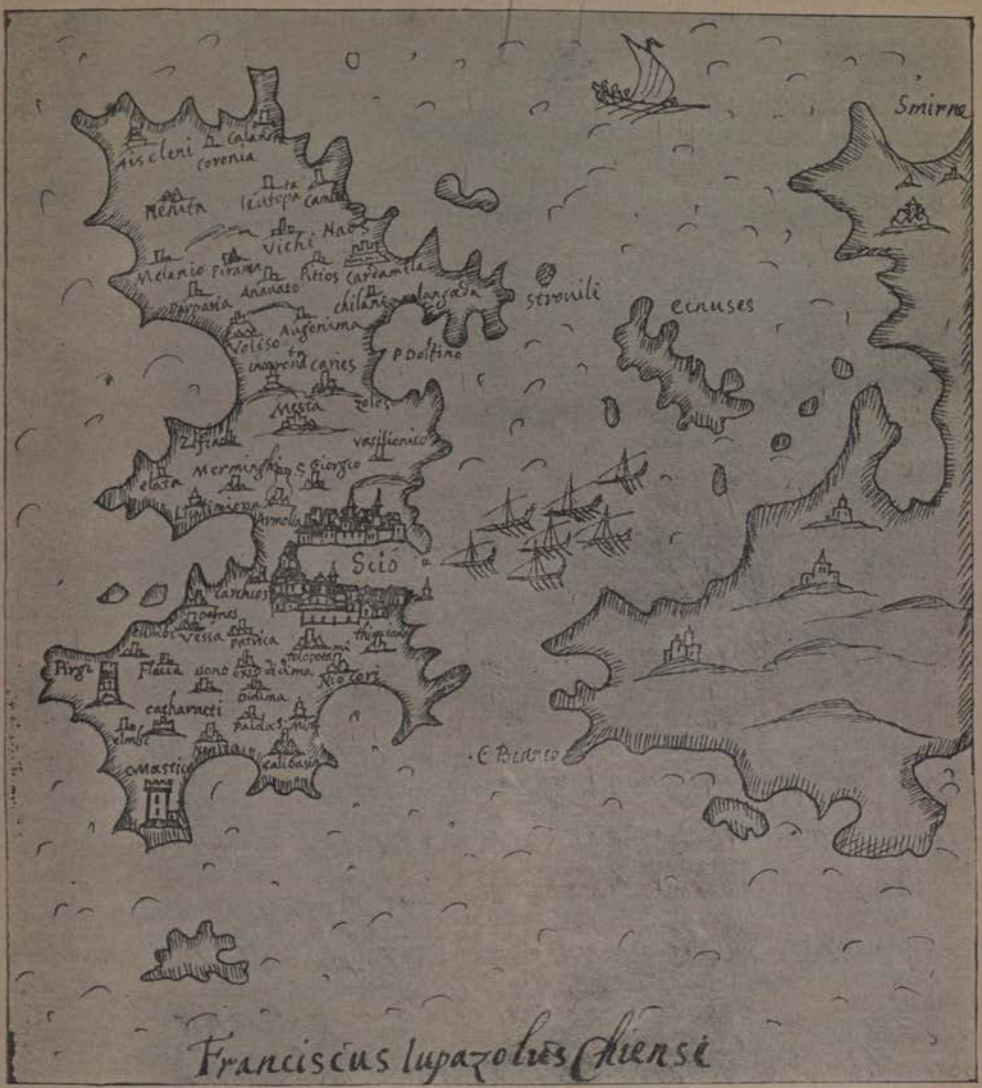


FIG. 1.—MAP OF CHIOS, FROM MS. LANSDOWNE 792, f. 61.

Add. 22,914, *f.* 58. 4to. **Chios, c. 1677**

Two pages of notes on Chios in Italian, signed 'Vincenzo Castelli',

occur in Covel's journal. The author was the English vice-consul, cf. ibid. *f.* 63,

Add. 8643, *ff.* 14, small folio. **Chios, 1810**

Breve Relazione dell'Isola de Scio.

A Greek translation is published from another MS. in Kanellakis, Χιακὰ Ἀνάλεκτα, Athens, 1890, pp. 485–515. The author is there conjectured to be Domenico Luigi Santo of Chios.

Add. 36,538, *ff.* 106. 4to. **Naxos, c. 1800**

Description de l'île de Naxos par le Père Lichtle.

Transcript of a MS. of the early nineteenth century, apparently the one seen at Naxos and used by Ross.[1] The author, Ignatius Lichtle, was resident in Naxos upwards of thirty years. The history of the island, which occupies half the volume, goes down to 1800, and the author appears to have met Villoison, who was at Naxos in 1785,[2] and Pasch von Krienen some years earlier.[3] Chapters are devoted to Natural History (*pp.* 60–83), Ancient Remains (*pp.* 84–90), and Customs (*pp.* 95–105).

The greater part of a Greek version of Lichtle's *Description* is printed from an MS. in private hands[4] by G. P. Kremos in Ἀπόλλων, a monthly periodical published in the Piraeus (1891, Nos. 78 ff.)

Add. 16,912, *ff.* 109–10, 4to. **Thera, c. 1650**

'*De Therae insulae maris Aegaei ignium subterraneorum vi quassationibus. De terrae motibus qui circa eam orti sunt & de ignibus qui e maris profundo anno* 1650 *eruperunt.*'

In a collection entitled *Ismael Bullialdi Collectanea Literaria* and apparently in his hand: he was at Constantinople and Smyrna in 1647.[5] The various accounts of the 1650 eruption are enumerated by Pègues[6] and

[1] *Griechische Inseln* I. 27, especially note (9). Hopf also mentions a *Chronique de Naxie* by Lichtle (*Giornale Ligustico*, 1881, p. 27, note (3), p. 325, note (21) in his article in Ersch and Gruber *s.v.* Giustiniani), in the monastery of S. Lazarus at Naxos.

[2] J. Dacier, *Notice sur la vie, etc.*, 1806, p. 21, and Villoison's report in *Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscrr.* xlvii. 283–344.

[3] See Pasch di Krienen, *Breve Descr. dell' Arcipelago*, 1771, p. 79.

[4] Ἱστορία καὶ Περιγραφὴ τῆς Νάξου, ff. 88 in 4to.

[5] Adnot. in Ducae *Historiam*, pp. 30, 51.

[6] *Histoire de Santorin*, Paris, 1842.

S. P. Lambros.[1] This seems to be an abstract from that of Père François Richard.[2]

Sloane 3396, *ff.* 56–72, folio. **Thera, 1707**

'*Relation de la nouvelle isle sortie du fond de la mer le* 23 *May* 1707 *dans le port de Santorin, isle de l'Archipel.*'

At *f.* 56 a large monochrome drawing of the bay. The text is a revised version by Père Tarillon of his published journal[3] with additional historical references, etc., and dated 6 July 1711 as against 24 June 1710 in the published account.

Add. 8624.

Description of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Candia, small 4to. *ff.* 120. XVIII. c.

Contains a brief account of Candia[4] (*ff.* 58–60) and some other Aegean islands (*ff.* 60–67). The date of the volume is roughly indicated by the mention (*f.* 116) of Emmanuel Pinto (1741–1773) as the contemporary grand-master of Malta.

II.—VOYAGES AND TRAVELS TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

Most of these are brief, and many unimportant, as being contemporary with many printed works on the subject. They may be summarised thus:—

Vitellius A. XX. (14) *f.* 239 *recto* (4to vellum. c. 1400) [**c. XII ?**].

Headed (in seventeenth century hand) *Descriptio Constantinopolis inc.*: Vidimus Constantinopolim mira et ineffabili opere fundatam.

[1] Ἀνέκδοτος διήγησις περὶ τῆς ἐν ἔτει 1650 ἐκρήξεως. Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορ. καὶ Ἐθνολ. Ἑταιρίας, 2 (1885), 107–111: see also Nos. 830, 831 in A. Meliarakis, Νεοελληνικὴ Γεωγραφικὴ Φιλολογία, Athens, 1889.

[2] *Relation de ce qui est passé à Santerini*, Paris, 1657.

[3] Published in *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant*, Paris, 1715. (Pègues), Jos. Stöcklein, *Allerlei Briefschrifften . . . von denen Missionariis der Gesellsch. Jesu*, Augsburg, 1727, Tom. ii. Th. ix. p. 72 ff. P. A. Bousquet, *Les Actes des Apôtres Modernes*, Paris, 1852, ii. pp. 166–179, partly also in Pègues, *op. cit.* pp. 216 ff. An apparently unnoticed account of this eruption is given by A. de la Motraye (*Travels*, Lond. 1743, i. 271–5) who was in the island during August 1707. He adds as *Appendix* xxv (pp. 411–413) an account by Antonio Delenda.

[4] Papers relating to the history of Candia will be found in *Add.* 8636–8639 *incl.*, 8641–2, 21,597, and 33,264. MS. views in the British Museum of Cretan fortresses etc. are enumerated by Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti di Creta* pp. 44 ff. xxi, xxxi, xxxiv, xl, lvii, lxx, lxxiii, cii.

des.: et brachium Sancti Georgii integrum et incurvatum et multa alia. Qui scripsit carmen sit benedictus: amen.

Apparently a transcript from an early pilgrim's account relating chiefly to relics at Constantinople. An approximate date is given by the mention of the *Corona Spinea* and the *Lancea*; the former was removed to Constantinople c. 1063,[1] and there remained till 1239.[2] Both are mentioned in 1150 as in the Imperial chapel at the Bucoleon, where they apparently still were in 1207;[3] our author, however, mentions them as in the Church of the Apostles.[4]

A short account of the Constantinople relics, c. 1150, occupies the latter part of *f.* 188 in Claudius A. IV. This is published by Riant (*Exuviae Sacrae* ii. 211 (III.)).

Burney 213 (*fol.*) (2) = *ff.* 23_b–28_b. **[early XV c.]**

Iter ab inclyta Venetiarum urbe usque ad Tanam, seu Tanaym.

inc. Auctore deo almam Venetiarum civitatem deserimus.

des. In Trapesondam communi consensu omnium non ire decretum est.

Bound with MSS. of P. Mela, Solinus, etc. in the same hand.

This is a very concise account of a sea-voyage, mentioning briefly many places of interest on or near the route. The date of the hand is about 1435; that of the voyage can be placed on internal evidence between the years 1404–8. Antonio di Acciaiuoli (1394–1435) was ruling at Athens, Clarentza and Arcadia were held by the Prince of Morea (Centurione Zaccaria 1404–29), and Corinth by the Byzantines (1404–); Thessalonica was not yet ceded to the Venetians (–1423), and Patras was still governed 'temporaliter et spiritualiter' by its bishop (–1408).[5] The author was, therefore, a contemporary of Buondelmonti, who is thought to have left Florence in 1406.[6] He would seem to have been a Venetian, and, as is shewn by his use of Latin, quotations from Vergil and

[1] F. de Mely, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, iii. (La Croix, La Lance, La Couronne), p. 180.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 172.

[3] See the authorities quoted by Riant in *Exuviae* etc. vol. ii.

[4] But his *ibi* may perhaps be taken more generally, meaning at Constantinople.

[5] For this date see Mas-Latrie, *Les Princes de Morée*, 1882, p. 26.

[6] Legrand's preface, p. xxii.

frequent references to classical myth, an educated man. Several of the early humanists (*e.g.* Guarino, Filelfo, Aurispa) went to Constantinople,[1] but even Cyriac did not go so far as Tana (Azov), which was important rather as a trade centre.[2]

Harl. 2492 (15), *ff.* 293–298, fol. paper. **[1453]**

De Constantinopoleos ruina tractatus.

The letter of Godefridus Langus, printed with J. B. L'Écuy's edition (*Lutetiae*, 1823) of Leonard of Chios.

Sloane 2742 (4to), *ff.* 12. **1563**

Fr. di Smeraldo—*Viaggio a Constantinopoli.*

By Ancona and Zara, thence Sofia, return overland by Ragusa.

Reg. 14 A. xiii. *ff.* 1–43. **1582**

[Jacopo Soranzo] *Memoria di un viaggio a Constantinopoli.*

By Corfu and the islands (at *f.* 10, account of the *terra sigillata* of Lemnos) to the mainland opposite Thasos, whence by land. Seventeenth century hand. The text is published (with the date 1581) as that of Jacopo Soranzo by Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatore Veneziani*, iii. 2. 211–253. I have not had the opportunity of comparing the versions.

Add. 17,480. **1599–1600**

Thos. Dallam—*Diary of his voyage to Cons'ple.*

Published by the Hakluyt Society ed. Bent 1893: part also with facsimile in H. G. Rosedale's *Q. Elizabeth and the Levant Company*, Lond., 1904, *pp.* 78-81.

Stowe 180 (fol.), *ff.* 27–32. **1609**

Stampe—*Observacions in his voyage to Cons'ple.*

By Zante, return to Ragusa.

Harl. 3408 (4to), *ff.* 83–141. **1611**

Domenico: Hierosolimitano—*Relatione della gran città di Constantinopoli.*

[1] G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des kl. Alterthums*, 1893.

[2] Cf. *Travels to Tana and Persia* (Josafa Barbaro and others), Hakluyt Society, 1873.

Chiefly description of the Court; some notes on the chief mosques, etc. The author was physician to Murad III. (1574–95.)

Harl. 2286 (sm. fol.), *ff.* 1–26. **1611–20**

P. Mundy—*Voiage from London to Cons'ple.*

Return journey overland thence to London.

For the author, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Harl. 4520 (175), *ff.* 551–4. **1621**
Harl. 6796 (11), *ff.* 33–37.

Both are abstracts of the printed (1624) *Voyage de Levant* of the Sieur des Hayes, Baron de Courmenin.

Harl. 1599 (4to), *ff.* 63. **1626**

Belval—*Relation de mon voyage faict par moy Belval.*

Overland to Cons'ple, thence to the Holy Land and Egypt.

Add. 6883 (4to) *ff.* 1–26. **1629**

Anon.—*Memories of a Turkysshe voyage.*

Chiefly on the Estate of the Grand Turk.

Add. 4243, *ff.* 50–86 (4to). **1638**

John Greaves—*Observations on a journey through Turkey and Italy.*

Contains little on Turkey outside the 'Latitude of Constantinople and Rhodes,' which is published in Ray's *Collection of Voyages* ii. and elsewhere. Cf. V. de S. Martin—*Hist. des Découv. Géogr.* III, 750, No. 35.

Add. 10,130 (sm. 4to). **1664–1677**

Tho. Coke [Brief notes of various voyages to and from Constantinople, etc.].

The author, 'a person of parts and language and not unknowne in Turky,' was appointed secretary to the Levant Co. in Constantinople in 1673 (Letter-book of the L. C. *f.* 378). He was at Adrianople with Covel (see below) in 1675 (*Harl. Misc.* 5, 365–7) and corresponded with him later (*Add. MS.* 22,910, 227).

At *f.* 32–65 is the much more interesting *Journall of my voiage from Const^le to Jerusalem* (1663); the dates shew that the author is not Coke, who was then at sea. The route taken is Eshishehr, Sidi Ghazi, Ladik, Eregli, Ulukishla, Adana, etc. The Journal breaks off at Tripoli on the return journey, there are notes on the Holy Land, but none on Jerusalem. 'Mr. Frampton' being mentioned by name, the writer can hardly be Rob. Frampton of Aleppo, otherwise a likely author.

Sloane 2439 (fol.). **1673–4**

Ch. Wild—*England to Cons'ple with Sir John Finch.*

Log-book of H.M.S. *Centurion,* with coloured diagram sketches of Milo, Scio, and Cephalonia harbours. Sir John Finch was ambassador at Cons'ple 1674–81. The *Centurion* brought the body of Sir D. Harvey back to England in 1674 (see Covel).[1]

Stowe 462 (4to), *ff.* 97. **1699–1700**

J. Richards' Journal.

Malvasia, Islands, Constantinople, Brusa, and by land to England.

Part of the series of journals of the Richards brothers of Solsborough, Co. Wexford.

Lansdowne 826 (fol.), *f.* 26.

Coppy of a Journall from Pera to Salonica.

The hand is late seventeenth century. The Journal is orderly and succinct, with frequent references to the Classics and the sixteenth century, Heylin, Ortelius, and Belon.

Add. 27,604 (8vo). **1801**

J. D. Carlyle—*Journal of J. D. C. at Athos.*

An account of the Athos expedition is published by Carlyle's companion, Philip Hunt, in Walpole's *Memoirs,* pp. 198, 230. The book contains also catalogues of the libraries of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and of

[1] Other log-books in the East Mediterranean are to be found in Sloane 1700, 1–79 ('*Riall Katern,*' Jno Smith, 1664–9); Sloane 2504, 178–210 ('*St. David,*' 1677–8); Kings 40 ('*Woolwich,*' Edmund Dummer, 1682, with drawings illustrating typical Levantine vessels, Venetian arsenals, etc.). Harl. 6843, 29 (*Constantinople Marchant*) is concerned with the East Indies, though placed with Turkish voyages in the classified catalogue.

Mohammed Ragib at Constantinople, fragments of diaries at Constantinople, and at *f.* 88 misplaced notes on Marathon.

Harl. 3564 (6), *ff.* 168–173 b, 4to, paper.

Antiquitates Urbis Constantinopolitanae ex Bibliotheca Vaticana extractae.

Copies (or translations) of inscriptions in Latin, with historical notes, from :—

(1) The Burnt Column (*C.I.G.* 8790), (2) the tomb of Julian, (3) walls of Chalcedon, (4) tomb of wife of Mauricius Tiberius (: Banduri 1, 154 *Ven.*), (5) the Obelisks (*C.I.G.* 8612, 8703), (6) tomb of Michael Ducas, general of J. Comnenus.

Nero B. xi. (fol.).

(*a*) (2), *ff.* 17–54.

'*A dissertation tending to prove that Christian princes wrong themselves and their honour when they hold peace and amity with the great Turk*' [Catalogue].

Ends :—'finis : the 6 of Januarii, 1604, in a most filthye dungeon in Constantinople.'

(*b*) (76), *ff.* 285–7.

'*A declaration of some prisoner in the Tower concerning a plot he had entered into with the ambassador at Constantinople* (*qu. whether the author of the above at xi.* 2)' [Catalogue].

Headed 'ffive articles delivered to me by ye lieutenant of the Tower frō ye ryght honorable ye Earle of Sarisbury.

1. Howe I entred into this plotte :
2. Who persuaded me to it :
3. With whō I have had conferens about it by letters or speache :
4. How farre I have proceeded in it :
5. To declare ye full purpose, scope, and intente of ye project.

Part of (*a*) is transcribed in H. G. Rosedale's *Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company*.[1] The writer of both is evidently Sir Thomas Sherley, who was imprisoned in the Seven Towers for a piratical raid on a Turkish

[1] London, 1904, pp. 71–3.

island, August, 1603; he was allowed a better room in April, 1604, and finally released in December, 1605. He was committed to the Tower in September, 1607, 'on a charge of illegal interference with the operations of the Levant Company.'[1]

III.—TRAVELS IN ASIA MINOR.

THE LUKE PAPERS.

John Luke was chaplain of the Levant Company at Smyrna for two periods, 1664–1669 and 1674–1683. He became subsequently fellow of Christ's and Professor of Arabic and died rector of Rayleigh, Essex, in 1702; a short account of his life, compiled from the papers of the Levant Co. and University records, is given by Dr. J. B. Pearson.[2] The journals in the British Museum deal almost entirely with his sojourn at Smyrna and his travels thence; none of them are signed, but the authorship is made clear by (1) coincidence of dates, (2) use of Arabic, and (3) a page of entries 1684–1701 made at Cambridge, Manningford Abbas, and Rayleigh[3]

The notes describe :—

(*a*) **Harl. 7021,** (38)=*ff.* 368–380. Jan. 14—Feb. 27, 1668

Journey to Nymphi, Sardes, Akshehr, Buladan, Denizli, Adalia, thence by sea touching at S. Nicholas, Alaya and Selinty to Cyprus.

(The narrative ends abruptly at *f.* 376, the remaining pages being a transcript of part.)

(*b*) **Harl. 7021,** (39)=*ff.* 381–398. Apr. 2–June 15, 1668

Rough notes on Jerusalem and the journey overland thence to Smyrna.

[1] See *The Three Brothers* (Anon.), London, 1825, and E. P. Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers*, London, 1848, neither of which mentions the above papers. Sir Thomas Sherley's MS. *Remarks upon Turkey* are in the library of Lambeth Palace ('514, cod. chart. 4to Saec. XVII. folior. 91').

[2] *Biographical Sketches of the Chaplains to the Levant Company*, Cambridge, 1883, p. 32, Luke's sermon before the Levant Co. exists in B.M. (Printed books), 226, g. 21.

[3] Harl. 7021, *f.* 414.

(*c*) **Harl. 7021,** (37)=*ff.* 357–362. Oct. 4–18, 1669

To Ephesus, Denizli, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Sardis, Akshehr, Smyrna.

(*d*) **Harl. 7021,** (37)=*ff.* 363–367. Oct. 3–11, 1670

To Menimen, Pergamum, Akhissar, Magnesia, Smyrna.[1]

(*e*) **Harl. 7021,** (40)=*ff.* 399–401. Oct. 2–Dec. 30, 1675

Rough journal of the voyage from England to Smyrna on the ship 'L(evant) Merchant.'

Harl. 7021, (41)=*ff.* 402–4. 1676–7

Rough notes of occurrences at Smyrna, followed by the Cambridge, etc. entries (1684–1701).

Add. 22,910, *f.* 182. 1678

Luke accompanied Salter to the site of Colophon.

July 15–Aug. 3, 1679

Sloane 3985 (two copies) — Journey overland from Smyrna to 'Halicarnassus' (Assem Kalesi), and return by sea from Budrum: a few notes on Patmos and Samos.

Aug. 26–Nov. 2, 1682

Sloane 3945 — Journey from Smyrna to Constantinople by Brusa and return by sea.[2]

All these accounts seem to be abridged, judging from the autograph fragment **Harl. 7021. 42**=*ff.* 419–422, which contains many additional details on the return voyage from Constantinople as far as Edremid (Oct. 17–30).

An autograph letter from Luke to John Covel dated from Smyrna in 1680 (*Add.* 22,910, *f.* 217) seems to imply enclosures, which suggests that the journals passed with Covel's library to the Earl of Oxford. For Covel's relations with Luke, see p. 212.

[1] (*c*) and (*d*) are probably the journeys undertaken by Consul Paul Rycaut; the latter 'enjoyed for his companion the Reverend Dr. John Luke, who was very useful and assistant to him in these observations.' *Account of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, London, 1679, p. 80. Cf. Tho. Smith '*Notitia Septem Ecclesiarum* (1716), p. 17. V. de S. Martin (*Hist. des Découvertes Géogr.* iii. p. 756, No. 64) gives the misleading date 1678, which was the year Rycaut left Smyrna. His place was taken by Ray, April 4, and he embarked April 11 (*Harl.* 7021, f. 409).

[2] This I hope to publish as an appendix to my forthcoming work on Cyzicus.

THE COVEL PAPERS.

John Covel, like Luke, was a chaplain of the Levant Company and resided at Constantinople from 1669 to 1677. His papers consist of two volumes of correspondence,[1] including an interesting series of letters from Jerome Salter of Smyrna and three of Journals.[2]

A brief life of Covel is given by R. Walsh,[3] and another, with selections from the Journals, was published by J. T. Bent for the the Hakluyt Society in 1893; the selections include roughly :—

(*a*) The voyage to Constantinople. Sept. 21–Dec. 31, 1669.

(*b*) Various extracts from diaries written at Constantinople. Aug. 15, 1671–Mar. 26, 1674.

(*c*) Journey to Adrianople and return to Constantinople. May 2–Sept. 27, 1675.

(*d*) Outline of the homeward journey, with a few extracts, in particular the description of the *terra sigillata* of Lemnos.

Archaeological details are avoided in the selections, which thus omit in (*a*) the description of Ephesus, *ff.* 41–72 in the folio MS.,[4] and in (*c*) the rather full details of the walls of Seliori and Eregli.

Beyond this, the notes on Galata (chiefly in 22,914) are published in *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 50 ff. The account of Cyzicus and of the journey to Smyrna I am intending to include in my work on Cyzicus. The remainder includes :—

Add. 22,912, *ff.* 75–112. Description of Constantinople, chiefly valuable for the minute account of the walls which was evidently intended for publication.[5]

ff. 247–257. Journey to the Principo Islands and Brusa.[5] Oct. 6–31, 1675.

[1] Add. 22,910, 22,911.

[2] Add. 22,912 (folio), 22,913 (12 mo), 22,914 (4to). Transcripts of Covel's letters and journals are in the Cambridge University Library (Mm. vi. 50–53).

[3] *Account of the Levant Company*, London, 1825. Covel is also extensively quoted by Lethaby and Swainson, *St. Sophia.*

[4] Much of this is however occupied by minute discussion of epigraphical detail.

[5] Cf. Grelot, *Voyage à Constantinople*, p. 75.

ff. 259–269. Journey from Constantinople to Smyrna by Mihallitch, and return by Brusa and Simaul.[1]

Sept. 30–Dec. 13, 1676.

This is by far the best account we have of this important route. John Luke, whom Covel had probably met on his way out, 'set him on his way' to Constantinople (*Harl.* 7021. 404).

This volume also contains original drawings (apparently those used by Wheler) of Milyas, the temple at Palatia (Didymi), and Assem Kalesi, with another of 'Esqui Izzer' (Stratonicea). These are annotated in Salter's hand and one (Assem Kalesi) is endorsed on the back, 'Jere[y] Saltier's Travailes.'

Add. 22,914,

ff. 1–23. Journey to Nicaea. Feb. 16–26, 1677.

Includes a long description (*ff.* 10–17) of Nicaea with a rough plan and W. elevation of the church of the Κοίμησις.

ff. 29–64. Voyage homewards. Apr. 2–May 14, 1677.

This contains a long account of Cyzicus and notes on the Marmora Islands, Dardanelles, Tenedos, Athos, Lemnos, Molivo, Assos, Mitylene, Scio (with a plan of Nea Mone and an Italian account of the island).

A good deal of material on Athos is to be found in 22,912, 334–351: this includes 'Short notes out of Sir G. Wheler's MS.,' excerpta from a προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, a broadsheet entitled 'a description of Athos'[2] and the author's notes on the monasteries of Iveron, Stavroniketa, Pantocrator, Kontloumousion, Karyes, Vatopedion and Caracallou, with a few rough plans. Rycaut[3] confesses himself 'much beholding to that worthy and ingenious person Mr. John Covell' for his account of Athos.

Add. 22,914, continues the journey home from Smyrna (July 2, 1677–Jan. 21, 1679), where Covel again met Luke (Harl. 7021. 407), some of the notes on Italy being in 22,912, 355 *ff.*

---

[1] In company with Wheler and Pickering as far as Brusa. Cf. Wheler (1682), pp. 217, 233.

[2] Reprinted from J. Georgirenes, *Description of Samos*, etc., Lond. 1678.

[3] *State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 216.

Add. 10,130. [Anon.] Journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem: see above p. 207. **1663.**

Add. 6269 (4to), *ff.* 36–46. **1705.**

Ant. Picenini. *Diarium in itinere per Asiae Minoris septem Ecclesias.*

Sections of this are published in Chandler's *Asia Minor* pp. 113, 206, 227, 231, 239. Cf. V. de St. Martin. *op. cit.* p. 759, No. 90.

Sloane 3958 (4to), *ff.* 1–10. **1734.**

[Anon.] *The Spasso to Magnesia and Thyatira.*

From Smyrna. The author names only his companions, Paggen, Shaw, Phillips, Chadwicke, Anson and Wilde. Some copies of inscriptions.

Sloane 4824 (sm. fol.), *ff.* 110–112. **1739.**

Arthur Pullinger, *Journal of a journey from Aleppo to Constantinople.*

The author is described as a merchant of Aleppo: the first part of the volume is entitled *Antient Geography corrected*, and is prepared for publication; the journal is succinctly written, giving the hours and stages of the journey. Route by Adana, Eregli, Akshehr, Sidi Ghazi: place-names are distorted by the copyist.

Add. 22,998, (4to). **1739–40.**

R. Pococke.

His Asia Minor journals in letter form occupy *ff.* 33–50; they are very summary and contain scarcely any archaeological details. The MS. of the Description of the East occupies 20 volumes 12mo (Add. 15,780–99).

Add. 34,197, (sm. fol.) **1828–9.**

A[dolphe de Riquet, Comte] de Caraman—Journal.

This is vol. i. of the journals, the other two dealing with Egypt and Syria. This contains brief notes on a journey from Smyrna to Brusa and Constantinople, return by sea and various travels in the Peloponnese (plan of the ruins at Messene *f.* 38).

Add. 36,488, A–C. **1840–44.**

G. Scharf, Jun. *Journals.*

The author was draughtsman to Fellows. The small pocket note-books B and C contain his personal journals (with a few small sketches) in Lycia, Feb.–May 1840 and Oct.–Mar. 1843–4.

Add. 25,430–1, (8vo) **1847–8.**

Ch MacFarlane. *Journals of Travels in Turkey and Asia Minor.*

The Travels in Asia Minor (Brusa district) are for the most part incorporated in the author's *Turkey and its destiny* (London, 1850).

F. W. HASLUCK.

NOTE.

The names marked in the maps figured are:

Plate I. Fig. 2 . . . (Constantinople, **MS. Ar. 93,** *f.* 155).

[N. of the Golden Horn] *Pera* (twice).

[In Constantinople] *Constantinopolis, Porta del Meso, S(an)c(tu)s Demet(rius), Palaciu(m) Imp(er)atoris, S(an)c(tu)s Geor|gius, S(an)c(tu)s Joh(ann)es d(e) Petra, Chiramos, Portus olim|Palacij Im|p(er)atoris, Yppodromos, Palacium Jus|tiniani, Porta, Vlanga, S(an)c(t)us Joh(ann)es d(e)|Studio, Portus sed destruct(us)|precepto Teucroru(m).*

[In Asia] *Scutari, Turquia, Calchidonia.*

Plate I. Fig. 1 . . . (Crete, **MS. Add. 15,760,** *f.* 11).[1]

[Northern Islands] *Pori, Dina, Mes[o], Pimolos, Pismodi, Dia, Todoro.*

[Southern Islands] *Xp(ist)iana, Niso, Gaidaro (?), Limiona, . . . tallo, Pachi|madi.*

[Crete] *Cherson(n)es(us), S.|Isidero, Sesia, Ditam(us)|Mons, Sirapolis ep(iscopa)tus, Girapetr[a], Planu(m) arenosu(m) absq(ue)*

[1] With this may be compared the map of G. Sideris (1563) published by Sathes (*Mon. Hist. Hell.* ii).

fructu, Iserina, Iera Mo(n)s, Omalo, Carci, Lasiti, Belueder, Gabello Mo(n)s, Cherso(n)/nes(us), Gortina/urbs/regis/Minois, S./Geor/gius, Sepulcru(m) Iouis, Laberintus, S. Georgi(us), Ida Mons, Mesaria plana 40 *m.p., Candia, Gnosia, Silua magna oleastru(m), Piriotissa, Disido flu(u)i(us), Ohazi fl., Milo/potono, Platanei fl., Stirapoli, Centum font., Retimo, Salso flu(uius), Eletuine fl., S./Constantin(us), Bonifacio, Athanea, Matalea S., Leucus/mons, Caput Spata, Tiff fl., Chisamopol(is), Anopera/tus fl.*

Fig. 1 p. 201 . . . (Chios, **MS. Lansd. 792,** *f.* 61.)

[Chios] *Aiseleni, Calandra, Coronia, Nenita, Leutopato, Cambra, Melanio, Pirama, Vichi, Naos, Parparia, Anauato, Pitios, Cardamila, Chilani, Langada, Voliso, Augonima, P. Dolfino, Incorona/ta, Caries, Mesta, Zolos, Zifia, Vasilionico, Elata, Merminghi, S. Georgio, Licilimiona, Armolia, Scio, Carchios, Thimiana, Dafnes, Tolopotami, Elimbi, Vessa, Patrica, Didima, Flacia, Oxso, Didima, Pirgi, Uono, Niochori, Catharacti, Elmbi, Nenita, Paida, S. Mina, C. Mastica Calibasia.*

[Asia, etc.] *Smirne, C. Bianco, Ecnuses, Strovili.*

F. W. H.

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION. II.

IN my previous paper[1] on Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilization I sought to give a general account of the architectural evidence resulting from excavation, in its bearing on the disputed question as to the continuity of Aegean culture throughout the course of its development.

It will now be advisable to consider the problems involved on a wider basis, in the light of the objects other than architectural, found in Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean world.

The Carian Hypothesis as to the Origins of the Aegean Civilization.

That the implications of the question are of an ethnological character will at this stage in the inquiry be generally admitted. And here it will be convenient to take as our point of departure a standpoint that may now perhaps be regarded as pretty general, though negative in its bearings, and which is to the effect that the originators of the Aegean civilization, at any rate in its pre-Mycenaean phases, were not 'Achaeans' in the vague general sense of being a people from the mainland of Greece. But the attempt to give a positive form to this conclusion has led to the revival of an old hypothesis which is perhaps not so entirely out of date as has lately been supposed.[2] According to this hypothesis, the originators and representatives of the Aegean civilization were Carians from south-west Anatolia, and it was they, according to Doerpfeld, who built the earlier palaces of Crete. The later Cretan palaces, on the other hand, according to the same authority, were built by people of Achaean, and so of Hellenic race.[3]

[1] See *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 181 ff.

[2] See some strictures in this connection by Mr. H. R. Hall in *Clas. Rev.* xix. 81.

[3] *Athen. Mitt.* xxx. 258.

It is surprising that this 'Carian hypothesis' should still continue in its old form to bear authority, considering that in recent years the results of excavation over a wide area in the eastern Mediterranean Basin have contributed so much to transform previous conceptions; we now see more clearly what were the real ethnological connections between the pre-Hellenic peoples of Anatolia and those of the Aegean and Greece, in the period preceding the era of Hellenic migrations into the Aegean world. Doerpfeld in this connection refers to the speculations of Ulrich Köhler, who at an early period in Mycenaean research sought to bring the Mycenaean civilization into connection with the Carian sea-empire.[1]

As regards the latest phase of this civilization, Doerpfeld prefers his own hypothesis of an Achaean origin. This fact—especially in view of the great anachronism involved in the original theory—is sufficient justification (if any were needed) for subjecting the whole of Köhler's theory to criticism in the light of recent discovery.

It would lead us too far to go into any detailed account of the evidence resulting from these researches. Accordingly I shall content myself here with restating the chief conclusions arrived at in the course of them.

The explorations of Paton and Myres in south-west Anatolia, which for our purpose come first in order, have made it highly probable that 'Caria was, in fact, so far from spreading the Mycenaean civilization among the islands, in Crete, or in Greece, that it only felt its influence towards the close of the period, and, like Cyprus, retained and adapted it when it was already becoming extinct in the Aegean. The theory, therefore, formerly proposed by Köhler and Dümmler, that Mycenaean civilization originates in Caria, and represents the Carian thalassocracy of Hellenic tradition, would seem to interpret such a series as that at Assarlik in exactly the wrong direction.'[2]

On the other hand, the explorations in question, while they disprove the suggested Anatolian origin of Mycenaean civilization, do not support the further thesis that the pre-Hellenic non-Aryan peoples of Caria and adjoining regions (until we get as far afield as the Hittite country) had no racial affinity whatever with the pre-Hellenic and non-Aryan inhabitants of the Aegean.

The tendency of the most recent discoveries in the Aegean itself points

[1] *Athen. Mitt. ibid.* 288.
[2] *J.H.S.* xvi. 270.

in the other direction. The Eteocretans, with their very apparent pre-Hellenic linguistic affinities, appear no longer as an isolated phenomenon in Crete. The linguistic importance of the inscribed tablets of Knossos and H. Triada must be taken in connection with the general import of the other evidence; and we then perceive that the Eteocretans and their language belong to that wider context of Aegeo-Cretan culture for which the momentous discovery of the prehistoric script of Knossos now affords a real basis. The incised signs of a connected character found on pottery of the First City at Phylakopi in Melos, date back the origins of such writing in the Aegean with the time of the Early Cycladic culture, which cannot be much later than the fourth millennium B.C.; a unity of language (judging from the analogy of Melos) which would extend to different parts of the Aegean and would be left as a heritage from the Neolithic era, would naturally presuppose racial unity extending over the same area and period. Unfortunately linguistic data from excavation on the mainlands of Greece and Anatolia, such as would help to bring us back to so remote a past, are still lacking. In this connection, however, on the Anatolian side the pre-Hellenic inscriptions of Lycia and the script of the Hittite culture present phenomena that cannot be left out of account in relation to the question of linguistic affinities in the Aegean.

Meanwhile it has been possible to attack the problem from the point of view of comparative philology, as has been done by various scholars. It was a great step in advance when philological research made it appear probable that on the mainland of Greece, in the Aegean (notably Crete) and in Asia Minor there existed certain common pre-Hellenic, apparently non-Aryan and non-Semitic elements in Hellenic speech; and that these, (to judge especially from certain anomalous phenomena in place-names), could hardly be explained except on one hypothesis; namely, that a pre-Hellenic, non-Aryan and at the same time non-Semitic language must have been current in different dialectical variations over areas so far apart as the lands of Hellas and the Hittite country, in the prehistoric period preceding the era of Greek migrations from the north.

In this connection much has rightly been made of Mayer's suggestion regarding the words *λάβρυς*, *Λαβύρινθος*, *Λάβραυνδα* as probably being linguistically related words, which Kretschmer again claims as of non-Hellenic pre-Aryan origin. But when, with the designation 'pre-Aryan,' the specific identification is made which would assign the root-word to a

Carian origin, the stage in inquiry has evidently been reached when the question has to be asked: by what philological process has it been possible to arrive at a definite degree of probability in favour of a Carian origin for the root in *Λάβραυνδα*, such as would exclude a genuinely Cretan origin for the cognate root in the word *Λαβύρινθος*? The roots may be cognate without there having been derivation one way or the other. Similarly the cult of the God of the Labrys or Double Axe, which was common to Caria with Crete, does not necessarily lead us to the assumption of derivation either way. On the hypothesis of racial affinity between the people of Caria and the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete, the cult of the divinity in question may be native to south-west Anatolia, equally with Crete, without any need for the perilous assumption that it was from Caria the divinity passed to Crete. If the assumption of derivation one way or the other were to be at all admitted, the probability in the circumstances would appear more feasible were the derivation regarded as having been the other way about. In the palmy days of the Aegean polity, Caria was as outlying and provincial in relation to the sea-empire of Crete as was Pelasgian Thessaly. To derive that polity from Carian Anatolia is hardly more feasible than to deduce it from previous conditions that existed in Pelasgian Hellas, and we know already, in relation to the history of Cretan palaces, at what point the Pelasgians probably came on the stage of Cretan history.

But the mention of Pelasgian Greece, of Minoan Crete, and of Carian Anatolia, in a connection which would exclude any hypothesis as to the derivation of the Aegean civilization one way or the other, does not equally exclude the possibility of racial affinity between the peoples of the provinces in question.

It is here that recent philological investigations, notably by Fick, come in to make such affinity seem highly probable.[1] The tendency of these researches has been to bring out into clear relief the cognate character of the linguistic phenomena in a sense which, at the present stage, is inimical to hasty speculation as to the direction taken by racial migrations one way or the other.[2] The question of fact as to the geographical distribution of

[1] *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, pp. 1–5 and *passim*. Conway, *B.S.A.* viii. 125–156, 'The Pre-Hellenic Inscription of Praesos,' makes what, in view of Fick's conclusions, must be regarded as an unsuccessful attempt to show the Aryan affinities of Eteocretan.

[2] Fick himself is hardly discreet in this connection, when he would account for the dynasty and following of Minos by the hypothesis of a later migration into Crete of a people from south-east Anatolia cognate with the original Eteocretans of the island. See *ib.* 37.

allied races over different areas should always take precedence of the more remote, and therefore more risky, inquiry as to the migratory movements of such allied races which may be taken to have led to this distribution. The special circumstances of racial affinity are here indeed such that we must not make the transition from the ethno-geographical use of the word 'Carian' to a signification which would presuppose a migration of actual Carians in prehistoric times into Crete without extreme caution; since we probably have here an instance of two cognate non-Aryan peoples coming into contact and yet arriving by opposite ways from a common home, which may have been in Africa. In this way the development of separate institutions in polity and of dialectical variations in language, may well in prehistoric times have gone on independently though parallel lines, such as would not at all necessarily presuppose the actual presence of Carians in Crete or of Cretans in Anatolia in any period of Aegean culture. The same set of probable relations would in that case hold of the *rôle* played by Pelasgians in prehistoric Hellas. It is in this connection that the special value of the philological researches carried on by Fick comes in. Accordingly, if the roots in such words as *Λάβραννδα* and *Λαβύρινθος* and the place-names instanced by Fick are not more distinctively Carian than they are Cretan or Pelasgian, then the designations 'kleinasiatisch' and 'Asianic' must not be given a meaning which would conflict with such a designation as, for example, 'Eteocretan' for the primitive language of Crete, or 'Pelasgian' for the pre-Hellenic speech of Hellas.[1]

It is in this way that the results of the philological researches of Fick, following on those of Mayer, Kretschmer, and others, have done so much to supplement and correct previous conceptions as to the bearing of the Carian evidence. Thus, as indicated already, though it is still possible to agree with Paton and Myres that Caria in itself cannot be made responsible for any phase of Aegean civilization, it can no longer be held with them that the pre-Hellenic, non-Aryan and non-Semitic races of southern Asia Minor, from Caria to the Hittite country, had no affinity with the pre-

[1] See H. R. Hall on 'The Two Labyrinths' (*J.H.S.* xxv. 323). The designations 'kleinasiatisch' and 'Asianic,' as well as other statements in the passage cited, would seem to indicate an underlying belief on Mr. Hall's part that the primary movement of the Aegeo-Pelasgian people was from an initial centre of departure somewhere in Asia. Even Fick continues to behold one last vestige of the same oriental mirage. The initial racial movement which led to the Aegeo-Pelasgian culture would, according to Fick, have to be assigned a starting-point at some centre in Asia beyond the Hittite country.

historic people of the Hellenic seas who were really responsible for Aegean culture.[1]

All the indications then are in favour of Fick's conclusions as to the linguistic and racial affinities, with dialectical and local variations, existing between the Carians and allied races of Asia Minor and the pre-Hellenic people of the Aegean. And if further, with Paton and Myres, we place the first hegemony of Carians on the coasts of south-west Anatolia in post-Minoan times, we shall be able better to understand the indications as to the probable trend of events in the era previous to the formation of the Carian League; with this in view we can neither ignore Aegean influence on the Anatolian littoral at the time of the break-up of Aegean culture, nor can we, admitting the racial affinity of the Carians and allied Anatolian peoples with the Aegean race, regard them in all essential respects as the givers and not the receivers in their relation to the peoples of the West. The characteristic feature of the Carian League is that we see here a ruling race and dynasty which, although allied by race with the prehistoric peoples of the Aegean, had little intimate knowledge of marine affairs; and which, in order to assert its hegemony at sea, must needs have contact and fusion with a race dwelling on the shores of Asia Minor; and this race even in post-Minoan days always remained a people of the sea. The more permanent elements of continuity in culture were supplied by the old Aegean race. It is thus we have to account for the Aegean factors in art and civilization in the sphere of influence covered later by the new League in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. It is in this way, for example, that the post-Mycenaean pottery of this region, as recent researches have taught us, is found to preserve so many elements of genuine Minoan style.[2] The impetus given to survival, through the process of organic disintegration and translation into a new environment, was enhanced and reinforced by the fact that the new though allied elements of race, while supplying the dominant force now in the field of enterprise, had been largely and for long the recipients in relation to the old elements of culture.

The underlying fact of racial affinity, we may be sure, facilitated, in the period which led to Carian hegemony, a process of give as well as take.

[1] See *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 243, where under the influence of these earlier conceptions I have characterized the Carians as a foreign race. I should say now that Carians and Cretans were foreign to each other somewhat in the same way as the Dutch and English.

[2] See *J.H.S.* xxiii. 178–9, note 20.

It is thus we have to explain the later brotherhood in religion. The cult of the God of the Double Axe, as we saw reason to conjecture, was no more intimately native to the Carians in the period preceding their hegemony than it had been in Crete in the era that preceded the break-up of the Aegean polity. As an outcome of the fraternization of the Carians with the Aegean 'Lelegians' it was but natural that the cult of the God of the Double Axe should have become part of the official religion of the new Caria on the conclusion of the Carian League

It is highly improbable that people of actual Carian race could themselves have played any dominant *rôle* in the Aegean previous to the conclusion of the Carian League; on the contrary, we find that this league itself presupposes the concurrence of influences that themselves were derived from the Aegean; this must have taken place before the first hegemony of Carians or the first appearance on the shores of Anatolia of those early settlers of Hellenic race who themselves were the other party in the Carian League. On their first appearance on the stage of history the movement of the Carians towards expansion was in the direction of the Hellenic seas, but they attain to hegemony on the shores of the Aegean too late to account for any phase of Aegean civilization. The latest wave of Minoan culture in its movement eastward had long ago found a home in the Sporades and in Rhodes; and in the post-Minoan era Aegean tradition had already found a new environment towards survival in Samos, Rhodes, and in the adjacent Anatolian coast regions, by the time the Carians attained to predominance in Myndos, and long before there was any word of such an event in history as the formation of the Carian League.

The events which followed the break-up of the Aegean polity form at the same time the opening chapter in the history of a new Aegean culture.

The tide of mainland influence from Greece, determined as that was by causes beyond and behind itself, was of persistent and continuous force. A process of immigration from Greece into the Aegean that, as in my former paper I gave reasons to conclude, began with a wave of Pelasgian wanderings, conditioned emigration thence in turn on to the Asiatic coast.

The process of organic race-severance in the course of this southward and eastward movement, with transference into a new medium consequent on the break-up of the Aegean polity, was undoubtedly favourable to the

survival of Minoan forms of life in the isolation of a new home. In this process of organic separation, the Sporades, as we have suggested, must have played a dominant part along with Rhodes and the Anatolian littoral. The new centre of life presupposed by the Carian League was found in that region of south-west Asia Minor—the later Myndos—which had received its earlier name of Lelegia from earlier settlers from the West.

In the fulness of time, the tidal flow of immigration from the mainland of Greece brought with it in their turn the first Hellenic settlers to the Anatolian shores, and the environment they found around them was one prepared, in the long interval succeeding the break-up of the Aegean polity and preceding their own arrival, by the concurrence of influences that were only partly Asiatic and were largely of the Aegean. It was with these Hellenic settlers that the Carians, with the help of the now subservient tribes of Aegeo-Lelegian race, formed the Carian League of early Ionic history. But the really dominant influence in the earlier culture is clearly traceable in the one set of phenomena that has been carefully observed: the special characteristics of the early Hellenic pottery belonging to the sphere of influence covered by the Carian League.[1] We now know the true original source of the Minoan survivals in details of ornament which form so remarkable a feature of that pottery.[2] That source can be as little sought in Caria as the Carian League itself can be shifted back some thousands of years in history to account for the origins of the Aegean civilization.[3]

The Aegean Race and the Aegean Civilization.

The general results of excavation in the Aegean, culminating in those of Crete, have given a new starting-point to research as to the origins of the Aegean people.

Following the previous investigations of Dümmler, himself one of the earlier supporters of the Carian hypothesis, came the diligent researches of Dr. Tsountas in different islands of the Cyclades. As a happy

[1] See Boehlau, *Aus Ion. u. Ital. Nekropolen*, 61 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* Figs. 25, 26, 29*a*, 30. Taf. ii. 5, iii. 1, 3. *J.H.S.* xxiii. 179, note 20, where however '29' has been misprinted for '29*a*.'

[3] This is what Doerpfeld does when, *ib.* 290, he says that for present-day research, with its gradual accumulation of new material for observation, it can no longer be doubtful that the early Cretan civilization 'die Kultur jener Karischen Seeherrschaft oder kurz die Karische Kultur ist.' The anachronism involved is evident.

culmination to those investigations in the Cycladic area followed the excavations of the British Archaeological School at Athens, at Phylakopi in Melos. These excavations, at what is perhaps the most important Aegean site in the Cyclades, revealed a regular sequence in the succession of settlements, in the light of which it was now possible to see the results of earlier researches in the Cyclades in their true prehistoric perspective. Then, as a result of international co-operation on a great scale, came the series of brilliant discoveries in Crete to confirm the reasonableness of previous conjecture as to the true centre of Aegean culture. In this connection it was no wonder that the Cycladic sequence, from the end of the Neolithic Age onwards, should have but found its final luminous illustration in the parallel sequence of development in Minoan Crete.

Research in the Cyclades, while tracing back the origins of the Aegean civilization to the borders of the Neolithic Age, nowhere yielded results that could throw any light on that previous era itself. Yet from the Early Cycladic era onwards, the continuity of development, revealed as a result of excavation more especially at Phylakopi in Melos, was such that there could be no longer any doubt whatever that the originative centre of the Cycladic civilisation was to be sought in the Aegean itself, not in any outside area. This result, however, left untouched the previous question regarding the origin of the Aegean race itself. Yet in view of these researches there could be no further doubt that the investigations of Messrs. Paton and Myres, already referred to, only received new confirmation in the absolute exclusion now of one special hypothesis in explanation ; the Carian people, as we have seen already, could not be supposed to have arrived in the Aegean in an era previous to that of the earliest cist-tombs of the Cyclades, without employing an anachronism which flatly contradicts the evidence as to the late hegemony in culture and politics of that people on the coasts of Asia Minor.

Then it was that in the first year of the excavations at Knossos came a discovery of the greatest importance in this connection : that of the Neolithic People of Crete. The far-reaching consequences that follow from this discovery cannot easily be overestimated. To realize this, we have only to recollect that the Neolithic town of Knossos, at the centre of which in a later era were built the royal palaces, has a uniform stratification varying from six to eight metres in height before we come in sequence upon remains that can in any way be co-ordinated with the earliest

finds from the Cyclades: those of the cist-tombs. But the sequence is undoubted, and the transition is made without perceptible break in many successive stages.

When once Crete had revealed the existence of a remote past behind the Early Cycladic era, it was clear that any hypothesis as to the origins of the Aegean people must take as its starting-point the beginning of the Neolithic Age.

In relation now to later development beginning with the Early Cycladic era, or what with regard to Crete has been termed the Early Minoan Period, it is only natural, apart from any question of scientific method, to seek the explanation of this later development in the first instance in the light of what went before it on the spot, before we proceed to seek the help of any hypothesis of external derivation in explanation of the phenomena. Not only so, however, but scientific method itself is in favour of exhausting all the possibilities of the internal explanation of pre-historic development, before the processes of elimination themselves compel us to seek an explanation of any residual phenomena inexplicable from within, on the hypothesis of racial influence on race-movement from without. The presence of a Neolithic people in the Aegean in the age preceding the Early Minoan era in Crete, presents a real factor or moment in racial evolution on the spot which is presupposed in all the later development. Against this real moment in the initial stages of development any mere hypothesis as to later derivation from without, which takes no account of this factor, has to be ruled out of court. At every later stage in inquiry we have to be on our guard against admitting any such hypothesis of derivation from without, as long as the conception of internal development continues to stand the test in explanation of the phenomena. Thus when we come to the Early Minoan Age, we must not have recourse to the hypothesis of migration from without in explanation of the phenomena, until we have exhausted all the possibilities of explanation supplied by the presence of a Neolithic people on the spot. When once in Crete we have come into touch with what is so apparently the centre of the Aegean civilization, we have to admit the theory of race-immigration and invasions only as a last resort, in explanation of any residuum of phenomenon not explicable on the hypothesis of development from within.

At Knossos then, when we come to the Early Minoan era, we have present as a prior factor, and so as a condition of all later development, the

Neolithic people of Crete. And we have the presence of the same people already verified at Phaestos and again at one extremity of the island in the neighbourhood of Palaikastro in East Crete.[1]

In all these instances of the presence of this people, what we have got is the evidence afforded by the remains of settlement. Burials have not as yet been discovered, and thus the more precise evidence afforded by the observations of burial customs is as yet lacking. For the same reason it has not yet been possible to have the further aid of craniological observation. Accordingly, we are practically limited to observation of the finds from the settlement-deposits. But those are of so massive a character and present so gradual a process of accumulation in the standard case of Neolithic Knossos, that certain definite fundamental results come out with uniform and consistent clearness.

1. There is no doubt whatever that we are still in the Age of Stone, and there is a complete absence of all metals. 2. The uniform character of the stratification, allowing for the gradual processes of development, as illustrated by the gradual progress in ceramic evolution, is in itself evidence that we have here to do with one practically unmixed race-substratum from beginning to end. 3. At the end of the deposit-series, as judged by the pottery, there is a gradual transition to the earliest phases of the series which follows, and which begins in the 'sub-neolithic' period without any apparent break in the processes of development, as judged again by the one set of data that is always present: the pottery.[2] One phenomenon of constant though rarer occurrence in these deposits is of the highest importance in the light of later development. This is the occasional presence of female images in the same incised clay as the pottery,[3] which, allowing for differences of outward appearance, largely owing to the special difficulties presented by difference of material, are undoubtedly the prototype of the female images that play so prominent a *rôle* in deposits of a later time in the Aegean, beginning with the Early Cycladic or Early Minoan era.[4] Not only so, but in the

[1] By Mr. R. M. Dawkins while working for the British School. See *B.S.A.* xi. 260-8.

[2] For a summary account of the Neolithic pottery of Knossos see *J.H.S.* 158-164 and Pl. IV. 6 31. Fragment 19 is Early Minoan. The Neolithic pottery of East Crete is described and illustrated in *B.S.A.* xi. 264-5, Pl. VIII. Nos. 24-31, and Fig. 3.

[3] For a female image of this kind from Neolithic Phaestos see Mosso, *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo e gli Scavi di Creta*, 214, Fig. 119. The Knossian figurines await publication.

[4] See *B.S.A.* vi. 6.

later transitional strata and apparently overlapping with these clay figures, occurred in fine alabaster a squat variant of the clay images, as well as a flat fiddle-shaped variety in the same material, which to all appearance stands in a parental relation to the somewhat similar images found in early Cycladic tomb-deposits.[1]

The best known and most developed 'Cycladic' type of female image does not in its actual Cycladic shape go back to Neolithic deposits in Crete. But in the immediately succeeding era it need no longer be regarded as a stranger there, since its occurrence in the well-known Haghios Onouphrios deposit from near Phaestos and at Siteia,[2] has been followed by its presence in the important Early Minoan tholos-tomb discovered by the Italians at Haghia Triada[3] and again in the somewhat later necropolis of Koumássa near Gortyna.[4] Indeed, notwithstanding the apparent antithesis of shape that emerges at the end of the series, the squatting clay images may themselves be the originals of the flat Cycladic type, a middle link being probably preserved in the hideous half squatting varieties. A reminiscence of the squatting seems still preserved in the zigzag profile with outbending knees, characteristic of all but the very latest of the erect variety. Not only so, however, but the most typical squatting images of the Neolithic deposits probably have a more direct relation to the squatting women seen in representations of a later time. Thus the incised ornament on many of these steatopygous clay images, taken in combination with the voluminous appearance of the lower part of the figure, may indicate an attempt to render the characteristic loin-cloth skirt-costume of Neolithic women squatting on the ground. In that case these women, with the suggestion they convey of primeval African customs, would be the true ancestresses of the elegant gowned women

[1] The squat clay figures when seen *en face*, themselves give the outline of the most typical 'fiddle' shapes.

[2] See *Cretan Pictographs*, 126, Figs. 129, 131, 133–4. As Dr. Evans says, they 'are of essentially the same class as those found in Amorgos and other Greek islands.'

[3] See *Memorie del r. Istituto Lombardo*, xxi. Tav. xi. Fig. 27, 13, 14, in the series. Prof. Halbherr here rightly emphasizes the Libyan affinities of the great majority of the tholos figurines See *ib.* 251 and note 1, where the apt comparison is made with the similar 'figurine antichissime dell Egitto . . . trovate dal Flinders Petrie, il quale vi ha appunto notato "the domed head and the pointed chin of the prehistoric people." Man, 1902, p. 17.'

[4] The finds from this necropolis await publication at the hands of its explorer, Dr. Stephanos Xanthoudides, Ephor at Candia.

of the Late Minoan era, who are seen squatting in portentous multiple skirts in the Miniature Fresco of Knossos.

It has already, however, come out, in the above reference to recent discoveries and their bearing in this connection, that our knowledge both of what in Crete coincides with the Early Cycladic era elsewhere, and of what in sequence fits on to that, has been very much widened since our first discovery in 1900 of the Neolithic people of Crete. Thus it is no longer possible to be misled into the statement that in any circumstances in which we have preserved to us a fairly complete record of gradual stratification, the deposits of the 'Kamáres' period are found to lie immediately above the Neolithic strata in Crete.[1] This it is possible now to affirm only of localities in which there has been either no Early Aegean settlement at all, or removal of this in course of the processes of levelling away, preceding new building operations. Misconception on this point has had the effect of making the 'Kamáres' or Middle Minoan civilization in Crete coincide roughly with what previously had been known as the Early Cycladic or Early Aegean culture. The resulting confusion of ideas has been very serious, and—to cite only one example—Dr. Hubert Schmidt makes the implications of the error in question a convenient support to a far-reaching hypothesis of his own as to the supposed northern affinities and connections of the Aegean civilization.[2] In refutation of this misunderstanding, it may be noted that one of the most remarkable results of recent Cretan excavation has been its bearing upon the question of the Early Aegean, Cycladic, or Minoan civilization. This civilization begins with the period of the earliest Cycladic cist-tombs (as illustrated by the cave-burials of Haghios Nikolaos in East Crete[3]); it passes through the phase represented by the early Tholos of Haghia Triada near Phaestos; and it ends with the era illustrated by the finds of Haghios Onouphrios and again in the necropolis of Koumássa near Gortyna; we now perceive that the whole of it must be placed between the long Neolithic development and the 'Kamáres' or Middle Minoan Period. If this recession of our perspective is taken into account, it is clear that the southern series which centres in Crete cannot be made to fit on in sequence to the Hungarian

[1] See *J.H.S.* xxi. 78, for a statement to his effect.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, *Troja—Mykene—Ungarn*, 608–56. See particularly for the repetition of the mistake referred to, page 650.

[3] *B.S.A.* ix. 336–343, Figs. 1, 2.

one nearly so well as Schmidt is anxious to make it do. The extension indeed of our field of vision into the prehistoric past of Crete, thus opened up as a result of Cretan discovery, has consequences which as seriously threaten to reverse the conclusions arrived at by Schmidt, as they tend to confirm anew previous ones put forward in this very connection by Dr. Arthur Evans, as to the predominantly southern Africo-Mediterranean connections of the Aegean civilization, and, by implication, of the Aegean race.[1]

Attention was drawn on a previous occasion to certain analogies between the Neolithic pottery of Crete and that of Pre-dynastic Egypt; and the hypothetical suggestion that followed such comparison was to the effect that the Cretan series, equally with the Egyptian, may have been the work of one original race, developing on gradually diverging lines in different environments.[2] Sicily again was found to present us with a very early Mediterranean ceramic series with characteristic white-filled incisions, the closest analogies to which as yet are furnished by the similar Neolithic technique of Crete. The Sicilian series again has turned out, as a result of special study, to present the same continuity in development from the Neolithic era onwards, which is so noticeable in the Aegean. The general tenor of my own observations on the point, in the course of a special journey to Sicily, turned out to be quite in harmony with those of Professor Petersen, who argues with great probability that Orsi is as little justified in making a racial break between his earliest, Sikanian, and his First Sikel Period, as Patroni again is, in making this racial division between the First and the Second Sikel Period.[3] As regards the South Mediterranean connections of the prehistoric peoples of Sicily, a still more suggestive result is obtained by Petersen's further refutation (which in my opinion is conclusive) of Patroni's attempt to observe (at Matera) the Sikels on their way from the Italian continent to Sicily.[4] The existence of 'Sikels' on the mainland would in that case be explicable as a case of northward movement from the south, which would have to be brought into some connection or other with the original Ligurian occupation of the Italian continent.[5]

[1] See *J.H.S.* xvii. 362–395. [2] *J.H.S.* xxiii. 162–4.
[3] See Petersen in *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. 171–191. [4] *Ibid.* xiv. 167–172.
[5] Arthur Evans, 'Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos,' *Archaeologia*, 1906, 17, cites this evidence in a connection which bears in the same direction.

Speculations that lead us so far away from Crete as Sicily, might seem at first sight without a practical bearing for the Aegean area, were it not that investigations starting from the same point have already led inquiry still further afield; to the definite inclusion in the racial area of the Mediterranean of ethnological provinces so far apart as Egypt and Libya on the one hand, and prehistoric Morocco and Spain on the other.[1] It is not less symptomatic of the general tendency of the evidence when we find that Orsi, starting from the Middle and West Mediterranean provinces, makes a synthesis in his conclusions so wide as to include within the range and habitat of the Mediterranean race, inclusively of the North-African littoral, not only the prehistoric Iberian people of Spain and the Ligurians of Italy, but the Pelasgian race of the prehistoric Aegean world.[2] In so doing, however, Orsi is not content to rely entirely on the purely archaeological evidence; for he instances, as corroborative of his view, the anthropological conclusions as to the affinities of the Mediterranean Race.

The Mediterranean Race.

If we turn now to the Aegean and to Crete, we are confronted by the fact that there is as yet no craniological evidence regarding the Neolithic people of the Aegean. It is not a little remarkable that such evidence, when it begins to be available for the succeeding era, turns out to be entirely in harmony not only with Dr. Evans's views regarding the Egypto-Libyan connections of the Aegean race, but with Orsi's similar conclusions regarding the North-African affinities of the earliest people of Sicily. When head-types of the earliest known Cretan class—those from early Aegean or 'Minoan' deposits—become available for measurement, they are found to be of the same well-marked dolichocephalic 'Mediterranean' stamp as are those from the Middle and West Africo-Mediterranean provinces[3]: notwithstanding the widely current

[1] The reference is to Evans's 'Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script,' *J.H.S.* xvii. 362–385, 385–390.

[2] *Mon. Ant.* ix. 502–4. Orsi in this connection makes the island of Pantelleria, with which he is specially dealing, like the Straits of Gibraltar, one of the stepping-stones from the African continent.

[3] Rendered familiar to us from the works, among others, of Sergi. Quoted also by Orsi, *ibid.* 503, note 1. See especially *The Mediterranean Race.* Sergi brings out similar results for Sardinia, see *La Sardegna*, 1–74.

scepticism in regard to the results of craniological investigation and the prejudice touching conclusions derived from statistical records, this must at least be regarded as a startling coincidence. Thus the skulls found at Haghios Nikolaos, together with pottery which is assigned to nearly the beginning of the Early Aegean or Minoan series, show the distinctly marked dolicho-cephalic proportions that had already come to be regarded as characteristic of heads referable to the Mediterranean race.[1]

If we now take this craniological evidence in connection with the data afforded by the pottery, we find that the indications thus afforded have an ethnological bearing of a startling character in another direction. Tod in his discussion of the pottery has rightly emphasized two points: firstly, the strong analogy with that from the earlier period of the Second City at Hissarlik; secondly, the more primitive appearance of the Cretan vases, with their close affinities in particular features with the pottery of the lowest stratum at Troy. When we find the Cretan pottery associated with dolicho-cephalic skull-types like those usually referred to the so-called Mediterranean Race, we seem to be distinctly on the track of an interesting conclusion as to the orientation of the race-movement which led to the first peopling of Hissarlik. On the other hand, the attempt has been made (notably by Hubert Schmidt) to derive the origins of the Early Aegean Civilization from the north.[2] In view of the new evidence from Crete, this hypothesis has three difficulties in its way: 1. The immensely more primitive character of the Neolithic people of Crete, in relation both to the Aegean people and to the earliest settlers of Hissarlik, makes it probable that they were in a relation of racial affinity to the ancestors of the earliest settlers of Hissarlik, and equally, that they were the actual ancestors of the earliest people of the Aegean. 2. The craniological evidence from Crete as to the southern (Mediterranean, and North-African) affinities of the Aegean people contradicts the hypothesis as to their northern extraction. 3. The more primitive character of the Cretan ceramic affinities of the earliest Aegean age with the earliest pottery of Hissarlik puts the outlying and seemingly derivative character of that, into an apparent relation with probable race-movements from the south which

[1] For a short report on this interesting discovery see *B.S.A.* ix. 336–43, 344–50. These remarkable results have all the more importance on account of the exceptional care with which both the excavation itself and the craniological observation of the remains were conducted.

[2] See *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1904, pp. 608–56.

would have touched Crete and the Cyclades before reaching outlying regions of the Aegean and Anatolian Littorals, such as in the fulness of time would have led to Pelasgian Hellas and to Troy. In its strongly pronounced Mediterranean affinities the pottery of Hissarlik is characterized by a thoroughgoing continuity of development from the First Settlement to the Sixth; and there is, apart from Mycenaean importations in the Sixth Settlement, no real break in this continuity until we come to the 'Buckel-keramik' of the Seventh Settlement, and the first probable appearance of people of Aryan origin on the stage of Trojan history.

In comparison with the remains from the deposit of Haghios Nikolaos, there can be no doubt whatever that the finds from the early ossuary discovered by the Italians at Haghia Triada near Phaestos, represent a considerably more advanced phase in the same Early Aegean Civilization in Crete. Yet here again the results of craniological measurement of a series of skulls from this ossuary, made by Sergi at Rome, show that the people represented by these remains have the same distinctly marked dolichocephalic characteristics as those of the Haghios Nikolaos deposit.[1]

Somewhat later still in the Early Aegean series came the burials of the necropolis at Koumássa near Gortyna already referred to, and it can hardly now be regarded as an accident that one available skull from this site, measured by Max Kiessling of the Anthropological Institute of Berlin, proves, like the large majority of skulls from the other sites, to be dolicho-cephalic.

When we come to the succeeding Middle Aegean or Minoan Period in Crete to which the well-known Kamáres ware belongs, we find that the continuity with the previous era which is so strongly marked in the one set of data that never fails, the pottery, is more than confirmed again by the results of craniological research. Thus Duckworth, in summing up his conclusions regarding the skulls of the Haghios Nikolaos deposit, says: 'the net result, then, of my investigations is to indicate that the inhabitants

[1] See *Mem. r. Ist. Lomb.* Vol. xxi. Fasc. v. 252. 'I cranii meglio conservati, e in parte portati al museo antropologico di Roma, appartengono,' Prof. Halbherr here writes, 'come mi comunica il Prof. Sergi, alla *varietà mediterranea* già nota, la quale comprende le forme elissoidali, ovoidali e pentagonali corrispondenti alla misura craniometrica dei dolicomesocefali.' See Angelo Mosso, *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo e gli Scavi di Creta*, 265–281. Mosso here, page 273, note 1, announces that he is publishing a special work on Cretan craniology. His general conclusions coincide with those of Sergi referred to above.

of Crete who used the earthen vessels found at Haghios Nikolaos belonged to the same stock as those whose remains are found at Roussolakkos and at Patema, and that they are, like them, referable to the so-called 'Mediterranean Race.'[1] Now the ossuaries at Roussolakkos, though apparently going back in their first origin to the Early Minoan Period, have already, in regard to the great bulk of their pottery and other finds, been classified as belonging to the earlier part of the Middle Minoan Period (Middle Minoan I and II).[2] Another link in the chain of craniological evidence connecting the Early with the Middle Minoan Period in Crete is afforded by corroborative evidence from another quarter: the skull already referred to from the necropolis of Koumássa, which itself belongs to the latter part of the Early Minoan Period (Early Minoan III), was found by Kiessling to be of the same dolicho-cephalic type as the bulk of the skulls from the ossuary at Roussolakkos.

The Africo-Mediterranean affinities of Aegean Dress.

This cumulative evidence is now rendered still more interesting in the light of a discovery which has enabled us to ascertain how this Mediterranean people of Crete dressed towards the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age: I mean the important terracotta figurines[3] from the Sanctuary-site of Petsofà near Palaikastro excavated and published by Mr. J. L. Myres. By means of these figurines the far-reaching ethnological sequence is established, that the main features of male and female dress at the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age is identical not only with that in use (as far as the women were concerned) at the end of this period, as proved by the dress of the Snake Goddess and her 'Votaries' of the Temple Repositories, but with that worn at the end of the later Palace Period as illustrated by the 'Cupbearer,' by the full-sized figures of men and women on the wall-paintings of the 'Corridor of the Procession,' by the crowds of the Miniature Fresco at Knossos,[4] by the Harvest Procession on a steatite vase and the Ritual Scenes on the celebrated painted stone sarcophagus from Haghia Triada near Phaestos.[5]

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. 349.

[2] *B.S.A.* x. 194–5. Mr. R. M. Dawkins, who has examined the pottery of Roussolakkos, rightly emphasizes the fact of continuity in this very connection. See also *ibid.* 26.

[3] *B.S.A.* ix. 356–57, Pls. VIII.–XIII.

[4] *B.S.A.* vi. 15–16, 12–13, 46–48.

[5] *Mon. Ant.* xiii. 78–131, Figs. 1–4. Tav. i.–iii., xiv. 713–19. *Rendic. Lincei,* xii. 343.

If we now take the normal dress of the men, we find that this consists essentially of a loin-cloth dress, of which the use is now proved by the Petsofà figurines to go back to the beginnings of the Middle Minoan Age.[1] That is to say: the people who used this article of attire are of the same Mediterranean stock as those whose remains and pottery were found in the already mentioned ossuary of Roussolakkos of the same period. Having, however, once got so far, we can safely conclude that it must have been equally in use by the people of the same race, and of a still earlier age whose remains and pottery were found at Haghios Nikolaos. Thus we are, brought back, with an extremely primitive article of dress, to the borders of the Neolithic Age. If this is so, we need not be misled by the extreme elegance of the loin-apparel worn by the young courtiers of the Palace at Knossos and attempt to seek a foreign oriental derivation for, and adoption of, an article of primitive attire which the Neolithic people of Crete probably brought with them from their original home.[2]

Now it is notorious that the characteristic male attire of Egypt from the earliest dynasties onwards, was a loin-dress of essentially the same general character as that of the Aegean in pre-historic times; and notwithstanding the many vicissitudes of fashion of later times, the further we get back in history towards the Pre-dynastic Period, the less articulate appear the differences which distinguish the Aegean loin-cloth from that of Egypt. Thus it is not difficult to surmise, without the help of any monument, that the primitive loin-dress of the Pre-dynastic Libyan population of the Nile-valley was much less unlike that of the Early Minoan Era in the Aegean than the fashionable loin-apparel of the Middle and New Kingdoms in Egypt was to that of courtier-youths in the Late Minoan Period of Crete.[3] The divergencies that emerge in the course of ages in a new environment

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. 361, 365.

[2] As is done by Prof. Savignoni, *ib.* xiii. 109, when he suggests that the loin-cloths of the 'Harvesters' of Haghia Triada were received by the Cretans from the Orientals. It may be as well to remark here that Dr. Savignoni's 'tasca o sacchetto' which appears above the left thigh of all the 'Harvesters' and which forms no intrinsic part of the loin-costume is more probably a pad meant to obviate friction to the leg during sheaf-binding. A close examination of the original has convinced me that the 'cordoncino rilevato, che si nota lì accanto' has really to do with the pad which it fastened round the leg at the knee. The sheaving pad and the cord or strap, thus mutually explain each other.

[3] Mr. R. M. Dawkins makes the interesting suggestion that what is apparently the most primitive part of the Aegean loin-cloth arrangement (Mr. Myres's 'loin-cloth proper') 'may be a "Bantu sheath" of the type which is familiar on sculptured and modelled figures of Pre-dynastic style in Egypt.' See *B.S.A.* ix. 387, note to p. 364.

are not less due to changing conditions of climate than they are to the vicissitudes of fashion and the growth of the aesthetic feeling for ornament and style. The loin-cloth has existed in Africa from time immemorial and the Semitic people of Asia on entering the Nile-valley found this to be the ordinary male attire of the Libyan people of the land.

When now we come to the Mediterranean, we find the true explanation of the apparent anomaly of a loin-cloth apparel there, on the hypothesis alone that this characteristic attire of a warm climate was original to the people of the Aegean in their original home. And it is apparent that this original home and this warmer climate could only have been in Africa, where indeed climatic conditions have enabled the loin-cloth to survive to the present day from the earliest times. If, on the other hand, we regard the case as that of a northern people emigrating southwards into the Mediterranean Basin, we cannot easily suppose them laying aside one day one of the articles of their original dress, and adopting in the Aegean a loin-cloth apparel which is essentially that of Africa; though in accordance with the conservatism of custom in matters of dress, we can easily understand why a southern people emigrating to a cooler climate should stick to its immemorial loin-cloth, while eventually adding other articles of over-attire to it in accordance with the climatic needs of a new environment. Those therefore who attribute a northern origin to the Aegean people, must explain both the giving up of their native costume and the adoption of the foreign African loin-cloth in the Aegean; whereas if we accept the theory of the African connections of the Mediterranean Race, we hardly need explain the retention in a new environment, of a garment which, on this hypothesis, the Aegean people had always worn.

What the people of the North looked like in costume, and what they wore next their skins when in the fullness of time they at length appear upon the scene, is clearly shown on the Warrior Vase and on the painted stelè of Mycenae.[1] These doughty heroes from the North, in accordance with the warmer climate of their new environment, may have found it good to dispense on occasion with some of their heavier upper garments, but at any rate, as we see, they retained their northern shirt as obstinately as the Aegeo-Pelasgian people of the South in an earlier age had retained their

[1] See Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Taf. xlii. Text 68–9. These 'Schurzgewänder,' in the sense of loin-cloths beneath the short chiton or shirt, quite clearly do not exist. The Warrior Vase belongs to their decadent 'Fourth Style' and to the period of the break-up of the Aegeo-Pelasgian Culture. For the stelè, see Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, Pls. I., II.

immemorial loin-cloth of Africa. If, therefore, with Hubert Schmidt or von Stern, we seek a northern origin for the Aegeo-Pelasgian Race, and further assume that the loin-cloth costume was an importation from the south or east adopted by a race to whom it did not originally belong; we must explain how it is that when the Achaeans and other Greeks of northern Aryan race appear on the stage of Hellenic history, they neither wear a loin-cloth costume which has originally belonged to them, nor do they adopt one ready-made from the people of the land to which they come. On the other hand, the earlier Pelasgic population of the Greek mainland do not disappear from view with the first arrival of these invaders from the north. And if the older stock is responsible, as Kretschmer, Fick, and others have shown, for many Pelasgian elements in the later language of Greece, it is equally responsible for many survivals, which at first sight seem anomalous, in the costume of later, Hellenic times.[1] But in all this there is naturally nothing to suggest the universal adoption of the loin-cloth costume, which is the phenomenon that would have to be reckoned with, on the hypothesis of a northern origin for the Aegeo-Mycenaean people themselves. The Achaean hypothesis as to the origins of the culture of Mycenae leaves the universal use of the loin-cloth costume in the Aegeo-Mycenaean world—which is so much in evidence in the pictorial representations of the time,—entirely unexplained.

In contradistinction then to the native dress of all northerners of Hellenic origin, we find (and it can hardly now be regarded as surprising) that whenever there is any clear portrayal of people of Aegean race, the loin-cloth costume always recurs in representations of the men. In case it should be thought that such portrayal was due to influence from the south, and that therefore other islanders to the north of Crete did not necessarily in real life wear the garments represented in the pictures, it is particularly fortunate that we have preserved evidence to the contrary; this is afforded by a terracotta object of native Melian fabric from Phylakopi, with a procession of simple fishermen, who as toilers of the sea may have put off their boots for convenience, but who still stick to their loin-cloths as their one indispensable garment.[2] We have to remember that these are simple people who adhere to immemorial custom in the essentials of dress, and who are usually shy of putting on borrowed feathers in order to

[1] See Myres on the Petsofa figurines, *B.S.A.* ix. 386.

[2] See *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 123–5, Fig. 95, Pl. XXII.

ape their betters and be in the fashion; as would clearly have been the case, were the loin-cloth an exotic importation from the east, for use by elegant persons in the chase and in war, as was thought, for example, by Savignoni.[1] The 'Fishermen' of Melos, like the 'Harvesters' of Crete, are racy of the soil, and they go about their daily avocations with the natural *éclat* of healthy persons enjoying human life with the pleasant fruits of honest labour. Thus there is really no more reason to be surprised at the uniformity in the use of the indispensable loin-cloth than there is any cause to puzzle over the divergencies in detail in either case. The 'Harvesters' of Haghia Triada add a sheaving-pad, and the Melian 'Fishermen' dispense with their top-boots as part of their costume, in perfect keeping with their respective occupations.[2]

In this same connection it would be interesting to know more about the use of the loin-cloth in pre-historic Italy; at any rate there is one curious circumstance which militates against the importation theory; so far afield in the Middle Mediterranean as the Italian continent, we actually do find references to the existence of the loin-cloth there, under conditions which point distinctly against the theory of a late artificial adoption of such a garment, and in favour of a probable ethnological connection with the primitive customs in dress of the earlier pre-Aryan inhabitants of the country. 'At Rome, as in Greece, the apron or loin-cloth seems to have been an older undergarment than the shirt or Tunica. It was worn not only by men, but also by women (Mart. iii. 87. 4), and was known as the *subligaculum* (Non. p. 29, 20), *subligar*, or *campestre*.'[3]

There is no doubt, however, that in cases of primitive survival into a later time like that of the loin-cloth, whether in Italy or in Greece, the men will have been found much more conservative of tradition, and much less under the sway of passing fashions, than the women; so that at first sight one is indeed apt to be surprised at the appearance, on the wall-paintings of Knossos, of loin-clothed gentlemen alongside of ladies who seem to be dressed in the latest modes of Paris.

What is remarkable, however, is that when we come to consider

[1] *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiii. 109.

[2] See the very pronounced white top-boots of the male figurine from Petsofà, *B.S.A.* ix. Pl. IX. which Myres (*ib.* 363) would regard as the prototype of the characteristic modern Cretan white top-boot.

[3] Smith, *Dict. Gk. and Roman Ant.*, ii. 721, *s.v.* Subligaculum.

closely the women's dress of the Aegean, we do not find a different story as to origin and genesis, notwithstanding all the apparent disguise of Parisian-like mode revealed to us in the low bodices, puffed sleeves and multiple skirts worn by the fashionable court dames of Knossos. People have been scandalized by the excessively low dress of these court ladies into serious reflections as to the decadent character of the Late Minoan culture in general, without considering that what looks so shamelessly modern, is really the survival of very primitive custom in dress. The lady of Petsofà, belonging though she does to the early part of the Middle Minoan Age, with all her high 'Medici' collar behind, is quite as décolletée in front as her later sisters of Knossos. This being so, we can hardly expect the evidence of a still earlier period to contradict the later data as to the continuity of so remarkable a custom, seeing that the still more primitive figurines of the Early Minoan Age are there to confirm the usage, in a sequence that in turn goes back to Neolithic times.

In this connection it is startling to find that the steatopygous figurines of the Neolithic deposits of Knossos conceal beneath their primitive crudeness the existence of the gown, equally with the low-cut bodice. I had moreover already arrived at the conviction that the squatting skirted women portrayed in these figurines were thus the true prototypes of the squatting 'flounced' ladies of the Miniature Fresco at Knossos, when I found my conclusion confirmed by the similar opinion expressed by J. L. Myres.[1]

Since therefore the use of the low bodice and the squatting attitude of Minoan women go back to the most primitive times, it is clear that we should no longer be misled by the semblance of ephemeral fin-de-siècle fashion, conveyed by the multiple skirts and puffed sleeves of the palace ladies of Knossos. The use of the low bodice is in reality no less primitive than the squatting attitude. We are thus justified in surmising that the features referred to may point back to an earlier time, when the ancestresses of these women wore no bodices and no multiple skirts. But they still wore their loin-cloth and belt like the men, and they squatted on the ground. This could only have been in torrid Africa! These women then, we must believe, were from time immemorial accustomed, through climatic conditions, to the low-cut dress in their original home in Africa. And their

[1] See *ib.* 386 and *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. pp. 252 ff.

kindred who later passed into the Aegean world, notwithstanding the passage to a cooler climate, could never entirely give up the low bodice any more than the men could abandon what, after all, was only an exaggeration of the same feature, their loin-cloth costume, inherited as these were under similar climatic conditions. The squatting is also the custom of a dry, hot climate, and the habit could no more be derived from the cold, damp climate of Central and Northern Europe than the characteristic dress could have been.

It would indeed be needless to insist on the probability of such connections of Aegean costume with the south, were it not for the current tendency to regard the very peculiarities on which we have been insisting, as pointing in the direction of the loin-cloth being the original dress of Aryan Greeks. In this connection it may be regarded as particularly fortunate that the Petsofà figurine and the faïence statuettes of Knossos have now come to contradict Studniczka's rather plausible attempt to explain away the low-cut bodice, which Milchhoefer rightly found to be so characteristic of the dress of the Pelasgian women of Greece. As, however, it has thus turned out that this dress was a notorious fact, it is all the more easy to agree with Studniczka that the proof as to the real existence of such a dress would only tend to militate against Milchhoefer's own thesis, to the effect that we have here the primitive Aryan costume of Pelasgian women. The most recent views regarding the earlier habitat of the only Aryan people with which we have to do in Greece, would on this thesis be made to derive such a costume from Central Europe! When on the other hand Studniczka himself, in agreement with Milchhoefer, would accept the loin-cloth costume as belonging 'überhaupt der indogermanischen Tracht an,' we see at once that he has got off the track; for 'indogermanisch' and 'urgriechisch' in this connection can be made to come into an ethnological sequence, only on an assumption which would make the Pelasgians, who are here in question, themselves Indogermanic.[1]

Surprising now as it might at first sight appear, there are certain anomalies in the dress of Aegean women which make it quite clear that they originally did, and still could, wear the loin-cloth like the men. We know from the faïence figurines of the Temple Repositories at Knossos,

[1] See Studniczka, *Altgriechische Tracht*, 32–3. Milchhoefer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, 35.

belonging to the latter part of the Middle Minoan Age, that at that period the women of Crete wore as part of their dress a belted polonaise or panier, which is only a fashionable-looking transformation of the original loin-cloth costume.[1] But, that there should be no mistake upon this point, it happens that the men of the Miniature Fresco wear as part of their loin-cloth dress an apron-like panier, which in all essential respects is identical with that of the faïence ladies of the Temple Repositories. That the women on occasion wore this type of loin-cloth by itself, and not always over a bodice and skirt costume, is shown by the Cowboy Fresco of Knossos, where the female performers are seen wearing a belted loin-cloth arrangement which is identical with that of the men both there and in the Miniature Fresco just referred to.

The elongation and transformation of the original loin-cloth, as common to both sexes, was in itself responsible in the natural course of development for the belted panier in the case of the women. And this is proved by the fact that in certain representations, typical of an intermediate phase in development, we have the belted panier by itself without any skirt or bodice. It is thus we have to understand the short costume of certain women that appear occasionally on Cretan seal-impressions, such as the series from Zakro and Haghia Triada.[2] In essentials a costume of this kind comes into the same category as the loin-cloth dress of the men. Both men and women in this case are nude above the belt and clothed below that in a similar way, which again is intrinsically that illustrated in the Cowboy Fresco.[3] It is interesting in this connection to observe that a loin-cloth panier of the same kind as that on the seal-impressions referred to, is worn by some of the officiating priestesses in the Ritual Scenes of the painted stone sarcophagus from Haghia Triada; and here a reminiscence of very primitive, probably African, custom seems preserved to us; Halbherr has observed that in this case the panier is painted all over with elongated spots as if to represent the variegations caused by the tufts of hair of an

[1] See Lady Evans's description of the dress in *B.S.A.* ix. 80. For the panier, *ib.* Figs. 55, 56, 57.

[2] See *J.H.S.* xxii. Pl. VI. 6, 7, 8; *Mon. Ant.* xiii. 39–41. Figs. 33, 35 = our Figs. 1, 2. I have here warmly to thank Prof. Frederico Halbherr for his generous permission to reproduce a number of these sealings from the original excellent drawings by Signor Stefani.

[3] The man to the right in Fig. 2 has below his armour a loin-cloth skirt like that of his female companion. These 'vesti globulari a grandi sgonfi' closely resemble the baggy breeches worn by modern Cretans. A bronze statuette from the Dictaean Cave, now in the Ashmolean Museum, has a loin-cloth arrangement of very similar character.

FIG. 1.

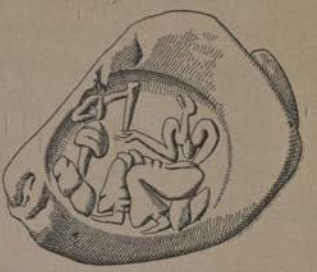


FIG. 5.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

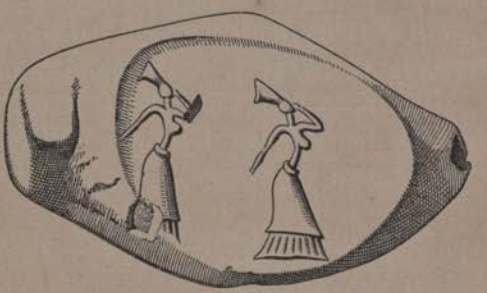


FIG. 4.

FIGS. 1, 2 3, 4, 5.—CRETAN SEAL-IMPRESSIONS, SHOWING DEVELOPMENT OF COSTUME.

original animal's skin worn as perizoma in the ritual, in the same way as leopard skins appear as loin-cloths in certain wall-paintings of Egypt.[1]

Here, however, we are faced with the seemingly puzzling question as to how the fully developed skirt came to be sub-added to the loin-cloth apparel. The modern-looking cut of the skirts of the faïence ladies conceals whatever original connection there may have existed between the two articles of attire; but when we penetrate beneath the caprices and disguises of passing fashions, we shall find that the so-called flounced skirt in its origin is nothing but an elongated reduplication and multiplication of the more normal type of loin-cloth polonaise, repeated at ever greater lengths beneath that. The elliptical curve upwards over the hips at either side, is a primitive feature of the faïence paniers which brings these into the general normal category of one type of loin-cloth costume: that worn, as we have seen, by the men of the Miniature Fresco and the men and women of the Cowboy Wall-painting: but when we come to consider the front, we find that the rounded apron-like contour of the panier there, is hardly so normally characteristic as that which brings the polonaise to a point in front. This is very well illustrated by the bronze Snake Goddess statuette from the Troad in the Museum at Berlin.[2] Here the panier, curving up over the thighs and then down to a point in front, if repeated once and again at gradually increasing lengths, gives us all the elements of the compound skirt below it; yet the pointed front of the panier itself at once betrays its affinity with the shorter pointed loin-cloth costume of the men, as illustrated, for example, by the leaden figurine from Abbia in Laconia, known as the 'Kampos statuette.'[3] That the 'bathing-drawers' arrangement, pointed front and back as here, could be repeated even in the case of the men, but without the joining between the legs, is shown by the Haghia Triada sealing seen in Fig. 3.[4]

The genesis of the so-called flounced skirt is most easily explained then as, in the first instance, having its origin in a repetition, with elongation, of the peaked loin-cloth beneath that, in the guise now of a

[1] Compare the white spots on the panier of the Snake Goddess of Knossos, which may have a more symbolical relation to the spots of the snakes coiled round her body. See *B.S.A.* ix. 75, Fig. 54*a* and *b*; 76, Fig. 55.

[2] Perrot-Chipiez, vi. Figs. 349, 350; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Text, 371, Abb. 296.

[3] *Ibid.* Fig. 355, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, 190–1; Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, Pl. XVII.

[4] *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiii. 44, Fig. 40.

petticoat. This stage is very well represented typologically by one variety of dress that appears on the Haghia Triada sealings, as, for example, that worn by the ladies who appear in Fig. 4.[1] Here we have the belted panier in its more elegant, tunic-like form with a repetition of itself in the shape of a pleated skirt below it. One of the sealings again from the Shrine Repositories at Knossos, that with the Warrior Goddess and Lion, *B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 37, has the tunic simply repeated twice below itself, so as to form a multiple skirt-costume that comes down to just below the knee. This repetition may take place three or four times, each successive repetition bringing with it an elongation sufficient to bring each successive border into view beneath the upper one. Thus we have a series of under-skirts, each longer than the one above it, so that what appears as an arrangement of flounces, and may ultimately have become so through the artifices of fashion, is in origin a series of petticoats, each longer than the one above it; with the result that the borders of all, in different colours and plain or embroidered, are visible. The culmination of this tendency is well illustrated by the gay, richly embroidered and variegated costume of the painted lady from the Palace at Haghia Triada, in whose case indeed we are left in some uncertainty as to whether we have to do with a multiple gown or a series of divided skirts.[2] The fact, however, that the whole costume has its explanation in the reduplication of what was originally the loin-cloth, is here brought out with unusual distinctness; for in this case the loin-cloth polonaise itself is repeated below two intermediate underskirts, with its original embroidered pattern appearing below the knee in a broad border above two further underskirts, with which the costume terminates somewhat above the ankle. The seated lady of the Haghia Triada sealing shown in Fig. 5,[3] seems to wear a real divided multiple skirt. The divided skirt again in that case, however, is probably a direct descendant of the 'bathing-drawers' loin-cloth, with joining between the legs, illustrated by the Kampos statuette.

In this connection it may not seem perhaps too far-fetched to record the curious fact that the men of Sardinia from the mountain villages wear above wide linen trousers coming to below the knee, a very short kilted 'bathing-drawers' arrangement in black woollen homespun; these have a

[1] *Ibid.* Fig. 34.
[2] *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiii. Tav. x.
[3] *Mon. Ibid.* Fig. 38.

joining from front to back between the legs: a feature which, like the multiple skirts sometimes stlll worn by Sardinian women, is suggestive of primeval affinities with the dress of the Aegean, going back to a common origin in Africa.[1] We should not here forget that one, and probably the earliest type of Sardinian bronze statuette, itself connected with the prehistoric civilization represented by the Nuraghi monuments, shows figures of men that are nude with the exception of a loin-cloth below the waist, and occasionally tight-fitting leggings about the calf like the ones in black woollen stuff worn by the present-day Sardinian mountaineers.

Although the lady of Haghia Triada probably belongs to a somewhat later period than her sisters of the Temple Repositories at Knossos, the bizarre character of her gorgeous skirts does not conceal the genesis of these, nearly so much as does the more modern capricious fashion of the gowns worn by the Knossian dames. These, as we have seen, wear a belted polonaise which is essentially of the same character as the loin-cloth of the men on the Miniature Fresco; but the borders of their skirts, in obedience probably to the fiat of a passing fashion, follow strictly horizontal lines, and that whether they are in relief or merely painted. Thus the primitive connection between derivative parti-coloured border and original petticoat edge, and between that again and the primeval loin-cloth, has become much obscured. Yet the necessity of painting on the borders, even if only in the flat, which is so glaringly betrayed by *B.S.A.* ix., Fig. 55, only shows how deeply ingrained was the idea that the dress, to have any verisimilitude, must have the series of petticoat edges. This necessity is not done away with, even in the case of the gorgeous panelled skirts of Fig. 58, for the embroidered side-panels are clearly a fashionable accretion which still have to allow the original skirt-edges to appear in the intervals.[2]

[1] See Sergi, *La Sardegna*, Figs. 21, 39, 46, 50, 51, etc. The women's dress is not so well illustrated. Sergi does not include places like Ergosolo and Fonni, where two- and three-fold multiple skirts are often to be seen. The women of Sardinia squat while occupied with such household avocations as baking, as well as in their Sunday best at Mass in Church, in a way which is as suggestive of primitive African connections as the similar custom of their pre-historic sisters of Crete.

[2] I suggest that these are side-panels, because otherwise the front and back parts of the polonaise have to be conceived as shifted to either side, which does not seem probable. The side of these invisible in the illustrations is left rough: this suggests that they belonged to figures appearing in relief-profile on the background of an elaborate ritual composition, which had the Snake Goddess, Votaries, etc. in the round, in front. The suggestion that what we really see is one side of these gowns, fits in with this conception of the composition, since it is well known that in Minoan

The development of Aegean dress, through addition to the original loin-cloth costume, under stress of changing climatic conditions, of parts not already belonging to it in its most primitive African stage, need not surprise us in connection with the early doings of a race whose migratory movements were presumably northwards towards cooler regions. We do not know when the bodice was added above the loin-cloth belt, any more than we can say when the skirt was added below, but the figurine of Petsofà shows us that it already existed along with the skirt, in a developed form at the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age. Its existence along with the skirt, which itself (as we have seen reason to conclude), went back to Neolithic times, can thus be very safely assumed for a still earlier Minoan period. In this way we are brought back to a time so primitive that it is difficult to account for whatever additions have been made to the primeval loin-cloth costume, except out of primitive needs. The additions were made, clearly because they were needed, and they were needed because we have here apparently to do with a people moving northwards, to a cooler climate than the one to which they had previously been accustomed in Africa. The genesis and elaboration of the bodice are thus explained in the same way as those of the skirt. The sleeves were probably an after-thought, added owing to similar climatic necessities, and they never apparently in the Aegean got below the elbow, though the fashions of a later time caused them to be puffed up above the shoulders. The sleeved bodice is already very elaborate in the prime of the Middle Minoan Period, and by the close of that era the laced corsage, as illustrated by the faïence figurines of Knossos, has reached the extreme pitch of embroidered elaboration. Yet with all this elaboration it must not be forgotten that in its original connection with the primitive loin-cloth belt, the bodice had probably as natural a process of genesis in the development of Aegean dress, as the multiple skirt itself. The fact, however, that even at a comparatively late era, in circumstances apparently demanding very active exercise, the bodice was not always

art all figures painted in the flat or in relief, appear in profile, the bust, however, as here, being shown *en face*. The relief part of the composition was apparently made up of separate pieces fitted on to each other, and it is in this way apparently that we may account for the separate girdles shown in *B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 58, for the busts *en face* made separate from the skirts, and (though these were not found), probably, for the heads in profile fitted on to the busts, etc. We have an analogous example of this kind of technique in the faïence House-Façades of Knossos. See *B.S.A.* viii. 14–22, Figs. 8–10.

regarded as indispensable, is proved by its absence in the case of the women with simple paniers, as well as with paniers and skirts, on the sealings of Zakro and Haghia Triada referred to above; this affords us a typological reference back to a time when there was no bodice at all in ordinary use. On the other hand, the Warrior Goddess, on the sealing already referred to from the Shrine Repositories, shows us the multiple tunic-skirt in combination with a bodice having short tight sleeves, of the same fashion as those of the faïence figurines with which it was found, and belonging, like them, to the end of the Middle Minoan Age.

The dress in its fully developed stage, as illustrated by the faïence ladies of Knossos, and those again of the Miniature Fresco, represents essentially the result of gradual additions to a loin-cloth arrangment; and this embodies the original rudimentary nucleus that gave the initial start to the whole subsequent process of development. But we cannot understand the later phases of this development in the Aegean, except in relation to a race-movement which, as has been suggested, was northwards in the direction of Europe. This took place probably at a time succeeding the last ice-age, when the north of Europe was not yet habitable, though the north part of Africa was. At an era when Central and Northern Europe were gradually becoming habitable, the great racial movements were northwards, not southwards; and it is this racial movement northwards, with its dependance on climatic changes, in the course of which the Central and Northern parts of Europe were gradually becoming peopled, that would most easily explain the problem of an earliest race-substratum in the remoter regions north of the Mediterranean, of one original kin with the Mediterranean Race itself. This was probably the original cause that introduced into Central Europe that particular type of bodice and skirt dress of primitive type, which has been already recognised there as so closely akin to the earliest dress of the Aegean, and which (let us conjecture hypothetically) probably had close analogies with the general type of pre-historic women's dress of the Mediterranean area as a whole. If on the other hand, this European type of dress was not itself of Mediterranean origin or introduced from there, then it must have had an independent origin. In that case, however, the origin of an independent type of costume, in all essential respects resembling the Aegean one, whose genesis we have attempted to explain through the process of additions to

the primitive loin-cloth, has to be explained in the reverse order with a start from the north, which could not have been with the loin-cloth. On that supposition again, since this hypothesis presupposes a southward racial movement (which in any case, in agreement with the gradually changing climatic conditions of Europe at so early an age, could only have been subsequent to the most primitive northward migration succeeding the last ice-age), the theory in question has to explain the genesis of a dress, which consists essentially in the addition of part to part, as if it were a process of subtraction, part from part. The implications of such a supposition are not fanciful, since peoples in movement towards warmer climates from a cold one, start fully clothed and do not add to their attire in their southward movement but lighten it and subtract from it. On our supposition, however, such a people on reaching the Mediterranean and North Africa, and continuing the process of lightening and subtraction of their garments, would in the Aegean afford us in the end the highly curious spectacle of men like the 'Fishermen' of Melos, with nothing on but loin-cloths, which on the theory in question they had taken with them from the frigid zones of Northern and Central Europe! Before accepting such fantastic conceptions as a Europeo-Aryan origin for an article of dress of this kind, it ought always to be remembered that in its original use the loin-cloth is not worn as clothing to protect from the cold, but for modesty's sake, in spite of the heat.

When in the fulness of time the movement was at length from the north, and started thence from causes that were independent of the previous doings of the Mediterranean peoples in Europe, it is easy to conjecture from the one example of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae what these northern men were like, and what we may suppose their dress to have been. But that, with all which relates to the migratory movements of Achaean and Dorian peoples of Hellenic race, is another story, and does not concern us at the present stage of our inquiry.

Our general conclusion then is, that a dress like that of the Aegean in the Minoan Age of Crete, which starts from the time-honoured loin-cloth as foundation, and develops by the gradual addition of parts, could only have had its origin in a warm climate like that of Africa. But it is a long story from the primitive aprons of Neolithic Crete to the gorgeous loin-cloth costumes and elaborate embroidered gowns of the Queen's Procession at Knossos. The high puffed sleeves and intricate maziness of skirts, so

characteristic of the series at its end, bring us to the great days of the Cretan Palaces, and to scenes like those of the Miniature Fresco. This in its general connection, as now reconstituted through the labour and insight of Dr. Arthur Evans and M. Gilliéron, shows us a grand levée of high court dames, backed by galaxies of gallant and noble youths, seated in balconies and on elevated terraces of the palace, while below, in a wide interval among the olives, a crowd of Knossian women in vivid skirts are weaving the mazy dance.[1] In the dizzy final spin which ends the ballet, and was the triumph and the applauded climax of their choric art, their skirts are whirling outward to the throbbing measures of a fervid Cretan music, of which the primal home may well have been in Africa!

A skirt-dance of this kind, such as indeed we may take to have been inevitable with frocks like those of the Miniature Fresco, may be supposed to have vanished in Crete with the multiple skirt itself. In other outlying parts of the Mediterranean area, however, as, for example, in the Quarnero at Cherso, there still survives a time-honoured ring-dance, probably of old-world Mediterranean origin, in which the multiple skirts of the woman who takes the lead, as she spins round rapidly as on a pivot, play an essential part.[2] The ring- or spiral-dance itself, looks externally much more primitive than the ballet, which in the Miniature Fresco seems to be performed by experts for the delectation of the palace. That this dance goes back in the Aegean to Minoan times, is now shown by the 'Dancing Women' of Palaikastro,[3] and it has survived continuously in the Mediterranean to the present day, as in Crete, where it is seen at its best, the Cyclades, Anatolia, Bosnia, Quarnero, Sardinia, etc. The circular dance has indeed shown such a conservative power of survival in the Mediterranean in historic times, that we need not be surprised if, going back to periods anterior to written history, it were also true that the Pelasgian people of Attica had danced and sung for ages in the ring on feast-days below the slopes of the Acropolis, before there was ever such a thing as a circular orchestra in the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens. And if in legend

[1] Part of this wall-painting, after a coloured drawing by M. Gilliéron, has been published by Dr. Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. V.

[2] This dance is performed to the music of a bag-pipe which is in all essentials like the Cretan one. Of stringed instruments Crete still retains the very primitive but expressive three-stringed 'lyra' or fiddle.

[3] *B.S.A.* x. 217, Fig. 6. Mosso, *Excursioni nel Mediterraneo e gli Scavi di Creta*, 225, Fig. 124.

as in art we know that Pelasgian Theseus from Athens was partner to Cretan Ariadne in a dance that once was famous, we need not even be surprised at such a story, since now we know its inner meaning.

The Minoan women of Crete danced to the music of the lyre, as the Palaikastro figurines now tell us;[1] the famous sarcophagus of Haghia Triada shows us not only that the lyre was seven-stringed, but that the double-flute was also in common use among Cretans of the Late Minoan Age; the lyre also occurs as a Minoan Pictograph.[2] In the Museum at Athens are two marble figures of the Cycladic idol type, representing respectively a player on the harp and on the double-flutes, so that in any discussion as to the provenance of musical instruments like these, critics disposed to set them down as late ready-made importations into the Hellenic world, must reckon with the fact that the use of them among the pre-Aryan people of the Aegean goes back from Late Minoan to Early Cycladic times.[3] The sistrum again, itself of African origin, though not necessarily therefore an importation from Egypt, is played by the 'Harvesters' of Haghia Triada; and here Savignoni's strange hypothesis, to the effect that the sistrum-player himself, as well as the singers whom he accompanies, are foreigners from Egypt, is hardly credible. 'Hanno pure forse,' Savignoni asks, 'qualcosa di europeo?' The most convenient answer is that which would admit what may be mere professional peculiarities of attire in the case of these musicians, and at the same time would emphasize the resemblance in general appearance characteristic of all the personages in this picture. Then it may seem more reasonable to believe that the sistrum-player and the singers are Cretans like their fellows, though they may be, as we would suggest, of African origin all the same, without their being at all a mere hireling band of strolling players from Libya or, still more unlikely, from Egypt.[4]

[1] The man or woman in the middle of the 'Dancing Women' of Palaikastro, Mosso, *ib.* rightly recognises as a lyre-player. The musician there, as now, has his place in the centre of the ring of dancers. The lyre-player of the Haghia Triada *larnax* teaches us that the long skirts in themselves, do not disprove the possibility that the musician of Palaikastro was also a man.

[2] Mosso, *ib.* 260–1, Figs. 145, 146. [3] Perrot-Chipiez, vi. pp. 760, 1, Figs. 357, 358.

[4] Savignoni suggests that the three singers are women, 'ma tre donne che nell' aspetto poco si distinguono dagli uomini, perchè incolte e barbaresche.' Is it not more likely that they are men wrapped up in conventional mantles like the musicians of the Haghia Triada *larnax*? The breasts in the case of women are always so clearly rendered in Minoan art that it seems incredible there should be no indication whatever of them in a representation which surprises by its minute rendering of details. *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiii. 86, Fig. 3; 120.

The Southern Connections of the Mycenaean Central Hearth.

In another connection I drew attention to the significance to be attached to the phenomenon of the appearance in the Aegean, towards the end of the Late Minoan Age, of a form of palace identical with the Mycenaean type of the mainland of Greece. This type, with its distinguishing feature of a central hearth in the hall, and consequent interior isolation of that, from the complex of adjoining rooms in this type of building, we found present in the latest settlement at Phylakopi in Melos and at Haghia Triada in Crete.[1] The occurrence of this curious phenomenon I sought to account for on the hypothesis of the appearance in the Aegean, at the period which coincides with the destruction of the Minoan palaces of Crete, of migratory bands of people of Pelasgian race who (as I suggested) were forced to emigration through the pressure southwards into the mainland of Greece, for the first time of people of Hellenic race. I have purposely used the designation 'Pelasgian' for the people who built the palaces referred to; for, notwithstanding the apparent difference between the halls of the Cretan palaces and the Mycenaean type of megaron of the mainland of Greece (which receives its fullest expression in the central hearth present in the latter and absent in the former), I still regard the Pelasgian people and their culture as having the closest affinity with those of the Aegean. It is this community of culture that is really presupposed in the phenomenon of the continuity of Minoan forms of life into the period succeeding the destruction of the Cretan palaces, which is represented to us at Knossos by the partial re-occupation of the Palace and by the finds from the post-palace necropolis of Zafer Papoura.[2]

Now, it happens that the presence of the central hearth is one of those characteristic features which, taken in connection with the internal isolation of the Pelasgian type of megaron, have led to the conception, mistaken as we think, that the mainland type of megaron must be traced back to an origin entirely different in its ethnological connections from that of the Aegean hall. The real connection of the phenomena, however, does not justify this conclusion. The internal isolation of the Mycenaean megaron, of which so much has been made in the interests of the hypothesis in question, instead of being a unique constructive feature

[1] See *B.S.A.* xi. Cretan Palaces, 220, Fig. 4.

[2] These have been published by Dr. Arthur Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, *Archaeologia*, 1906. [Separately in Book-form: B. Quaritch.]

indicative of ethnological relations with the North, and away from the Aegean, has been really brought about by the introduction of a central hearth into a type of hall that did not originally possess it. In reality, the internal isolation of the megaron, far from being a phenomenon concomitant with the original presence of a central hearth in a European type of megaron, was brought about as a mere structural effect, through the introduction of that into a type of hall of which the original connections were not European at all, but African.

This isolation of the Mycenaean megaron, which brings it into seeming contrast with the Cretan type of hall, was structurally brought about through the introduction of the central hearth: this follows from the mere fact that such an arrangement of hearth, if lateral draughts and consequent smoke-currents are to be avoided, makes openings such as doors or windows impossible on any side but one. The only opening, besides the main door, at all admissible on such a system is the chimney, which may serve at the same time as a window, above the central hearth. All thoroughfares through the hall, such as occur in the Aegean system, have to be carefully avoided. The internal isolation of the megaron thus proves to be a structural necessity, consequent, as I would suggest, on the introduction of the fixed central hearth into a system that did not originally possess it. If then we would conceive the mainland type of megaron as having been one in origin with the Aegeo-Cretan type—which had no central hearth, but which, in accordance with the 'b'ut-and-b'en' relation of rooms to each other in the primitive Aegeo-Pelasgian house, might have doors and other openings such as light-wells or windows behind—what do we find? When such a type is transferred to a more northern climate, where the introduction of fire and a central hearth have become advisable, the thoroughfares of the 'b'ut-and-b'en' arrangement have to be given up, wherever such a central hearth is placed in the front room with its gable portico. On such an explanation the various speculations which have tended to regard the Mycenaean type of megaron, with its internal isolation, as an intrusive appearance within the sphere of influence of Aegeo-Pelasgian architectural development and its 'b'ut-and-b'en' systems fall at once to the ground. Thus, for example, J. L. Myres, who indeed has been one of the first to appreciate the real characteristics of the Aegean house, was right in pointing out the apparently anomalous character of the internally isolated Mycenaean type of

hall in the midst of a 'b'ut-and-b'en' system, but he was clearly wrong in regarding the type itself as a foreign intrusion into the Aegeo-Pelasgian architectural cycle.[1] Noack, again, who has apparently overlooked the 'b'ut-and-b'en' connections that, apart from the megaron, hold at Tiryns and Mycenae as well as in the Aegean, has in this connection gone much further astray than Myres. For him the whole Mycenaean system of architecture in its essential character is derived from the North.[2] Accordingly he would, for example, regard the central hearth as something in its nature originally connected with the Mycenaean type of hall. It would thus, according to him, not have been added on the mainland of Greece to a type of house derived originally from the South: it would simply in a type of house derived, on this view, from the North, never have reached the Aegean at all. If, however, we are not committed to the hypothesis of a disparate origin for the pre-historic civilizations respectively of mainland Greece and of Crete, we can explain what is seemingly anomalous in the phenomena of house-construction much more reasonably, if we assign a southern origin to the primitive Aegean house, and conceive as probable a gradual modification of that, with migration northwards to a colder climate, than is at all possible by assuming with Noack, an entirely northern origin for the primitive mainland type of megaron, and a fusion of northern and southern elements in the Palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns. Noack, *Homerische Paläste*, p. 3, speaks of a profound difference between the Cretan Palaces and those of the mainland of Greece; and in the further course of his investigations he endeavours to show that this difference is most clearly seen in the architectural antithesis that exists between the Cretan type of hall, in its fully developed form, and the true Mycenaean megaron. In this connection, Noack lays stress upon the contrast between the broad front characteristic of Aegean palace architecture, as against that of the mainland of Greece. The cogency of Noack's conclusions based upon this supposed antithesis is, however, vitiated by his initial mistake of comparing with the Mycenaean type of megaron what in the case of Phaestos, as we saw, proves to have been not a real megaron at all, but something quite different: namely, a state-entrance into the palace. The one-and-three-column system, as we also saw, is characteristic, not of the real Cretan megaron, but of the entrance portico; whereas the normal arrangement for the megaron—whether Aegean or Pelasgian—is the two-column system

[1] See *J.H.S.* xx. 149. [2] *Op. cit.* 34–6.

between two side walls; a third column, where it exists, appearing only in one flight with one or other of the side walls. The broad front again, so far as portico and ante-room are concerned, is as characteristic of the Mycenaean megaron as of the Cretan hall; there is no justification for regarding characteristic features of this kind as a new-fangled importation from the Aegean; they are more probably an outcome of the natural processes of architectural development in a common ethnological environment which includes the Greek mainland along with Crete. It need not even be said that the orientation of the Mycenaean megaron, towards a court outside it, is a peculiar feature of mainlaind architecture, since a system of the same kind undoubtedly existed at Knossos fronting the Central Court on the east side, above the area of the Corridor of the Bays and the adjacent Room of the Olive Press. Here again the two strong intermediate piers, forming on the ground-floor part of the system of the Bays, supported on the upper-floor (which again was level with the Central Court) two columns between two side walls, in a manner which has as many analogies in Crete itself as it has at Mycenae and Tiryns. The only genuine difference then is limited to the living-room itself of the megaron, and that consists essentially in this: that the mainland type has a central hearth, with the necessity of a roof-hole to let out the smoke and let in the light, whereas the Cretan hall has no central hearth and has a special light-well arrangement for admitting light and air. In the more southern type it is evident that the portable fire-place or brazier played the same *rôle* as the central hearth, which, as I have suggested, was introduced into the more northern type as a permanent substitute for the portable fire-place. And here we must be careful not to conceive the process of development in a manner which would make the fixed central hearth the original, and the movable one the derivative.[1] In other words, we must be on our guard against conceiving the megaron as wandering southwards, to a climate where it could dispense with fixed central hearths and take to braziers, but consider it as travelling northwards to regions where braziers in the hall and movable fires before the portico were inadequate, and a fixed central hearth was introduced into the megaron to suit the needs of a more rigid climate than the original Africo-Aegean one.[2]

[1] For this view see *Homerische Paläste*, 34.

[2] The connection of the primitive Mediterranean type of house with the original troglodyte dwelling of North Africa probably preserves to us a reminiscence of original custom in the fondness.

A type of megaron, however, that once has a fixed hearth introduced into the centre of it, can no longer, as we have seen, have thoroughfares in 'b'ut-and-b'en' fashion, and if a light-well is presupposed behind, it can no longer have that. This is all in virtue of the physical laws that govern draughts and air-currents. The central hearth does not allow of a draught such as would divert the smoke from the chimney. Accordingly, where this arrangement exists, there can be no extra openings such as windows or doors behind, but only the one door in front, and the one roof-hole above for light and smoke. Thus the true reason why the mainland type of megaron is internally isolated in its construction, and has no openings of any kind apart from the front door and the smoke-hole, is that it cannot have any.[1] It is the introduction then of the central hearth into a system which originally did not possess it, that necessarily led to the seeming anomaly of the isolated mainland megaron in the midst of a system which in Pelasgian, as in Aegean Greece, was essentially of a 'b'ut-and-b'en' character. Thus the Mycenaean type of megaron proves to be not, as Myres supposed, an intrusion on the Aegeo-Pelasgian system, but a transformation of that which, as the mere outcome of a structural necessity, followed on introduction of the central hearth.

A further feature of the Mycenaean type of megaron, which brings it into seeming contrast with the Cretan system, is the elongation of the hall. Here again we find that this elongation is an equally necessary consequence following on the introduction of the central hearth, since the room thus taken up by this hearth in the original system has to be made good by extension of length in front and behind. Further, once we have the isolation of the back part of the hall, that back part immediately becomes the real living part of the megaron, and the deepening of that follows as a convenience, if not as a necessity. We have also another possibility to consider: suppose that, at an epoch anterior to the construction of the megaron of Troy II. some feature corresponding to the light-well at the back of the hall was already existing in buildings within

for hill-slope positions, preferably looking east, with the house foundations laid upon artificial terraces cut into the side of the hill. Compare at Knossos the Royal Villa, *B.S.A.* ix. 130–153, and Pl. I. and The House of the Fetish Shrine, *B.S.A.* xi. 2–16. For similar houses excavated at Knossos by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, see *B.S.A.* vi. 70–79, Pls. III.–VII.

[1] Noack, *Hom. Pal.* 21, says: 'In Tiryns wäre es ein leichtes gewesen, durch ein paar Türen eine direkte kürzere Verbindung des grossen Megaron (Abb. 3, M) mit den Nebenräumen herzustellen.' But, it was not at all so easy, and that quite apart from the reasons given by Noack.

the Aegeo-Pelasgian ethnological area; a moment must in that case have come in the process of transformation, when this feature was necessarily modified in consequence of the removal of all openings behind, such as roof-light windows and doors, on the introduction of the central hearth. In this way the apparent elongation of the hall observable in the Mycenaean type of megaron would be already *ipso facto* accounted for.

The internal isolation and elongation of the Mycenaean type of hall appears to me due to modification, in its movement northwards, of a primitive type of front-room. This originally had no central hearth, and was not internally isolated, but was in 'b'ut-and-b'en' communication with rooms behind it or alongside of it, as always indeed continued to be the case with the more southern or Africo-Aegean variety. This explanation does no violence to the probabilities of architectural development, while at the same time it falls easily into line with the other evidence regarding the southern affinities of the Aegeo-Pelasgian race which is now so rapidly accumulating in the Mediterranean world.

The view set forth above as to the causes which, in the natural course of architectural development, have led to the isolation and elongation characteristic of the Mycenaean type of megaron, has an important bearing in another connection. Thus, for example, Percy Gardner, Jebb, and others have attempted a reconstruction of the Homeric type of megaron with central hearth, and at the same time with doorways at the back of the hall.[1] These doorways we now see to be impossible for structural reasons of an architectural character, quite apart from any assumption such as would, without further ado, identify the typical megara of which we read in Homer, with those characteristic types of hall preserved for us at Tiryns and Mycenae.

Since, indeed, recent investigations have made it probable that the original pre-Aryan type of South European house penetrated in very early times as far northwards as Norway,[2] we need not be surprised, if, in the

[1] Gardner in *J.H.S.* iii. 264–282; Jebb, *J.H.S.* vii. 170–188. The former wrote before the discovery of Tiryns; the latter writing after, 'deliberately rejects the comparison proposed by Dr. Dörpfeld in *Tiryns*.' See Myres *J.H.S.* xx. 129. Gardner 'while making large concessions to the alternative view' (*New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 103 ff.) also made certain reservations which were more than justified.

[2] See Meitzen, *Das Deutsche Haus*, 17–19. Meitzen here compares the Nordic type of house with the Lycian on the one hand, and the Bosnian on the other, and (page 19) concludes 'Der Zusammenhang des Nordischen Hauses mit dem Oriente lässt sich also nicht ohne Weiteres abweisen.' Meitzen follows out these connections still further in *Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, iii. 464–520, *Das nordische und das altgriechische Haus*. On the Greek house see also Ernest Gardner in *J.H.S.* xxi. 293–305.

regions immediately north of Hellas, a fusion of primitive pre-Aryan architectural forms with later Aryan elements should have taken place in course of time, such as were calculated to leave more than an echo of themselves in many lines of Homer. And it would seem as if it were this penetration of an Africo-Mediterranean type of house into the southern, central, and northern regions of Europe in pre-historic times that has made the fallacy appear at all feasible, which would identify the megaron of Homer with the type preserved for us at Tiryns and at Troy.

In a wider ethnological connection it is interesting to note that the presence of the central hearth in the Nordic house is accompanied by the same internal isolation of the living-room as we found to be characteristic of the Pelasgian megaron.[1] In the Mediterranean itself again, as far afield as Sardinia, we seem to have the original pre-Aryan Africo-Mediterranean type of house, with central hearth in the living-room, preserved to us in circumstances of isolation of the phenomena in the mountain villages, which would appear absolutely to exclude northern affinities or even collusions in early times. The survival to the present day of the same type of Mediterranean house, with or without the central hearth, in peripheral regions so far apart as Lycia and Bosnia, opens out a very wide horizon of architectural affinities in the Mediterranean with remoter vistas going back to pre-historic times. The possibility of pre-Aryan affinities in the Mediterranean at such wide intervals becomes endowed with new significance, now that we begin to realize that the ethnological connections of south-west Anatolia, on philological and other grounds are to be regarded as phenomena parallel with those of the Aegean, and that the pre-historic civilization of Bosnia, as represented by the settlement at Bulmir, was the creation of a people whose ethnological affinities were with the Mediterranean and the South, not with Hungary and the North. It is this racial movement, of expansion northwards of people of Africo-Mediterranean provenance, that really accounts for the Mediterranean affinities of the earliest pottery even of Hungary, as at Lengyel and elsewhere. Thus when Hubert Schmidt, for example, would put this earliest pottery in an originative relation to the earliest pottery of the Aegean as derivative, on the pre-supposition that the racial movement was in the other direction, he is trying to establish a sequence of the

[1] See Meitzen, *op. cit.* 476, Fig. XIV. ; 478, Figs. XVI*a*, XVII*a*.

phenomena which reverses the order of development.[1] That the earliest pottery of Bosnia and the Danube valley cannot be brought into one simple ethnological sequence with the incised white-encrusted pottery of true northern origin of Austria-Hungary, is now becoming equally apparent.[2] There is an ethnological gulf fixed between the two, which excludes community of origin, though the later complication of racial development brought with it in fulness of time a mingling of northern and southern waters in the Balkans, the Danube Valley and elsewhere, that have strongly coloured the tides of later history.[3]

In relation again to the presence of people of pre-Aryan Africo-Mediterranean affinities in the Aegean and in Anatolia in pre-historic times, the outlook northwards towards the Dardanelles and the Euxine Sea falls naturally into line with what we are now beginning to know of that general East Mediterranean movement of expansion towards the north, in the remote era which saw the first beginnings of the early Hittite power and the foundation of earliest Troy. In view of what we can already conjecture regarding such a northward movement, the Pontic Hinterland beyond the Euxine Sea might well have formed the convenient goal of further efforts at expansion northwards; and this possibility seems to be fully confirmed by certain dominant characteristics of the latest discoveries in South Russia itself, relating to the earliest civilization there.[4] The painted pre-historic pottery of this region, notwithstanding its strongly marked local differentiation, comes into the same general context as the analogous, though again locally differentiated, ware of East Galicia

[1] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, 645 ff. I am thus glad to find myself in entire agreement with the judicious criticism of Hubert Schmidt's views by Hoernes, *Die neolithische Keramik in Oesterreich (Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und Historischen Denkmale*, 1905, 25 *and note* 1). He says: 'Ich glaube nicht, dass in dieser aus einigen Punkten der Umgebung von Kronstadt massenhaft überlieferten bemalten Keramik, wie H. Schmidt a. O. 1904, 645 ff. beweisen will, die Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung der mykenischen Vasenmalerei gesucht werden müssen.'

[2] I was brought to conclusions in this sense in the course of researches in Bosnia and Austria-Hungary undertaken in 1906. Special travelling funds for this purpose were generously placed at my disposal, while Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh, by the Carnegie Trust. I have also to thank the same enlightened patrons of scientific research for similar liberality in connection with journeys to Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and Sardinia.

[3] Hoernes, *ib.* 126-7 suggests a cautious conclusion in the same sense, to which I would attach all the more value because he and myself seem here to have reached common ground after an independent start on either side, from the opposite poles of Hungary on the one hand, and the Aegean on the other.

[4] von Stern gave some account of the Neolithic pottery of this region at the Archaeological Congress at Athens in 1905. See Hoernes, *ib.* 117.

and the Bukowina ; and the affinities of this, in its primitive connections, are with the earliest ceramics of southern derivation of South Hungary and Bosnia as at Lengyel and Butmir, not with the white-encrusted pottery of northern origin of the Danubian provinces.[1] Thus von Stern[2] in reporting on these discoveries has as little real justification for putting the earliest ceramics of South and South-west Russia in a parental relation towards the pre-historic pottery of the Aegean, as Hubert Schmidt had for claiming the same parentage in favour of Austria-Hungary.

DUNCAN MACKENZIE.

(To be continued.)

[1] This white-encrusted pottery is very amply illustrated in Wosinsky, *Die inkrustierte Keramik der Stein- und Bronzezeit.* See Hoernes, *ib.* 41 ff., especially on the pottery of Debelo-brdo near Sarajevo in its contrast with that of Butmir.

[2] *Die prä-mykenische Keramik in Süd-Russland*, Moscow, 1905.

LACONIA.

I.—MEDIAEVAL FORTRESSES.[1]

(PLATES II.—VI.).

THE troubled state of the Peloponnesus during the Middle Ages left its mark on no buildings more evidently than on its castles. Each successive owner obtained his title at the cost of some part of the building, and his first thought on gaining possession was either to strengthen the fortress he had just captured, or to dismantle it utterly and leave behind him a useless pile of ruins. Military architecture too, is little influenced by respect for the past and the more important castles must have been frequently modernised, so but little is left of their original structure. The lack of those ornamental details which are the main clue to the age of more elaborate buildings renders a classification of the different types of plan and of masonry of some importance; where mouldings or other details are found their evidence is usually conclusive, but in their absence we must be guided by the form of the plan and by the masonry.

Military science had reached a high degree of excellence at the time of the fourth Crusade; the principal methods of attack were by mining, by the ram, and by escalade. A surrounding ditch or a precipitous site and lofty walls, from which a heavy plunging fire could be directed on the assailants, formed the defence. The attack was directed mainly against the base of the wall, which was protected by flanking towers and by projecting hoards or *huchettes* at the top (Fig. 1). A mediaeval castle was divided into two parts, the court or baillie, with its enceinte or surrounding wall, and the keep or donjon, usually placed against the wall of the

[1] I desire to offer my acknowledgements to Mr. M. Rosenheim and Mr. F. W. Hasluck who have supplied information, and to Mr. W. Miller who has kindly read the proofs and made valuable suggestions.

enceinte at its weakest point. If the court were captured, the defenders could retire into the keep, and from it, succour could still reach them from outside. In large castles there were often several courts, one beyond the other, and the keep is similarly divided into an outer and an inner fort; at Mistra, for instance, we find a fortified lower town, an

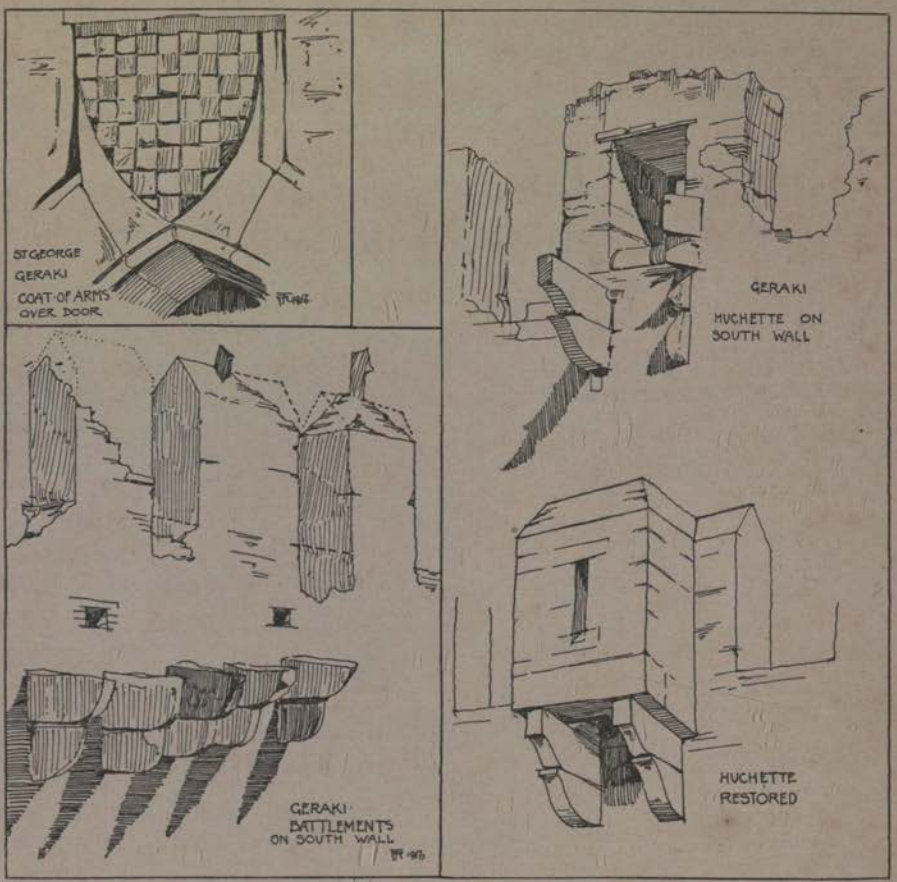


FIG. 1.—DETAILS OF FORTIFICATIONS OF THE CASTLE OF GERAKI AND ARMORIAL BEARINGS OVER DOOR OF CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE.

upper town, and above all a powerful keep in two parts, an upper and a lower; Patras has a court, a keep and a central tower; Kalamata two courts and a keep. In small rock castles the division was not always adhered to, and the distinction between keep and court is lost.

On the rocky sites of Greece the ditch was rarely necessary; it is used

at Clarenza and at the western end of Patras, but in such ditches water was not needed; they were intended to increase the height of the wall and to render mining more difficult, as well as to form a trap into which the assailants could easily descend, but from which they could only with difficulty escape. As military science progressed it was found that if any one part of a fortress, however complicated, was captured, the rest invariably followed, and the introduction of gunpowder, by substituting raking for plunging fire, rendered useless the lofty walls of the older castles. Thus from the fifteenth century the plan was simplified, becoming eventually a simple court in which were placed the necessary barracks and houses; the walls were reduced in height as much as possible, the towers very much enlarged to provide roomy platforms for artillery, and the ramparts pierced with large embrasures, or loopholes for musketry, in place of the earlier battlements. Passava and Kelefa are of this late type (Figs. 3, 4), and in Coronelli's *Description of the Morea*, published in Venice in 1686, are many similar plans, both Turkish and Venetian.

Five types of masonry can be distinguished in the Peloponnesian castles:—

(1) Large square blocks laid with tiles or bricks in both horizontal and vertical joints, or in the horizontal joints only. This is the typical Byzantine construction; it occurs in the church of St. Sophia at Monemvasia and at Pontikocastro; in the latter it may be Frankish as it is also found in the little Gothic church at Andravida.

(2) Rubble masonry, uncoursed, with tiles scattered through the whole wall; the angles usually of long cut stones, carefully laid. This is the usual walling in all buildings, whether Byzantine, Frankish, or Venetian; it is found, for example, at Mistra in both Byzantine and Frankish walls, in the Venetian fortifications of Monemvasia, at Patras, and at Kalavryta.

(3) Masonry similar to the last, but covered with a hard, smooth, cementlike plaster. Such work occurs at Passava, Maina, Patras, and Monemvasia; at Patras and Monemvasia it is found in patches, evidently repairs, and is probably in all cases Turkish.

(4) Rubble masonry without tiles, found at Kelefa. This is Turkish work and tiles were probably not obtainable; it is quite exceptional.

(5) Large square blocks of ashlar, closely laid. The southern towers of Patras enceinte, dating from 1426, are in masonry of this type; they are built with a long batter crowned by a large torus or rope moulding, above

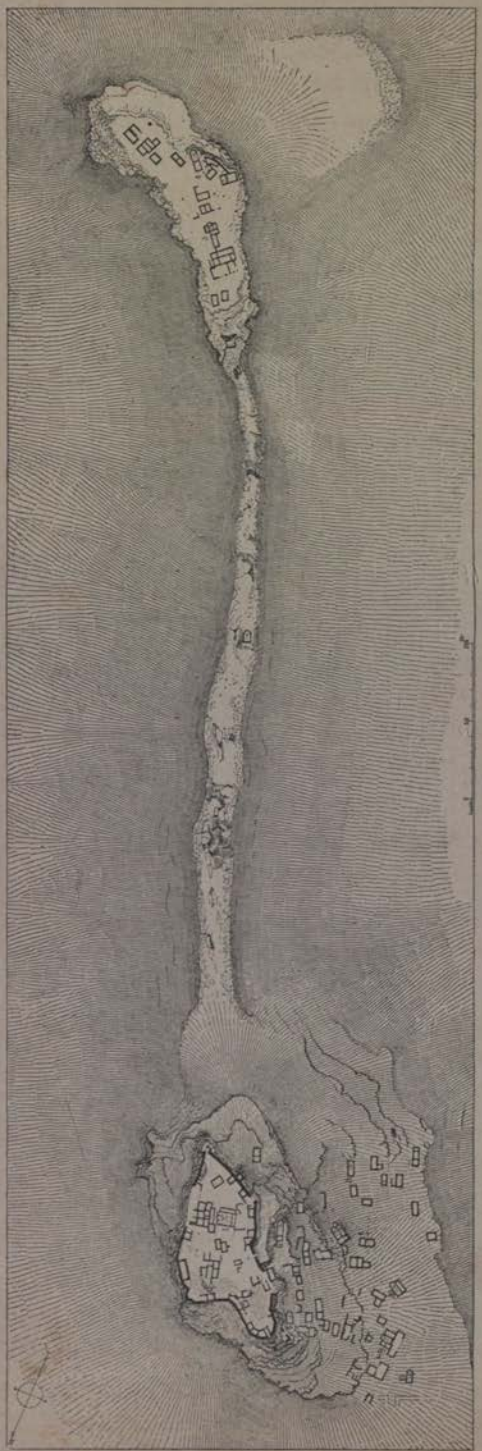


FIG. 2.—MAP OF GERAKI, SHOWING CASTLE AND CHURCHES.

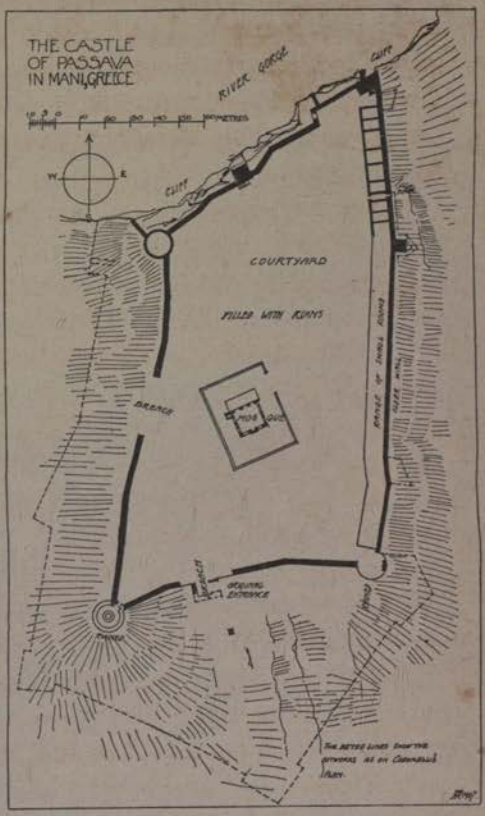


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF CASTLE OF PASSAVA.

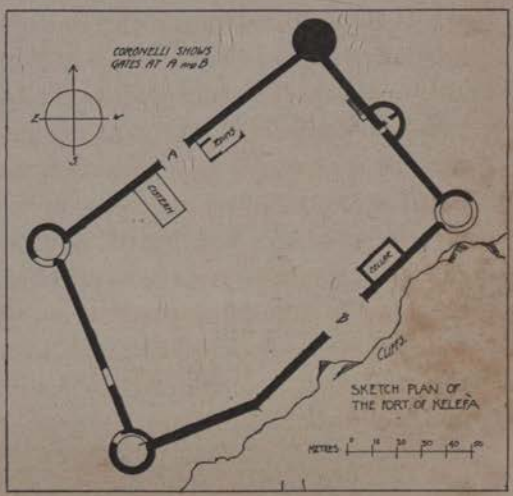


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF CASTLE OF KELEFA.

which rises the vertical wall with notched battlements. The Italian form of the battlements and the details of a niche on the south-eastern tower show this to be of Italian workmanship. Similar masonry occurs in the late Venetian churches at Monemvasia and at Corinth ; it is a sure sign of Venetian building.

The fortresses held by the Franks in Laconia and mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Morea* are Mistra or Laconica and Geraki in central Laconia, Monemvasia on the east coast, Passava, Maina, and Beaufort in Mani, on the western side. The latter site is as yet unknown ; it is only mentioned once in the *Chronicle*, as being built in conjunction with Passava and Maina, for the defence of Mani.

GERAKI.

THE CASTLE.

The castle of Geraki (Plate II.) lies some sixteen miles to the east of Sparta, seven and a half hours ride. It is situated on the northern extremity of a steep and rocky ridge running out from the Parnon range, but cut off from it by a narrow and almost precipitous valley ; in plan it is an irregular oblong, following the line of the rock (Fig. 2). The door is on the west side, overlooking the ruined town; and is surmounted by three niches probably once filled with armorial bearings, but now empty. From it the road led southwards along the wall and past a towerlike projection which flanks the doorway, then turned northwards and downwards through the town ; the remains of the retaining terrace for the road against the wall can now just be made out amid the ruins. Within the castle the entrance opens on to a small court or gate-house, and here the road turns completely round and reaches the central space through a short passage. This arrangement made it quite impossible to use a battering-ram against the door, or to gain any impetus for a charge; it also exposed the unshielded right sides of the assailants to the attack of the defenders. As a general rule, applying to all the Frankish castles, the road to the entrance is at an angle with the door and skirts the wall for some distance before reaching it. To the north of the door, the wall is formed into a series of segmental curves suggesting towers and fully flanking the gate; at the extreme north end is a little

postern. The walls here are much broken, but a small fragment of the battlement still remains (Fig. 1). A larger and more perfect piece at the northern end has a pointed cope to the merlons with a stone spike in the centre, but there are no signs of logholes or brackets to support hoards, excepting on the southern side. On the inside a range of small vaulted rooms runs round the enceinte, their vaults partially supporting the *chemin de ronde* or fighting passage. The eastern side has evidently been breached and is much damaged; a fragment of wall with staircases leading up to the *chemin de ronde* and a large cistern cut in the rock still remain. The southern face, where an attack might have been expected from the ridge, is carefully fortified and is in better preservation than the other walls (Pl. II.). At each end is a large square tower; that at the eastern end is a storey higher than the battlements of the curtain wall and does not communicate with them. The building here is very confused, but there seems to have been a postern gate, afterwards built up, on the western side of the tower, and a small projection on the south-western corner shows where a little balcony or *huchette* has been built out. Between the towers the battlements are the same as those on the north wall, but at the western end are a series of nine corbels for wooden hoards, and at the eastern end two sets of two corbels each, placed under a pierced merlon which originally supported stone *huchettes*. From these and from the hoards, stones, melted resin, and other ingenuities of mediæval warfare could be poured down on the enemy, should they gain the base of the wall. This employment of two different systems in the same piece of wall is curious and shows the transition from the old straight battlemented wall through the stages of stone corbels with wood hoards and stone *huchettes*, to the continuous parapet on machicolations of the fourteenth century. The masonry throughout is rubble with tiles; the buildings in the interior are very much ruined but there does not appear to have been any distinct keep.

THE CHURCHES.

In the centre of the castle stands the church of St. George (No. 1 on Plan), a double-aisled building with a narthex added later; the aisles and nave, which are barrel-vaulted and of equal height, are separated by a triple arcade resting on a single column on the north side, and by square piers on the south side and at the Templum. The south aisle seems to have

been added later, the original church having had a wall arcade on the south side, and a north aisle only. By far the most interesting feature in the church is the elaborate shrine on the north side close to the Eikonostasis[1] (Plate IV.). The central opening, in which is a modern picture of St. George, is enclosed in a trefoil arch of pierced interlaced work, supported on two groups of four knotted shafts; the capitals are rudely carved with foliage knobs and have square moulded abaci; below the intertwining knots are two very curious bosses, looking like enormous flat-headed nails, fixing the columns to the side of the niche; on either side, in the spandrils of the trefoil arch, are flat reliefs, on the left-hand side, a crescent between five eight-rayed stars, and on the right hand a *fleur-de-lys fleury*. The niche is covered by a pointed gable with an eight-rayed star at the apex; below is a shield much worn but still showing *a bend on a field losengy bendwise*, though the pattern on the field may be only a diaper. The gable is not set quite accurately over the arch, and in its centre is a pierced cross of peculiar form, enclosed in a moulded frame of very Gothic character; the upright of the cross is long in proportion to the very short cross-bar in the centre; above is a slanting inscription board and below, a similarly inclined footboard. The modern Russian cross has a straight inscription board and a slanting footboard, and in the western Church crosses with three straight cross arms are sometimes found, but this form with both upper and lower arms set diagonally is most unusual and quite contrary to Byzantine or Italian usage. The rest of the upper part is filled in with thin slabs of interlaced work pierced completely through the stone. The sides of the niche are pierced with Maltese crosses, and below them with a system of oblong openings, not set symmetrically to the niche itself, but arranged with regard to the Eikonostasis; these may have supported stalls or furniture of some kind. The base is plain, covered with modern plaster and surmounted by a moulding similar to that round the cross in the gable. The niche projects slightly from the wall, is built of stone slabs 9 cm. thick, and is quite open inside.

In the museum at Mistra is a shrine of somewhat similar design with knotted columns and an arch of pierced interlacing work, and in the Metropolitan Church at the same place is a knotted column and two niches with pierced interlacing arches and bosses; knotted columns are also found in the pulpit of the church of Our Saviour Pantokrator in

[1] See A. J. B. Wace, '*Frankish Sculptures at Geraki and Parori*' in *B.S.A.* xi. p. 143, Fig. 4.

Constantinople; here they probably formed part of a niche or canopy and have been re-used in the Turkish pulpit. The purpose of the niche was to hold the picture of the saint to whom the church was dedicated: this position of the dedication picture is not uncommon in Greece without any niche; at Platza in Mani, for instance, it is universal, and a slight sinking is frequently made in the wall to mark out the place more distinctly.

In the Eikonostasis, on the left-hand side, is a picture of St. George, having on his shield an escutcheon with the field *chequy*; on the right-hand side is a slab of marble with a late Greek acanthus scroll. In the narthex, above the pointed arch of the entrance, is a shield *chequy of nine* (Fig. 1), the same coat as that on the shield of St. George in the Eikonostasis. Inside in the semicircular tympanum above the door, is a painting, now mostly obliterated, but still showing in the right-hand corner a group of knights with kiteshaped, round-topped shields, one of which has the field *fleury*, but this is probably only a decorative bearing.

In the church at the extreme end of the ridge (No. 4 on Plan) is a painting of importance in assigning a date to the shrine of St. George and the elaborate church work in the town; this church is small with a single apse which is circular to the outside and crowned by a small stone moulded cornice; inside on the south wall under the crossing vault is a fragment of painting representing Joshua attacking a city of the Amorites (Pl. II.). Joshua, a knight in white armour on a white horse, and five warriors are charging a group of horsemen who are evidently retreating into the gates of the town; from a window above two men are discharging crossbows, behind them is a third with a spear, and large square blocks are being thrown down from above. The knights are in armour of plate and chain, their helmets are pointed, with chain neck-pieces but without visors or face guards, and they are armed with long lances. Joshua's shield bears a *black crescent between four stars within a bordure*, bearings which correspond with the relief on the left hand side of the shrine, *a crescent between five stars*. The painting seems to be of the same date as the church, as there is only a single coat of plaster, and, judging from the details of the armour, must date from 1300–1350.

The door of this church is a very typical example of the architectural detail found in Geraki (Pl. II.). The obtusely pointed arch rests on rude moulded capitals and both arch and jambs are moulded with a large bowtell on each angle, and are profusely decorated with frets and

paterae. Above the door is a little semicircular-headed niche decorated with a rude zigzag ornament.

Two of the other churches have work of the same type; that of Haghia Paraskevé is the more interesting (No. 9 on the Plan). It is a single cell, barrel-vaulted and with a slightly pointed barrel-vaulted crossing; the door has a pointed arch with zigzag ornaments and beside the Eikonostasis, in the same position as that in St. George's, is a small shrine with a pointed arch (*B.S.A.* xi. p. 142, Fig. 2); this arch is decorated with a large cable moulding and a very rude incised zigzag, and in the spandrils are two roughly carved grotesque heads.

The shrine stands on a stone sill on which are four incised circles containing representations of animals and birds; the top has disappeared, at the right hand corner two stones are left, one carved with a *fleur de lys*: on the ground there is a long slab, evidently from the shrine, with crosses and animals in circles, and a second stone with a *fleur de lys*; the carving is all incised in the rudest manner, but the character of the detail and the use of the *fleur de lys* at once recall the work in the other two churches. On the south side a narthex has been added, and on the north a small chapel.

The church marked No. 6 on the plan, has a door on the north side with a pointed arch and enriched mouldings of the same type. It is a simple cell church, covered by a very slightly pointed barrel-vault and has a later narthex. The remaining churches show no features of interest. The church on the ridge (No. 2), a barrel-vaulted cell, is evidently later; all of these have remains of paintings, but poor and of late date. The planning of the churches shows some peculiar points: the apses are all circular outside, there are no side chapels, and all the narthexes were added later. The two first peculiarities, however, occur frequently in Greek Byzantine churches, the latter particularly in small chapels. These points suggest that the churches were originally built for the Latin rite and afterwards altered as far as possible to suit the Greek.

Examples similar to the shrine in St. George's have already been cited at Mistra and Constantinople. It is, however, to Italy that we must turn for the prototypes of this work. In a series of buildings erected in southern Italy from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, we find practically every feature of the Geraki work. The windows of S. Sepolcro, Barletta, are decorated with twisted mouldings and billets

similar to those in the smaller churches at Geraki, though finer in execution. The pulpit in Bitonto cathedral has interlaced knobs, and interlaced ornaments occur also in Matera cathedral. Zigzag ornaments on a pointed arch, dentils, twists, and billets are found at Altamura (1220–1330) and at S. Francesco Andria. Finally at Biseglio, in S. Margherita is a tomb of the Falcone family with trefoiled arches and pierced interlacing ornaments. From its general style, and from the character of the armorial bearings, it may safely be assigned to the fourteenth century. One glance at this monument is sufficient to explain fully the Geraki examples. They are copies of Southern Italian Gothic executed by unskilled workmen. The Saracenic feeling noticed by Mr. Wace is quite accounted for by the influence which that race had in Southern Italy and Sicily.

The one feature which we have not found in these southern churches —the knotted columns—occurs quite commonly throughout Italy, *e.g.* at Pavia and Pisa.

Turning now to the armorial bearings, we have in Geraki four coats :— (1) over the door of St. George's—*chequy of nine.* (2) At the top of the shrine in the same church—*losengy bendwise* (?) *a bend.* (3) At the side of the shrine and in church No. 4—*a crescent between four or five stars* ; the bordure in the latter is very unheraldically painted and is probably an addition of the Greek painter. (4) On the shrine—*a fleur de lys fleury.*

Mr. M. Rosenheim has been kind enough to investigate these coats but has found that, as they read at present, they cannot be identified with the bearings of any families known to have been connected with Geraki.

On the cathedral of Altamura are a number of coats of arms which bear a singular resemblance to those which we are considering. Above the door, finished by Robert II. in 1330, is *Anjou* impaling another and beside it—*semée of fleur-de-lys a bend, in chief a label of three points,* impaling another. Were the fleur-de-lys and label badly worn they might well pass for the battered coat which now resembles a *field losengy.* In a somewhat later tablet on the front of the Altamura cathedral is a coat of arms—*chequy of three*—surmounted by a coronet and surrounded by a number of small shields bearing—*a crescent—a star—four crescents* and other similar coats. We have here all the elements which form coats (1) and (3) at Geraki, though not in the exact form there used.

Finally the *fleur-de-lys* on the shrines of St. George and Haghia

Paraskevé is the usual badge of the Angevins. This dynasty ruled the kingdom of Naples from 1269 to 1442, and the work at Geraki was probably executed for one of their feudatories about the middle of the fourteenth century, by workmen with an imperfect knowledge both of heraldry and of Gothic architecture.

Geraki was one of the lesser of the twelve original baronies into which the Franks divided the Peloponnese. The castle was built by Jehan de Nivelet in 1254; according to Pachymere it was ceded along with Mistra, Maina, and Monemvasia, to Michael VIII. Palaeologus, but this is denied. It is but little mentioned in the *Chronicle* and then disappears until the Turco-Venetian war of 1463–1479, when it is twice mentioned, once in the list of castles in the Morea in 1463 ('Iracchi vel Zirachi') as having been taken by the Venetians, again in the list of 1467, as being then in the hands of the Turks ('Zerachi'). In later times it was completely neglected, and to this we owe the preservation of so much of the early remains.

In and near the modern town are several churches, none of great importance: the Evangelismos, in the town, is a cross planned church, with a dome on a drum, and three apses; it has a few much defaced paintings. Near the fountain is the church of St. John, barrel-vaulted with a wall arcade on each side, and a single apse at the end; what was probably once a narthex is now used for bones. The paintings, though much defaced, are better than those in the other churches, and in the walls are a few classical fragments. To the east is the church of Haghios Sozos which has a cross plan with high central dome, and is whitewashed inside; there are a few old stones in the walls. Southwards from the fountain are the ruins of St. Nicholas, a barrel-vaulted church with a large room on the south side. Unlike the churches on the castle rock, which are orientated to every point between south and east, these churches near the town are all carefully orientated eastwards. The Latin church was not so careful of orientation as the Greek, and this point may have some bearing on the Latin origin of the churches on the rock.

Beyond St. Nicholas are the ruins of a building, probably a khan, or place of halt; the house, of four storeys, is on the east side of a large courtyard with two entrances, one beside the house and one in the northern wall; there are traces of some further building at the north-west corner. It closely resembles the *Vasilopoula* at Sparta, and like it, is probably late in date.

MOLAI.

About half way between Geraki and Monemvasia, above the little town of Molai, are the ruins of a small fort, very picturesquely placed on a rock in the ravine, and commanding the plain between Molai and Monemvasia; remains of churches at the foot of the rock suggest that a Byzantine town existed here, but the castle ruins are too scanty to allow of any further deduction.

MONEMVASIA.

THE CASTLE.

On the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus, some twenty miles north of Cape Malea, the rock of Monemvasia juts out into the sea, connected with the land only by a long stone causeway with a bridge in the centre (Pl. II.); the original connection, from which the rock took its name, was by a stone bridge of thirteen arches, but all trace of this has now disappeared. The island is about a mile long, and towards the land, where the rocks are most precipitous, some 600 feet high. From here the ground descends gradually towards the eastern end, but at no point are the cliffs less than some 250 feet high. On the southern side they fall slightly back in crescent form, leaving a steep slope and a small level space on which is built the town, fortified by a wall to east and west and by a parapet to the sea; these walls, especially that to the western side (Pl. II.), are good examples of Venetian fortification of the sixteenth century: the seaward point is defended by a projecting bastion which also commands the gate; the road passes under a semicircular arch, through a barrel-vaulted passage with a turn at right angles, into the main street of the town; so narrow is this entrance and street that carts and mules must still stay outside, loading and unloading before the gate. The masonry round the entrance is of the typical fine Venetian work, ornamented with a large bead moulding. Above the gate are the remains of a little corbelled turret; the old sheeted iron doors are still in use, and are still shut every night. From the gate the wall runs up the slope to the cliff where a tower flanks the whole length, with, above it, a little bastion built on to the rock and commanding a perfect view of the whole wall. Excepting just over the gate the wall is in very good preservation; even the little sentry-box on the upper tower with its stone dome is still perfect. The eastern wall is less complicated: at the sea end is a large bastion; a small door leads from the town to the end

of the rock, and above, is a flanking tower and small bastion as on the west side; at the seaward end is a little stone sentry-box, again with a stone dome, a not uncommon feature in Venetian work. At Kalamata it serves to identify as Venetian the fortification of the enceinte, and it occurs again at Castel Tornese. The fortifications of the rock extend round the southern side and the two ends only; the rock is everywhere almost perpendicular, and the walls are more to enable the garrison to command the road and town in safety from the edge, than to prevent the enemy from gaining the top. The entrance is by a long zigzag path in the centre of the south side (Pl. II.), leading up to a circular arch with iron-sheeted doors, beyond which is a vaulted passage and gatehouse; the walls of rough rubble with tiles, plastered in places, are pierced for musketry fire, with level parapets and loopholes and have embrasures for cannon, though a few battlements of an earlier type remain; the superstructure is certainly Turkish and Venetian, the lower parts probably in places earlier. Owing to the impregnable character of the cliffs, these walls do not show any great skill in their laying out, but merely follow the line of the rocks; the gate and approach are well covered from above, and the fortress was never taken by storm.

THE CHURCHES.

The modern town is built amid the ruins of the older houses, mainly those of the Venetian occupation of 1687–1715; to this period also belong the churches of St. Nicholas and of Our Lady of Crete, and the building known as the Turkish mosque, now used as a café.

The date of St. Nicholas is fixed by an inscription which tells that the church was built by a doctor of Monemvasia in 1703. Our Lady of Crete is of the same type and construction, and must belong to the same period (Pl. V.); it is an oblong hall covered with a pointed barrel-vault of cut ashlar masonry with a hemispherical dome on a drum in the centre; the apse is covered by a semicircular half-dome of similar masonry and is flanked by niches serving as prothesis and diaconicum; the position of the Eikonostasis is marked by a step 27·5 cm. high, in front of the apse. The windows have stone dressings and segmental arched heads and on the outside rude Renaissance cornices; the pendentives terminate in curious corbels or drops, and the dome is pierced with four

segmental headed windows; the west front, in fine ashlar, with its broken pediment and pilasters to the door, and scroll terminations to the gable, is quite of the type to be expected at this date (Pl. III.). Above the door is a panel with a richly floriated cross (Pl. V.). Buchon speaks of seeing the arms of Villehardouin in the church of St. Peter; he probably refers to the church of Christ in Bonds, though there are now no such arms in that church, but he may well have mistaken this floriated cross for the *Cross ancrée* of the Villehardouins. There was a ridged wooden roof over the church, and though it has disappeared, the pointed form of the gables shows its original position.

St. Nicholas (Pl. VI.) is now used as a school; it is similar to Our Lady of Crete, but has aisles terminating in side chapels with semi-circular apses (Pl. III.), all three of which show on the outside as semicircles. The arches separating the nave and the aisles are pointed and rest on piers; the west front is late Renaissance of a debased type with fine rusticated masonry.

The church of St. Stephen in Crete is covered in the same way by a stone pointed barrel-vault.[1] In these three churches and in Castel Tornese we have an Italo-Byzantine style characterised by the use of the pointed barrel-vault and the dome in solid masonry, segmental arched openings, and Renaissance detail. Though Italian in decoration and construction, they are Byzantine in plan, and were built for the Greek rite; all were possibly inspired by such buildings as St. Barnabas in Cyprus.

The largest church in Monemvasia is that of Christ in Bonds (Ἑλκόμενος): it has a nave arcade on pointed arches and a central dome, but is much modernised; the central apse has stone seats running round behind the altar, and is probably the only really old part left; at the west end are two stone seats which used to be pointed out as those occupied by the Palaeologus and his empress; they are now allotted to King Otto and his queen. Both Sir Thomas Wyse and Buchon speak of this church as dedicated to St. Peter, but no such dedication is now remembered in Monemvasia, though it is possible that the church was known under that name during the Papal occupation in 1462. The church of St. Anna lies near the western wall: it is a small barrel-vaulted church with side-wall arcades and an annex on the northern side at a higher level than the

[1] The order of St. Stephen of Crete was founded in 1562, and the church may well have been built for it.

main church; it shows no trace of an Eikonostasis, and may have been used by the Italian occupiers for the Latin rite.

The old houses in the town are full of picturesque details. They seem to have been built originally with the roof sloping from the sides to a central gutter to collect the rainwater; many have stone arched verandahs on the upper floor, and the window lintels are sometimes cut to an ogee arched shape. The chimneys project from the houses in a segmental bow carried on corbels, and terminate in circular shafts with pierced cotes at the top. The more elaborate features are in a stiff and clumsy Renaissance style, not unpleasant in small pieces; they show the hand of the Greek workman in a style he did not understand. The one remnant of the Venetian power is a Lion of St. Mark in low relief, now quite appropriately placed over the town offices.

The military town on the summit of the rock is now a mass of ruins, Venetian and Turkish. The one building still standing is the church of St. Sophia, similar in plan to the monastery church at Daphne, an interesting example of Later Byzantine work, founded by Andronicus II. Palæologus (1287–1328 A.D.) (Pl. VI.). The central square space is covered by a large semicircular dome, on a drum pierced with sixteen windows; this drum is carried by pendentures on an octagon formed by squinching the angles of the square (Pl. III.). Barrel-vaulted arms open on the north, south and west sides of the octagon; on the sides, the walls below the squinches are solid, but at the end, side vaults are pierced under the springing string-course, thus giving an oblong plan with two piers at the west end and three apsidal chapels at the east; the centre space above the altar is covered by a cross-groined vault. At the four angles, bringing the plan to the square, are oblong chambers; these probably opened into the arms originally, though now altered or built up. The narthex is in three cross-vaulted bays and had originally a gallery; it has one door to the west and three to the church, the latter with moulded marble jambs. In front of the narthex is a Venetian loggia with three rooms above it; the lower part of the walls is treated with the usual Venetian torus and batter. The large cloister on the south side was standing until about twelve years ago, but is now a mass of ruins; it was in two aisles of five bays, each covered with cross-groined vaults in brick, which were supported on two square piers and two cipollino marble columns. This must have been a very fine piece of work, and its recent

ruin is much to be deplored. It does not quite fit the church and has evidently been built on at a later date. The entrance from the church was by a door in the south arm, now blocked by the Turkish Mihrab. The masonry of church and cloister is of ashlar, with a course of tiles between each course of masonry, and two tiles between each stone in the vertical joints. The dome has an unbroken cornice in brick to the outside; the existing roofs are of tile and probably not original.

It was probably this church which was dedicated to S. Mary Carmen, and given to the Franciscans at the capture of the town by Morosini (Rycaut, *History of the Turks*, III. 389).

Amongst the ruins is a Venetian well-head with two coats of arms, the date 1514, and the initials S.R., probably those of Sebastiano Renier, who was Podestà from 1510 to 1512.

When Monemvasia was first founded is not known, but it appears as a fortress and an important port early in Byzantine history. It was taken by Guillaume de Villehardouin in 1248 after a three years' siege, and then only by famine, but was ceded along with Mistra, Maina and Passava in 1263. It remained in Greek hands till 1460, and in 1450 is referred to by Demetrius Palæologus as 'one of the most useful cities under my rule.' From 1460 to 1464 it was ruled by a Papal governor, and from that date till 1540 by Venice; in 1540 it was ceded by the Venetians to the Turks, but was retaken by Morosini in 1687 and held till 1715. The Frankish occupation lasted only fifteen years, and the existing buildings belong mainly to the two last occupations: the Venetian, from 1687 to 1715, and the Turkish, from that time to the Liberation of Greece.

PASSAVA.

The castle, whose name Passava is a corruption of the French war-cry *Passe en avant*, is built on a steep and isolated hill some eight miles to the south-west of Gytheion, and is one of the most beautifully situated of all the Greek castles (Pl. III.). From Gytheion the road first skirts the coast, then enters a steep and well-wooded valley filled with a luxurious growth of bracken and flowers; from the midst of the trees rises the hill of Passava, wooded below, grey and rocky above, separated from the main ridge by a precipitous ravine, rich with the same dense undergrowth, through which a little stream trickles all through the dry Greek

summer. Classic remains have been found at the foot of the hill[1] and it is probable that it was fortified from an early date. The first Frankish castle was built by Jehan de Neuilly, Marshal of Achaia, in 1254, and passed by marriage to the St. Omer family, who held the Barony in part until 1317, from which time it is not mentioned. In 1601 the Spaniards surprised the castle during their raid in the Morea; in 1670 it was repaired and strongly garrisoned by the Turks, but in 1685 it was taken by Morosini and destroyed as useless. Coronelli gives a plan which shews the present building very accurately, and, in addition, a number of outworks which have since disappeared; he speaks of it as 'full of defects.'

The existing ruins (Fig. 3) form an irregular quadrilateral, skirting the precipice on the north side; the walls are low and battlemented and have circular towers at the angles. The only existing door is the small one on the east side, but the main entrance was probably on the south side, where is now a large breach; the interior buildings are entirely ruined. In the centre are the walls of a small square building standing in a court, and with a small spiral stair at one angle; the orientation, the surrounding court and the stair, originally leading up the minaret, show that this was the mosque. For so large and important a castle, the plan is quite opposed to Frankish practice, and we must conclude that in its present form Passava is a Turkish fortress of the seventeenth century; the masonry is rubble with tiles, and is largely covered with a smooth and hard coat of plaster. On the east side is a considerable length of ashlar masonry in large blocks, which is perhaps all that remains of the earlier castle.

MAINA.

Overlooking the north side of the harbour of Portoquaglio, the only safe anchorage between Gytheion and Cape Taenarus, are a few crumbling walls, the remains of the fortress of Maina, called in the *Chronicle*, 'La Grande Maigne' (Pl. III.). The Turkish fortress of Passava has suffered severely, but the Turkish Maina has almost disappeared, and so built up are the scanty remains by Maniote 'Pyrgoi' that even the plan can hardly be traced. La Grande Maigne was built in 1250 by Guillaume de Villehardouin, but was ceded to the Greeks in 1263, with Passava, Mistra,

[1] *B.S.A.* x. pp. 179 ff.

and Monemvasia. It must therefore have been of considerable importance at that time; of its later history little is known. Querini, with the assistance of the Mainiotes, captured a Turkish fort here in 1570, and it never seems to have been reoccupied. Of the Frankish castle not a trace remains, but Coronelli gives a plan which evidently shews this Turkish fort, a court with flanking towers of the usual late type, of which the Turkish castle of Kelefá, near Vitylo, on the west coast of Mani, may be instanced as a good example (Fig. 3). The walls of this latter castle are some twenty-five feet high, with loopholed parapets and cannon embrasures, and are flanked by large towers raised some four feet above the general ramparts; these towers are vaulted and provide large and strong gun platforms. Within the quadrangle were the various barracks and houses, and the mosque for the use of the garrison.

A view of the 'Fortezza di Maina' is given by G. Rosaccio '*Viaggio a Cas'poli*' (Venice 1598).

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR.

(*To be continued.*)

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

(PLATES VII.—XII.).

§ 1.—THE SEASON'S WORK.

THE year 1906 was marked by the inception of what seems likely to be the most extensive and productive piece of work yet undertaken by the British School at Athens. We take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to the Hellenic Government and the Ephor-General of Antiquities for the liberality with which permission to undertake the excavation of this important site was accorded to us, and for the constant support given to us in all the stages of the work. Among the officials of the Department of Antiquities we are particularly indebted to Dr. Soteriades, the Ephor appointed to reside at Sparta during the excavations, and among local officials, to the Demarch, the Treasurer and the Chief Engineer, thanks to whose co-operation many difficulties and obstacles were overcome, and to Mr. G. D. Kapsales, the efficient Curator of the Museum.

The School did not enter upon this task unprepared. Its members had been at work in the district for two previous years, the contents of the Sparta Museum had been studied and catalogued afresh, and excavations at Thalamai, Geronthrai and Angelona had thrown some light on the types and varieties of pottery in use at different periods in Laconia.

The Director, with Mr. Dickins, Mr. Sejk and Mr. A. C. Brown, arrived at Sparta on March 14th and began work on the following Monday, March 19th. The house which we occupied, standing on the outskirts of

the town towards the north-east and consequently within easy reach both of the Acropolis and of the sites along the Eurotas, belongs to Mr. Δημήτριος Κουρολίδης, a former schoolmaster and a zealous antiquary, who for many years has been active in protecting the remains at Sparta from plunderers. It stands in a pleasant garden of lemon and orange trees, commanding a magnificent view of Taygetus, and has been secured as the head-quarters of the expedition for two years to come.

During the first fortnight work was directed to determining the character and date of the Roman Stoa, and the later fortifications girdling the Acropolis hill. Meanwhile Mr. Sejk undertook the survey of the whole site, the results of which appear in the map (Plate VII.) accompanying this report. Although the survey is not yet finished, it seemed desirable to make its main outlines available forthwith. In the second week the Director returned to Athens, to perform official duties connected with the Olympian Games, and Mr. Ramsay Traquair, who had arrived in the meantime, continued the work begun by Mr. Bosanquet of tracing out the walls, towers, and gates of the Roman fortress. Mr. Dickins, who was left in charge of the excavations, also had the aid of Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, who for the remainder of the season undertook the work of numbering and copying the inscriptions found during the excavation, and exercised a general supervision over the finds stored in the Museum. The programme for this first season's work included an attempt to ascertain the extent of the ancient city and the whereabouts of its cemeteries; and with these objects in view a considerable area outside the Acropolis was examined by means of trial trenches and pits.

On April 7th, a discovery was made on the bank of the Eurotas midway between the iron bridge and the mill of Matallas, which led to the identification of an important sanctuary, and transferred the chief centre of our work from the Acropolis to the meadows beside the river.

Beneath the foundations of the 'little Roman Amphitheatre,' which was seen early in the nineteenth century by Leake and other travellers, and had since vanished from sight, was found an immense deposit of archaic offerings, and inscriptions built into the Roman structure identified the spot as the precinct of Artemis Orthia. Although knife-work on the archaic stratum was restricted to a few skilled men, chiefly old hands from Knossos, the output was more than the two archaeologists on the spot could conveniently control. Mr. Dawkins hurried back from Crete, and

arrived with Mr. Wace on April 19th. After consultation with Professor Cavvadias we agreed to expropriate the site, and work for the next three weeks was directed to ascertaining the limits of the sanctuary and cutting a new channel outside it for the mill-stream which intersected the temple. This work was carried out by Mr. Dawkins. Meanwhile Mr. Dickins resumed his topographical investigations and discovered a great stone Altar in the bank of the Eurotas, about 700 yards above the Artemisium.[1] Mr. Wace, after a tentative examination of the Roman ruins called Arapissa ('The Negress,' **G. 11**), spent some weeks in trenching the meadows between the Artemisium and the Altar, with important results. The city wall was found where Livy describes it, close to the river,[2] and traced with considerable breaks almost to the modern bridge half a mile to the north-west. Some of the gaps it would be possible to fill in by future excavation ; others, due to the encroachment of the river, are irreparable.

On May 15th, a Commission appointed by the Hellenic Government, consisting of Professors Cavvadias, Tsountas, and Carolides, visited Sparta to report on the question of expropriating the Artemisium, and thanks to the cordial co-operation of the local authorities the necessary formalities were soon completed.

It was not until May 30th that the new water-channel, which owing to its great depth had cost much time and labour, was brought into use ; the old channel was run dry, and it became possible to begin clearing the expropriated area. Work came to an end on June 9th. A house had been built and a watchman was left in charge of the site.

In addition to the members of the school who have been mentioned as taking part in the excavation, Mr. Droop did most useful work in cleaning and drawing the pottery and bronzes, many of them in wretched condition, from the lower strata of the temple site.

Most of the drawings published in this report are from the pen of Mr. Halvor Bagge, who was attached to the expedition for a month. The plans are the work of Mr. W. Sejk, with the exception of those by Mr Traquair who illustrated his own article. The photographs reproduced were made by Mr. Traquair, Mr. Dickins, Mr. Wace, and the Director.

[1] I prefer the name Limnaeum : *τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος* (Paus. iii. 16. 6). But the name Artemisium has been engraved by an oversight in the General Plan (Plate VII.) and it seems best to avoid confusion by using it throughout this report.

[2] Livy xxxiv. 28. Eurotam amnem sub ipsis prope fluentem moenibus. Cf. xxxv. 29.

The cost of the season's work was £940, including £100 paid for the expropriation of the temple site. The exchange was unfavourable, from 26 to 27 drachmas for the sovereign, and wages somewhat high. The quality of the local labour was better than we had been led to expect of a district from which many of the active young men emigrate to America. Five old hands whom I brought over from Crete were useful in leavening the mass of inexperienced workmen. Our foreman, Γρηγόριος Ἀντωνίου of Larnaca, who has now added Sparta to the long list of his campaigns, performed his part as efficiently as ever.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

It will be convenient to sum up the results of the season's work, which are set forth at length in the succeeding sections. The investigation of the Acropolis and the surrounding region has shown that the destruction of buildings in the area adjoining the late Roman fortifications has been almost complete. The idea with which we started, that it might be possible to recover in its main lines the ground-plan of the Roman town and so to identify the localities of Pausanias, would entail expenditure out of proportion to the results.

On the other hand, it is probable that considerable remains may yet be found within the fortress, where the destruction at the time of building the walls was far less complete. On the table-topped hill where the north wall forms a salient angle (intersection of **L.M. 12, 13**) nothing survives; but a great rectangle to the east of it, and the ground east and north of the theatre, have still to be explored. The temple of Athena of the Brazen House must be sought on the hill above the theatre.

The City Wall.—Sparta was fortified in successive stages from the fourth to the second century: the circuit of the walls was forty-eight stades. All that was known of their course was that they skirted the river. A portion of the foundations of these walls has now been found extending for half a mile along the river bank, and further portions (not mentioned in Mr. Wace's article below) have been recognised on the heights of Paktalia, north-west of the Acropolis outside the limits of the general plan.[1] It consists of a basement of limestone blocks, 2½ to 3 metres in breadth.

[1] When I first saw these in March 1906, they were being grubbed up by the owner of the ground. There has been much destruction of ancient remains in recent years, owing to the growth of New Sparta and the liberty given to the masons, who come in gangs from Langadhia in Arcadia and have no patriotic scruples about Spartan monuments.

Its upper portion, formed of sun-dried bricks, has perished, but the tiles with which it was roofed have been found in surprising numbers. Many of them bear a stamp identifying them as the property of the State and made for the walls, the whereabouts of the tile-works and the name of the contractor following. At Sparta, where liberal views were held about the community of goods and the boys were encouraged to perfect themselves in the art of looting, it must have been particularly difficult to protect the tiles of public buildings from pilferers; the precaution of stamping them afforded a certain safeguard.[1] The tracing of the rest of the circuit is only a matter of time. It probably followed the cliffs of the Eurotas to a point just south of the modern town[2] and then struck across to the Magoula brook,—followed the north bank of that stream nearly to the village of the same name, and then swept round to the spot where it has been found on the north-western heights.

The River-bank.—In low ground by the river two interments were found in which the bones, probably after incineration, had been placed in a large jar or pithos which was buried on its side, the mouth being closed with a large slab.[3] One of these interments was just outside the Temenos-wall of the Artemisium, the other just within the city wall where it runs out in the river-bed (**P. 13**). At the latter point Mr. Wace found a quantity of terracotta plaques and other offerings recalling those found in 1905 at Angelona, and rightly inferred that this was a spot where ancestor worship had been carried on. The fragments of a colossal Amphora with moulded reliefs on neck and body, published on Pl. IX., suggest that at Sparta, as at Athens, these huge vases sometimes served as grave-monuments. The proportions of the vase and its open-work handles recall the Proto-Attic series, but the composition of the Homeric battle-scene and the details of the elaborate panoply worn by the principal warrior must have been copied from an Ionic original. The details of the shield recall the front of the chariot from Monteleone near Viterbo, now in the New York Museum: somewhat similar combatants appear in one of its side-panels.[4]

[1] Evidence is accumulating to show that the practice of stamping such tiles was commoner at Sparta than elsewhere. We may expect them to furnish many clues for the identification of sites in and about the city.

[2] Vischer (*Erinnerungen*, p. 379) was able to trace this part of the line in 1853, 'namentlich fand ich an dem östlichen Abhang zwischen Psychiko und dem Odeon in grosser Ausdehnung Gemäuer, das kaum über den Boden hervorragt und wohl nur der Stadtmauer angehören kann.'

[3] See p. 293.

[4] *Rev. Arch.* 1904, i. Pls. VII.–IX., and *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1907, p. 39.

Still more interesting was the discovery at a lower level along this part of the river-bank, of walls and Geometric pottery, which showed that in the early Iron Age a village existed here on the low ground adjoining the river, possibly one of the original village-settlements of the Dorian invaders. One hundred metres beyond the Heroön, a platform, 23·60 m. long by 6·60 wide, was excavated by Mr. Dickins, who has shewn reason for supposing that it may be the Altar of Lycurgus. Beyond it the city-wall reappears, built in somewhat different fashion, and further still beyond the modern bridge is a massive facing wall, probably contemporary with the Roman bridge, a pier of which is seen in the river-bed to the north-west.

The Artemisium.—The precinct of Artemis Orthia lay on low ground beside the Eurotas and just within the city wall, which made a bend outwards to enclose it. Mr. Dawkins' skilful examination of the lower strata (§ 6) shews that not only a rich deposit of votive offerings, but remains of buildings of the archaic period await excavation. Geometric pottery and bronzes are followed by a layer in which sherds of a style approximating to Corinthian are associated with rude limestone plaques, ivories of exquisite and almost certainly Ionian workmanship, and masks which illustrate the scanty and confused information preserved by ancient lexicographers about the masked dances which formed part of the worship of Artemis in Laconia. For the later Hellenic period evidence is lacking, but a temple at a higher level may be assigned provisionally to the first or second century B.C. To this was added, soon after 200 A.D., a theatre-like building which has yielded numerous inscriptions commemorating victories of boys in musical and other contests. One of these names the *καρτερίας ἀγών* or contest of endurance under the lash, which seems under the Roman Empire to have been the principal feature of the festival of Artemis Orthia. The notoriety of the spectacle, which attracted visitors to Sparta as late as the reign of Constantine, accounts for the construction, round the altar and in front of the temple, of this unique theatre. The inscriptions relating to the boys' contests, analysed by Mr. Tillyard in § 9, show that the forms if not the spirit of the discipline of Lycurgus were maintained with scrupulous conservatism. The complete excavation of the site will require a second and probably a third season's work.

Roman Sparta.—The ruins are those of a large and prosperous provincial city. Remains of numerous mosaic pavements, and of sculptures

such as were used for the adornment of gardens, shew that a large area to the south and west was covered with houses of some size and comfort, inhabited probably by the land-owners of the surrounding districts. The block of Baths ('Arapissa') partially explored by Mr. Wace, and the buildings north-west of the so-called Leonidaion discovered by Mr. Dickins, promise interesting additions to our knowledge of this period. Both sites yielded pieces of sculpture. The depth and dimensions of the theatre were ascertained and some important inscriptions found near it.

The Late Roman Fortifications—Fourmont.—Mr. Traquair's investigation of the walls enclosing the Acropolis has shown that in many places the facing of squared blocks is preserved below the modern ground level. Towers and gates have been located and the plan of the whole enceinte recovered. The construction is Roman rather than Byzantine, and the portion in front of the Stoa may be assigned with some confidence to the years following the first Gothic raid of 262. At some later time, probably in the fourth century, the line was extended so as to include the theatre and a main street which ran from it to the Stoa, past the Round Building excavated by Dr. Waldstein. The mediaeval city of Lacedaemonia has left few traces,—some much ruined churches, some repairs to the walls, and a quantity of glazed pottery with sgraffito designs of fish, birds, or lions. The trenches in front of the walls have brought to light some of the inscriptions copied by Fourmont in 1729 and afterwards buried by him, a precaution for which scholars should be thankful, for if left on the surface they would assuredly have perished. As they shew no sign of having been defaced, the tradition mentioned by Dodwell may be set aside as idle gossip.[1]

In concluding this summary, I cannot refrain from expressing my satisfaction that the exploration of Sparta, in fulfilment of a hope which I have cherished for many years, has been entrusted to the British School at Athens, and my conviction that it could not be in more able hands than those of Mr. Dawkins and his companions.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

[1] Dodwell, *Tour through Greece* ii. 405. He was told that 'many years ago a French *milordos* who visited Sparta, after having copied a great number of inscriptions, had the letters chiselled out and defaced.' Compare Le Bas in *Exp. de la Morée, Architecture*, ii. p. 67. Fourmont's accuracy as a copyist has recently been vindicated by Dr. Wilhelm in his *Bericht über griechische Inschriften in Paris* (*Anz. der phil.-hist. Classe*, 10 Juli. 1901, Vienna). On the results of an examination of his papers undertaken by Mr. Hasluck and Mr. Tillyard, see p. 478 below.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 2.—THE CITY WALL.

FROM the 3rd till the 26th of May a series of trial excavations was made along the river bank, north of the precinct of Artemis Orthia. These resulted in the discovery of the Greek wall of the city and of traces of an, at present, nameless Heroön close to it. The following description begins from the south. (General Plan, Pl. VII.)

The part of the wall found south-east of the Artemisium is, as far as it has at present been uncovered, of a normal type (Plate VII.). It is three metres thick, built of hewn limestone blocks laid in courses with irregular jointing. Not more than two courses are preserved, and they rest on a foundation of small stones and rough blocks. Most remarkable is the deep drain running out through the wall, which here comes obliquely from the cliff to the south, between the Roman building and the river. Where the Eurotas has eaten into the bank and destroyed part of the Roman arena, the wall also has been carried away. On the cliff (General Plan, **O 16**) a few trial pits produced one tile-stamp (of type 17, see p. 348), and revealed a long block of hewn rock, but the line of the fortification has still to be found here.

Above the Artemisium the wall was next found at the bottom of Tagari's garden (**O 15**). Here are some earlier foundations built of small stones laid without mortar. The buildings themselves were destroyed to make room for the city wall which passes over them. It is here built as

described above, but the earlier foundations were thickened and strengthened to support the limestone base-blocks, one or two of which are still in position. From here the line of the wall inclines inland and can be traced continuously for a considerable distance (**O 15, 14**). The part directly north of Tagari's garden is again built on earlier foundations. On examining the inside face of the wall, we found at the bottom a foundation course of small stones ·30 m. high. Above this is a similar row, ·28 m. high, faced with coarse red plaster. On top of this are placed the limestone blocks,

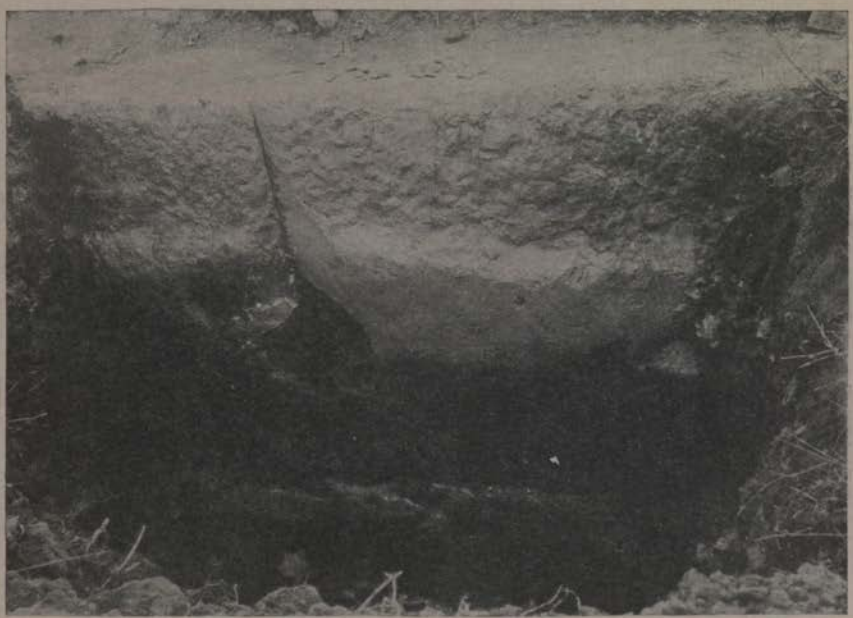


FIG. 1.—EARLIER WALL BELOW THE CITY WALL.

·60 m. high, of which only the upper half is faced (Fig. 1). This shews that the ancient ground-level, when the wall was built, was only ·30 m. below the present. In order to strengthen the plaster-faced wall on the outside, large rough blocks were packed against it making it three metres thick. It was here that a tile stamped ΒΑΙΛΕΙ ΝΑΒΙ was found. Beyond this the wall reverts to the normal type, and varies in width between 2·60 m. and 3·00 m. A corn-field prevented us from following the line directly, but on the edge of a clover-field against the mill-stream, a curved wall was found (**O 13**). Whether this has any relation to the city wall or not, is not yet certain:

it seems to have suffered from a late building erected against it. Immediately to the north (**P 13**) the city wall was again found and followed to the point where it has been destroyed by the encroachment of the river. It was here that the best preserved portion of the normal type was discovered (Fig. 2). At one place it is pierced at a level of 1·40 m. below the surface, by a drain built with slabs and ·29 m. wide. A little further to the south another drain runs out at a higher level, about 1·80 m. below the ground: this is made of semi-circular tiles.

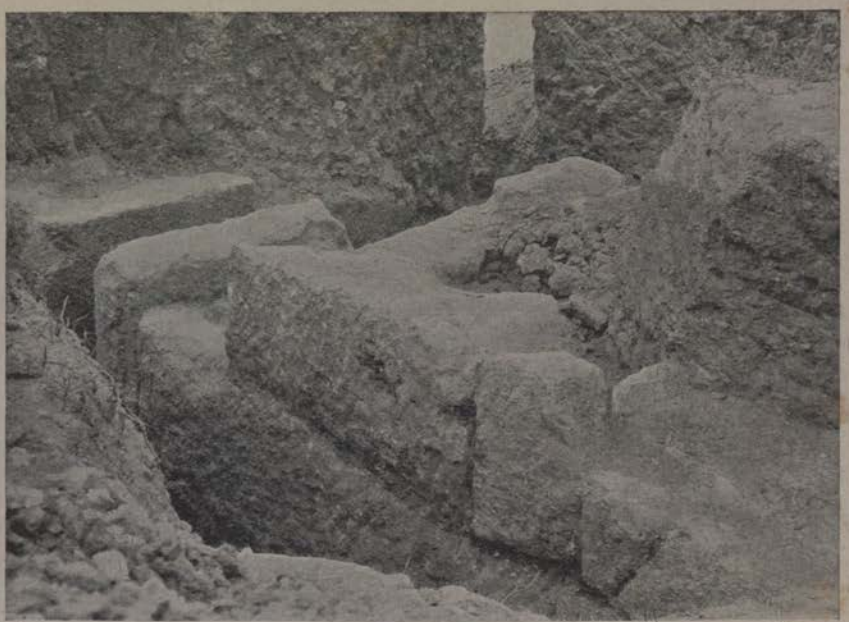


FIG. 2.—THE CITY WALL, SPARTA.

Just within the wall, on the edge of the bank, is a well, lined with small stones, whose top is 1·40 m. from the surface. This was cleared to a depth of four metres; then water appeared, and stopped the work. Near the top were found one Greek and two Roman lamps, several small vases of an elongated amphora shape,[1] and then below these an enormous quantity of broken tiles. A large number of these bear inscriptions stating that they were made expressly for the city wall. Mr. Dickins' discovery

[1] For the type cf. *B.C.H.* 1885, p. 183, Fig. 4: the discovery of such vases at Myrina shews that they are of the Hellenistic period.

of similar tile-stamps near the Altar further up the river (**P 12**) shews that the wall was close by, and is perhaps to be identified with that north of the Altar. Near the ancient bridge north of the carriage road (**O 11**), he again found traces of the enceinte of the city, which seems to have turned inland from that point. The discovery of the inscribed tiles enables us to tell how the superstructure of the wall was built. The limestone blocks resting on the foundation of small stones really form only the base of the wall. On them stood the wall proper composed of unbaked brick roofed with tiles semi-circular in section. Few fragments of flat tiles or square imbrices were found: these may have served to roof towers. The limestone base is of course necessary to prevent the brick from being injured by damp, and the tile-roof defends it against rain.[1] Walls of this type are common in modern Sparta.

Fortunately we have some literary evidence about the fortifications of Sparta.[2] Till the end of the fourth century the city was open and undefended: as Agesilaus proudly said, its citizens were its walls. But on the invasion of Demetrius Poliorcetes in 295 B.C. a fosse and a palisade were hastily constructed.[3] These were strengthened and successfully defended against Pyrrhus in 272 B.C. The palisade seems to have been replaced by a wall, which existed when Philip V. invaded Laconia in 218 B.C. Subsequently Nabis greatly improved the defences, which were not finished in 195 B.C., when Flaminius assaulted the city. Not long after the death of Nabis (192 B.C.) the walls were destroyed by Philopoemen in 188 B.C., which presumably means that only the brick superstructure was torn down. But they were rebuilt after the mission of Appius Claudius in 184 B.C., and were standing in the time of Pausanias. The tile of Nabis, found at the point where the limestone base rests on the foundations of earlier houses, seems to indicate that this construction is not later than his reign, 207–192. B.C. It may of course be earlier; and since we know that in 272 there was merely a ditch and a palisade, with the masonry only at the weakest points, whereas in 218 there were walls, it

[1] Of similar construction were the earlier walls of Athens, and those of Megalopolis and Mantineia, v. Judeich, *Topographie v. Athen*, p. 123; Gardner-Loring, *Megalopolis*, p. 115; Fougères, *Mantinée*, p. 145.

[2] For the authorities see Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii. 324.

[3] Justinus says (xiv. 5, 7) that the wall was begun in 317 B.C., during the war between Cassander and Polyperchon. This is in direct contradiction to Pausanias' statement that this first took place in the attack of Demetrius in 293 B.C.

is possible that Cleomenes III. (236–222 B.C.) began them. In any case it is safe to assume the date of the limestone base to be the latter half of the third century.[1] The regular courses with uneven jointing recall the walls of Demetrias, which are of the early third century,[2] and a similar style of building is to be found at Pergamon.

§ 3.—THE HEROÖN.

(PLATE IX.)

South of the well mentioned above and inside the city wall a series of trial pits produced important results (**P 13**). At a distance of 1·80 m. from the city wall another wall was found which varies from ·50 to ·65 m. in width. Between this, which was followed for some distance, and the city wall, traces of a pavement of beaten earth came to light at a depth of 1·40 m. On the outside of the inner wall a drain was found running parallel to it. We have here, most probably, a street that followed the city wall on the inside. The depth at which it was found agrees very well with that of a similar pavement to the west of the Altar (1·82 m.). The lower level there perhaps indicates an earlier date. In any case the level of the road was raised in a later period, as proved by the tile drain referred to above. Within the inner wall we found distinct traces of a shrine, probably a Heroön. Everywhere, except in the neighbourhood of the well, where the lower strata are composed of gravel, regular stratification ranging from the Geometric age to late Greek times was distinguishable. The Greek layer, which cannot yet be divided into early and late periods, begins at an average depth of a metre. At about 1·90 m. Corinthian pottery was found, which between 2·15 and 2·45 m. was sometimes mixed with Geometric fragments. The Geometric stratum commences at an average depth of 2·30 m., and at three metres or a little deeper the soil is virgin.

The most characteristic objects of the Greek stratum are small terra-cotta Hero-reliefs (Figs. 3–6). These belong to the well known class of

[1] It is possible that the *παραπύλια* damaged by the river and mentioned in an inscription (*C.I.G.* 1330, l. 18) were part of this wall. Unfortunately the reading, which rests on Fourmont's copy, cannot be verified. Le Bas (*Rev. Arch.* 1844, p. 709) only saw the first four lines. Ross saw it in the same state in the Sparta Museum, which was afterwards burnt with all its contents

[2] Fredrich, *Athen. Mitt.* 1905, pp. 229, 235.

Spartan hero-reliefs.[1] Hitherto only one terracotta example has been known, that found by Mr. Hasluck at Angelona.[2] We have now about a hundred specimens, of which the majority are fragments. The reliefs are small and are usually ·08 m. square: the largest complete specimen is only ·135 by ·13 m. (Fig. 3). The commonest type is the 'Libation' motive. The hero is seen in profile, seated; a female figure standing before him pours wine into the kantharos which he holds out to her (Figs. 3, 4, 5). It is remarkable that only one example of this type is known in marble, the beautiful relief from Areopolis, now in the Jacobsen collection.[3] It has hitherto been supposed that the marble reliefs shewing

FIG. 3.—TERRACOTTA HERO-RELIEF.

the hero enthroned to the right, were older than those in which he is seated to the left.[4] Here however both types occur together, are equally common, and of the same style. The workmanship in all is very rough. The relief was made by pressing with the fingers damp clay into a rough mould. Finger-prints are very noticeable on the backs, especially behind the heads. In some an effort is made to shew the outlines of the body (Figs. 3, 4). In others the figures are rude and

[1] *Sparta Museum Catalogue*, pp. 102, *sqq.* [2] *B.S.A.* xi. p. 86.
[3] *Athen. Mitt.* 1883, Pl. XVI.; Arndt, *La Glypothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, Pl. 4 A; *Sparta Mus. Cat.* Fig. 13.
[4] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* p. 108.

columnar (Fig. 5). A fragment of a large relief has a suspension hole, as on the Angelona example. There are also a few pieces superior in execution and style, which seem to date from the fourth century, and resemble a fine relief in the Museum.[1] Beside the ordinary type there are some which shew a male figure standing before a snake (Fig. 6).[2] One fragment represents a rider on horseback, somewhat similar to reliefs from Corinth and Troy.[3] Another seems to belong to a 'Funeral Feast' relief. This is to be compared with the reclining figures from Corinth,[4] and is

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

FIGS. 4, 5, 6.—TERRACOTTA HERO-RELIEFS.

important since it proves the connection of the funeral feast type with the ordinary hero-relief.[5]

A large number of terracotta statuettes of inferior workmanship were also found in this shrine deposit. Most of them are of a rude archaic

[1] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* No. 683.
[2] v. *Ibid.* p. 104, Figs. 4, 5.
[3] Dörpfeld, *Troja u. Ilion*, ii. Beilage, 57; Robinson, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1906, Pl. XII.
[4] Robinson, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1906, Pl. XII.
[5] v. *Sparta Mus. Cat.* p. 112.

female type wearing a polus. There are many nude figures, presumably male, almost exactly similar to a figurine from Angelona.[1] The few late terracottas discovered include some specimens of a standing half-draped male deity, which may be of the fourth century.

Some miniature vases like those from the Angelona Heroön were found in this layer.[2] These are small kantharoi, krateres, and tall three-handled vases of a type found in the precinct of Artemis Orthia,[3] but not at Angelona. The handles of some examples of the last type are represented merely by three pinches on the lip. All these vases are undecorated; with them was also a small early Greek lamp.[4]

The Geometric pottery from the lower stratum does not differ from that found elsewhere in Laconia and at the Artemisium.[5] One fragment shows added ornament in white paint, and another a row of men. The metallic glaze peculiar to Laconia is common. Near the top of this layer in one pit was a very finely-made fragment with ornamentation in red-purple and black-brown. This and one or two similar pieces shew the transition to Proto-Corinthian ware.

The Corinthian fragments are of the same character as those from the Artemisium.[6] The clay is dull grey and covered with a slip, on which the pattern is painted in black-brown and purple assisted by incisions.

A few fragments of the black- and red-figured styles were found with large quantities of a well made black-glazed ware. In the Greek stratum were also several pieces of a peculiar style and technique. The whole surface was covered with a thin black glaze, and on this appear human figures in red and purple matt paint. Details are given by incised lines. To judge by the shape of the eye this pottery would be of the same date as the Attic early red-figured style.[7] Of later Greek fabrics there were many fragments of black glazed ware, some ribbed and

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. p. 85, Fig. 6, 12.

[2] *Ibid.* xi. p. 85, Fig. 6, 1–7. [3] v. p. 329.

[4] Of the type illustrated by Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Pl. 130, 9.

[5] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* p. 223; cf. above, page 321.

[6] v. above page 329.

[7] Vases of this fabric have been discussed by Six, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1888, pp. 193 *seqq.* Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. p. 226, Romaios, *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, pp. 193 *seqq.* The origin of the technique and its exact place in the history of Greek vase painting has not yet been determined; but the consensus of opinion places it in the period of transition from the black- to the red-figured style. The Spartan fragments differ from the samples hitherto known, in being pieces of large vases.

moulded, and others with a floral pattern rendered by white paint and incisions.[1]

The most remarkable find however is part of the neck and body of a large *pithos* decorated with moulded reliefs (Plate IX.). The scene on the neck can be completed by the aid of a fragment, bought by Le Bas at Magoula and now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris,[2] which is from the same mould as ours. Two warriors, one with a round shield and the other with a Boeotian shield, are seen fighting over the body of a third, who also carries a Boeotian shield. They wear high-crested helmets, breastplates, greaves, and thigh-pieces. The latter (*παραμηρίδια*) seem to be made of leather bound with metal, as far as can be seen from the details visible on the new fragment. Behind the left-hand warrior is an archer; behind the other is a slinger. The stone is to be seen in his left hand, and the sling itself was probably rendered by paint. He seems to be the squire of the other warrior, since he carries no shield and has no armour, but is clad only in a leopard's skin. All the men have long hair, and the three principal figures are bearded and in style resemble the warrior on one of the bone reliefs from Sparta at Dhimitzana.[3] The chariot on the body of the *pithos* recalls a fragment with a similar subject in the Museum.[4] The drawing of the dog is exceedingly good. The technique of the *pithos* is interesting. It was first made by itself, and then the reliefs which had been moulded separately were applied, and the whole baked together. To judge by its likeness to black-figured vases the *pithos* probably dates from the sixth century. It is hoped that when this site can be completely excavated, the rest will be discovered.[5]

The hero-reliefs and the miniature vases described above, seem to leave little doubt that there was here a Heroön. Unfortunately no inscription has yet been discovered to enable us to identify it with any shrine mentioned by Pausanias. Two black-glazed vase fragments bearing, painted in red, the letters A and IA lead us to hope that such may

[1] Several fragments are of the styles discussed by Watzinger, *Athen. Mitt.* 1901, pp. 50 *seqq.*

[2] De Ridder, *Cat. Vases Bibl. Nat.* 166; Le Bas, *Voy. Arch. Mon. Fig.* Pl. 105. In the reconstructed drawings both fragments have been combined, since, thanks to the kindness of M. Babelon, a cast of the Le Bas piece has been presented to the British School at Athens. The pattern, shewn on the shield in the drawing, is indistinct on the original: see also p. 281 above.

[3] Richards, *J.H.S.* 1891, Pl. XI. [4] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* No. 520, Fig. 82.

[5] Another piece, shewing the horses of the chariot on the body of the *pithos*, has just been found, May, 1907 [Ed.].

be found. It is possible that if the Altar is, as Mr. Dickins suggests,[1] that of Lycurgus, this shrine may be the Heroön of Astrabacus.

Although several walls were found, no definite building could be made out. Many architectural terracottas however were found. These include one early and two late antefixes, two fragments of a geison with an acanthus scroll in relief above a painted maeander (Fig. 4), and a fragment of what seems to be a black-glazed metope or large relief. These probably belonged to the shrine or to one of the buildings in its *temenos*.

Near the supposed temenos-wall at a depth of 1·90 m. a *pithos* burial was found. The great jar lay on its side, and its mouth was closed with two large slabs. It was only half full of earth, in which were found

FIG. 4.—PAINTED TERRACOTTA CORNICE.

calcined bones, a black-glazed mug, and a two-handled cup with black spots on a white slip. It is difficult to fix the date of these vases, but the burial seems to belong to the Greek period. What relation it has to the Heroön has yet to be determined. It must be remarked that near it were found more vase fragments than elsewhere.

At only two other points on the city wall were any small objects found. Close to the mill-stream on the edge of the corn-field (**O 14**), a trial-pit yielded at a depth of ·90 m. some fragments of Corinthian pottery, a painted architectural terracotta, and a bronze bowl handle on which sits a small monkey.

In Tagari's garden on the wall (**O 15**) a quantity of miscellaneous potsherds, terracottas, and other objects was found. These consist of late

[1] v. p. 302.

antefixes, three-handled cups, vases of an elongated amphora shape, and black-glazed ware with white and incised ornament, all like those from the Heroön. The pottery comprises Geometric sherds, a fine piece of the red-figured style, ribbed black-glazed ware, Megarian bowls, and vases with applied moulded figurines.[1]

Thus it will be seen that all the objects found in the neighbourhood of the city wall are Greek, or Hellenistic. A Laconian coin of Claudius was found at the Heroön, but no trace has yet been observed of any building of the Imperial period.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

[1] With them was found a sherd on which are scratched the letters ΓΑΓΑΙΔ . . ., Inv. No. 2275.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 4.—The Great Altar near the Eurotas.

About 100 metres south-east of the new bridge over the Eurotas a line of large blocks can be seen in the right bank of the river running out into its bed. These are the remains of the city-wall,[1] which originally must have made a sharp bend to the south-west, as it reappears in the field of the Heroön. But this angle, and the land which it enclosed, have been carried away by a change in the course of the river. Close to the northern arm of the angle, and abutting on the present river-bank, lies the large structure illustrated in Figs. 1 and 2. Its eastern front has long been visible, but seems to have escaped the observation of travellers. Excavation revealed at a depth of 0·70 m. below the present surface, a great platform 23·60 m. long by 6·60 m. wide and 1·90 m. high. There are four foundation-courses, averaging 0·34 m. in height, of a softish crumbly stone, and a sill-course 0·55 m. high, projecting 0·10 m. beyond the foundations. This sill-course consists of squared and dressed blocks, which extend all round the building with a uniform breadth of 0·90 m., and vary from 1·60 m. to 2·50 m. in length. Their surface is carefully smoothed, leaving an edge on the outside, raised 0·003 m. and 0·07 to 0·08 m. wide. This careful finish, combined with the regularity of the foundation-courses, and the absence of all trace of bonding-mortar, suggests Hellenic workmanship. The dowel-holes on the surface are set at irregular intervals, and so do not suggest

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 284 ff.

that a continuous wall stood upon the foundation. There seem to be no cramps used. At its eastern end the channel of the mill-stream has been cut right through the building, but otherwise it has suffered little injury.

The inside is completely filled with large unhewn stones, which have been thrown in after the outer wall was built. Upon them, at a distance of 6 m. from the western end, rests a cross-wall three blocks long and two high, which extends from within 0·75 m. of the northern edge of the platform to within 1·05 m. of the southern. This cross-wall is 0·60 m. high, and it rises 0·30 m. above the sill-course. The blocks, which are 0·75 m. wide, are dressed on all sides but the western, and are of a dark stone similar to that

FIG. 1.—E. FRONT OF ALTAR IN BED OF EUROTAS.

used in the rest of the building. The southern side of the southern block is roughly tooled with a raised smooth edge so as to suggest that another block abutted on it. To the east of the cross-wall, at a distance of 1·50 m. from the northern edge of the building, a rougher wall 0·70 m. wide, of the same unhewn blocks as the filling, runs for 6 m. parallel with the axis of the building, and then, turning at a right angle, runs for 3·40 m. towards the southern edge. This wall has fallen to pieces, its greatest height at present being 0·60 m. above the surface of the platform. It would seem to be a later addition to the building, for it is not, like the first cross-wall, embedded in the filling, but merely stands upon it.

On the sill-course, at the north-eastern corner, stands a rough upright slab of marble 0·50 m. square and 0·10 m. thick, which is not, however, *in situ*. At the western end of the building a flight of eight steps leads up to it, the top one being a large single block of hard white stone 1·40 m. × 1·15 m. × 0·35 m., broken both above and below, and the lower seven composed of smaller slabs varying in height from 0·10 m. to 0·20 m. They are not bonded into the foundation-courses, and they rest upon a stratum of beaten earth, which is 0·45 m. above the bottom of the building, and 0·90 m. below the bottom of the sill-course. These steps, therefore, are

FIG. 2.—SURFACE OF ALTAR LOOKING EASTWARDS.

later than the rest of the structure, and shew in themselves two periods of construction, since the top step is clearly an addition, presumably for the purpose of repairing the stairway. 3·30 m. west of the steps, the beaten earth is covered with a layer of cement in which small stones are laid. A surface of this nature perhaps extended at one period all over this area, forming a pathway or open court for access to the building. The lower step is at present higher than the six above it, but no traces of the pebble pavement are visible around it.

Outside the building, and on a level with the sill-course, there are four

carefully dressed blocks of hard stone (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, on the plan in Fig. 3) of varying dimensions, whose connection with it is undetermined. *b* lies on

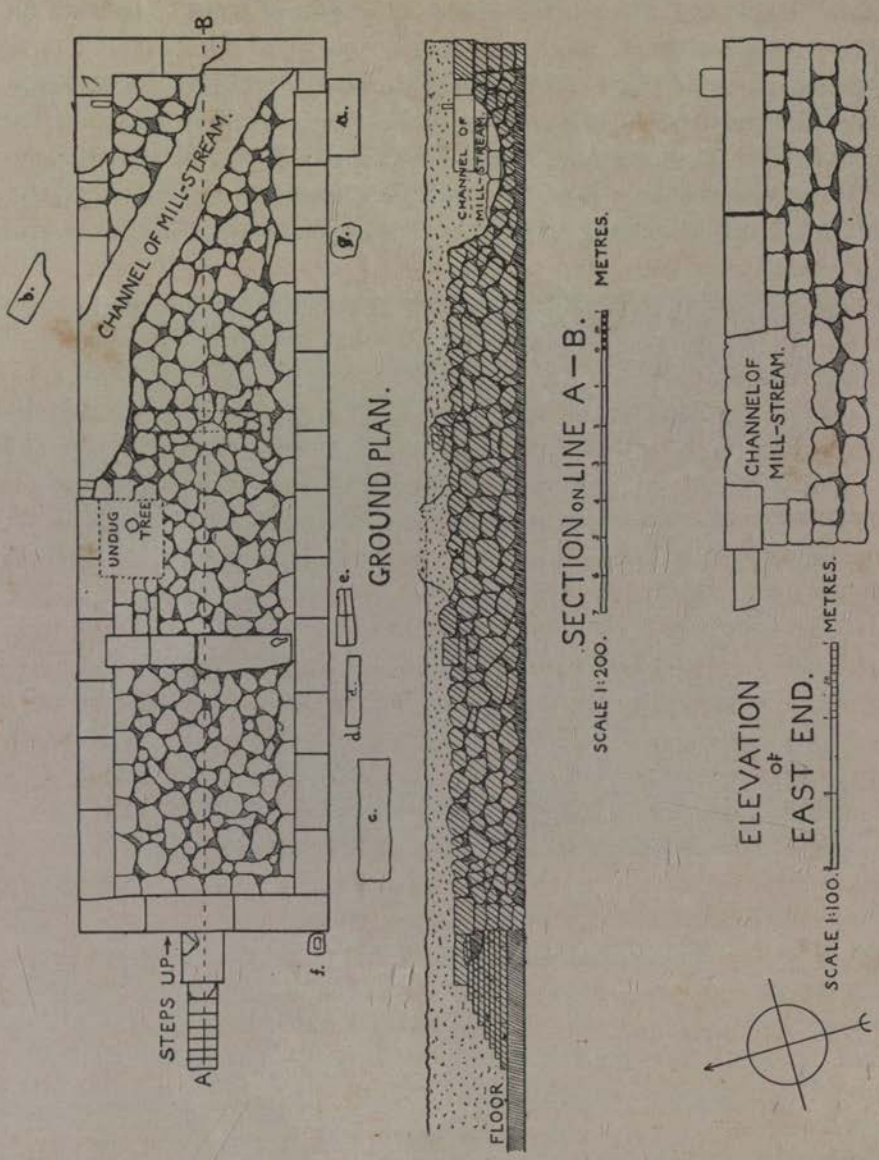


FIG. 3.—THE GREAT ALTAR NEAR THE EUROTAS.

the north side opposite a defective piece of the platform, where the mill-channel enters it, but its dimensions preclude its belonging to the sill-

course. *a*, *d*, and *c*, are on the south, where the sill-course is complete. It is difficult to restore a stone superstructure for our building, on the evidence of these blocks only, and in the absence of all signs of bonding even on the blocks themselves. It is more probable that they belonged to some smaller erection standing on the surface of the platform. The present surface is uneven, for the rough blocks of the filling are not dressed above, but project in several places above the surrounding blocks of the sill-course. They must have been covered originally,[1] and possibly the existing cross-wall is all that is left of a flooring of dressed stone slabs, which formed the original surface of the platform. On this upper surface may have stood erections of which we have the remains in *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*. These blocks with others, now removed or still in the earth, were doubtless the plunder of mediaeval masons.

Of the remaining letters on the plan (Fig. 3) *g* represents an unhewn block which may have come from the interior, and *f* a roughly-squared stone with an oblong sinking, standing without foundation outside the south-west angle. It perhaps once held a *stele*, but cannot be *in situ*, for we have seen that at the time of the making of the steps, the level of the ground outside the building at the western end was considerably lower. The stone rests upon a subsequent accumulation of earth. *e* is a Christian tile-grave. The skeleton was found extended and facing the east beneath a pent-roof of four large coarse tiles: with it was a small round unpainted cup with a broken handle. The top of the grave is just below the bottom of the surface course.

At the same height, viz. just below the sill-course, were found such remains of small objects as were discovered. These occurred almost entirely on the south side of the building, and consisted of four or five lead wreaths like those found at the Artemisium, a few shapeless fragments of bronze, and four[2] inscribed marble fragments. Part of a stamped[3] roof-tile from the city wall was found at the western end of the building, and part of a stamped[4] brick on the northern side in the mill-channel. So far

[1] A few traces of cement were found on the surface of the platform, and among the large stones of the filling. There was also a mass of it outside the building at the N.W. corner. This suggests the possibility of a cement flooring at some period. No mortar was found on the surface-course or among the courses of the foundations.

[2] See below: *Inscriptions from the Altar*, pp. 440 f.

[3] See below: *The Stamped Tiles*, p. 346, note 16, No. 2214.

[4] Inscribed [illegible]ΑΚΛΑ. For a similar brick cf. *S.M.C.* pp. 28 and 70 (No. 543).

as excavation was carried out on the south side of the building, no finds were made at a greater depth than the tile-grave. This suggests three periods in the history of the building:—

1. Period of Construction. The foundation courses were presumably hidden, since they are poorly-dressed blocks of inferior material, and since the sill-course projects 0·10 m. beyond them. It was at the level of the latter that the few finds were made.

2. Period of Alteration. This is marked by the construction of the steps on a ground level 1·45 m. below the surface of the platform. The steps were clearly an addition (*vide supra*, p. 297) which had been made necessary by a change in level on the western side.

3. Mediaeval Period. A later occupation of the building, marked by the inferior rough wall on the surface, and probably by the restored top step. To this date we must attribute the Christian tile-grave.

These alterations in level can be explained by a change in the course of the river-bed. We have seen that, at the time of the construction of the city wall, the Eurotas flowed at some distance to the east of the building. We must suppose that on the occasion of some flood, or obstruction of its bed, it changed its course slightly, and washed away the earth to the west of our platform. We know from Pausanias[1] that the Eurotas was liable to flood its banks in ancient times, just as it does to-day on the occasion of any unusually severe storm. Where the banks of such a torrent are unprotected, isolated channels are always liable to temporary variations in their course. Even during the last twelve months the course of several of the smaller channels has been altered by the autumn storms.

We have further evidence for this explanation of the change of level in the condition of the steps to the west of the building. From the bottom of the sill-course to the beaten floor, the earth removed from the steps was largely mixed with sand, which must have been deposited by the river. Also the northern area of the angle of city wall, which lies directly to the north of the steps, is built in a manner quite different from that of the fragments in the field of the Heroön. Under it were found fragments of coarse red *pithoi* which suggest a Roman rather than a Greek origin. We may infer, therefore, that this piece of the wall was a

[1] Paus. iii. 13. 8.

later restoration, perhaps contemporary with the steps of our building and necessitated by the same destructive flood.

This flood would also account for the disappearance of all small objects from the northern and western sides of the building. But on the south side a few finds were made, and sand is not intermixed with the earth. Our excavations on this side, however, have been confined to the immediate vicinity of the wall, and the ground in this neighbourhood may well have been spared, if the flood, sweeping round the building,[1] entered the old bed lower down. Certainly, at the time when the Christian grave was made, the level was much the same as it had been originally, since the top of the grave reaches just up to the bottom of the sill-course.

The west side was gradually filled with river-sand and alluvial soil, and by modern times the whole building had been covered to a depth of 0·70 metre.

The great disproportion of the length and breadth of the platform rendered it at once improbable that we had to deal with a temple, even before the absence of traces of bonding shewed the impossibility of a heavy stone superstructure. It seems practically certain, from the close resemblance of the platform to the Greater Altar of Megalopolis in construction and in peculiarity of proportions, that we have here an altar on a remarkable scale. A comparison with the illustrations given in the report of the excavation (*Excav. at Megalopolis*, p. 51, Fig. 44) shews a platform with a similar projecting sill-course without cramp-marks, standing on a rough foundation filled with large undressed blocks. A course of triglyphs and metopes was found on the surface of the platform. This suggests a function for the square slab of marble found on the E. end of the Spartan platform. It may well be one of the square metope-slabs which has chanced to survive the depredations of later builders. The Megalopolitan altar measures nearly 11 m. by nearly 2 m., and is thus about half the size of the Spartan, while it is even longer in comparison to its width.

The main peculiarity of the Spartan altar, therefore, consists in its great size. Strabo,[2] however, relates that there was an enormous altar at

[1] The Hellenic brick-stamp found on the west side of the building may have been carried down by the flood from the original Hellenic city wall to the north.

[2] xii. 487 a and xiii. 588 b.

Parium with the longer sides a stade in length, and fragments have been found of an altar at Eleusis,[1] whose short sides were 7·50 m. long. There is, of course, also the well-known altar of Pergamon on a far greater scale. At Epidaurus[2] a platform of large slabs, quite analogous to the Spartan altar, and measuring 16 m. by 3·50 m., is probably the great altar of Asklepios.

We naturally turn to Pausanias to see if he mentions any altar that can be connected with the platform on the banks of the Eurotas. This year's discovery of the Artemisium has rendered it highly probable that the passage commencing in Book III. xvi. 1, is the portion of Pausanias' circuit of Sparta, which refers to this part of the river-bank. The temple of Aphrodite Morpho was probably situated on the hill now called Tympanon, the spur of the Acropolis nearest to the Artemisium: the gates referred to, were in all likelihood between the modern bridge and the large hill Analipsis to the north of the site. In this neighbourhood the only altar mentioned by Pausanias is that of Lycurgus, in the *temenos* of his sanctuary. It is true, however, that the reference is more casual than we should have expected for so large a structure, and that the topographical grounds are not strong enough for a definite connection of Lycurgus' altar with ours. For these reasons any identification of the two must remain tentative until further evidence is discovered.

Further evidence is also needed for the dating of the altar. The excellence of the construction seems to point to a period not later than the middle of the 2nd century, B.C.; the letter forms of three of the inscriptions to a considerably earlier period. The wall of Nabis, of which we probably have traces[3] in the field of the Heroön, must have been built about 200 B.C., and the altar is likely to be earlier than the wall, since the latter seems to make a bend in order to include it. Perhaps it was adapted to coincide with the boundary-wall of the ancient *temenos* of Lycurgus.

GUY DICKINS.

[1] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, i. p. 56.

[2] Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, Pl. I. a; *Epidaure*, Pl. IX. and X. Cf. also *B.C.H.* xiv. 1890, p. 639.

[3] See above, p. 287.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 5.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

(Plates VII., VIII., 1, 2.)

The traveller who approaches Sparta from the north and crosses the Eurotas by the new bridge (**P. 12**) sees before him a series of low rounded hills which extend across his path in the form of a crescent and hide from his view the modern town. Straight before him the ragged core of the Byzantine fortification wall rises on the crest of the hill, and a bridle-path which climbs the steep slope to the old North Gate of the Byzantine Acropolis (**M. 13. 14**) is still the shortest way from the bridge to the modern town. The carriage road bends to the left, and runs parallel with the Eurotas for over half a mile through low-lying meadows, then rises to cross the south-eastern horn of the crescent and forthwith turns inland. It is at this point, where the line of heights sinks towards the river and ends in a tongue-shaped precipitous promontory, that the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia has been found (**O. 15**). North and north-west of this rocky tongue the ground between high-road and river sinks towards a hollow which in luxuriant fertility surpasses even the water-meadows, with their deep crops of vetch and clover, that line the bank higher up. Olives give place to mulberry-trees, and we enter a garden full of cucumber- and melon-beds, oranges and young peach-trees. A bed of reeds, the reeds upon which the Spartan boys slept and from which they cut their strigils, defends this paradise from the incursions of the river.

A few yards further south the character of the bank changes (Fig. 1): it rises steeply from a fringe of oleander and *agnus castus*, and its face is seen to be composed in great part of Roman masonry, rubble bound together with very hard concrete. For many years the Eurotas has here been eating away the substructures of a Roman building, which almost fill the rising ground between the garden on the north and the rocky tongue on the south. As the sections (Pl. VIII., 2.) shew, this, too, was originally a low-lying hollow and liable to be flooded by the river; a part in fact of the

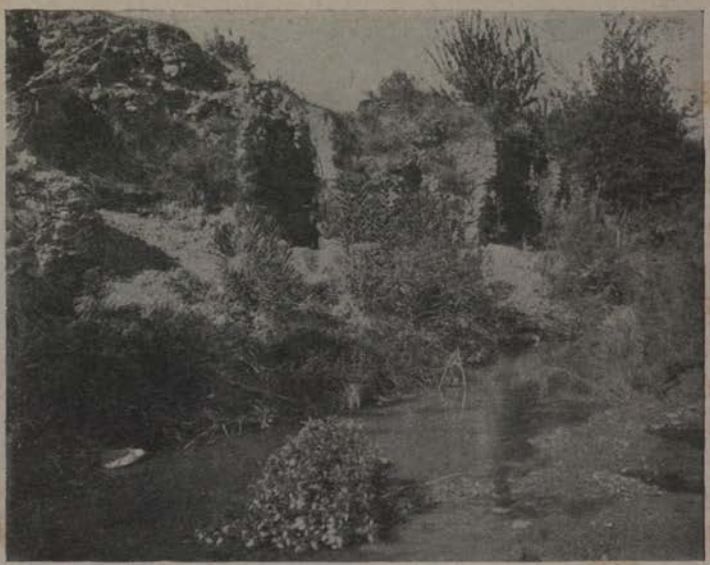


FIG. 1.—THE BANK OF THE EUROTAS AT THE ARTEMISIUM, SHEWING THE ROMAN SUBSTRUCTURES BEFORE EXCAVATION.

Limnae, which as Strabo says had originally been marshy, and so got their name.[1]

Before discussing the older and more interesting remains it is necessary to deal with these Roman ruins, once among the most conspicuous of the remains of ancient Sparta. They consist, as the plan shows (Pl. VIII., 1.), of an orchestra or arena surrounded by a broad concrete substructure which once supported seats. It is in fact a Theatre, in which

[1] Strabo 363: τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἑλίμναζε τὸ προάστειον καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ Λίμνας· καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐν Λίμναις ἐφ' ὑγροῦ βεβηκὸς ἐτύγχανε, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ ξηροῦ τὴν ἵδρυσιν ἔχει.

the place of a Proscenium was filled by the front of a temple, constructed in quite a different style, probably in the first or second century B.C. It will be convenient to state first what was seen here by earlier travellers, next to describe the results of last year's excavations, and lastly to discuss the purpose for which the building was constructed.

J. D. Le Roy, who visited Sparta in 1754, gives a view of a round building on the bank of the Eurotas which he calls the Dromos. Although his plan and his text, place the Dromos on the hill to north-east of the theatre, it appears probable that the building which he sketched was in reality the round building on the Artemisium site.[1]

Leake, who was here in March 1805, describes it in the following terms:—

'There is another monument, apparently of the same date as the walls and aqueduct, on the slope towards the Eurotas. This is a circus, the smallest perhaps in existence, being only twenty-three yards in diameter within. But when Sparta was reduced to the hill which is now surrounded with the Roman wall, this circus may have been quite large enough for the diminished population. The wall of the circus is sixteen feet thick, and was supported by large buttresses on the outside, at small distances from one another, a construction which seems to have been intended for a considerable height of wall, as well as for a great weight within, though not a vestige of seats is now to be seen. The entrance to the circus was on the side towards the river. Below the circus are some remains of a bridge over the Eurotas.'[2] It is marked on his sketch-plan of the site (Pl. II.) as 'Circular building 103 f^t. in diam^r. within the buttresses.'

[1] Le Roy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, ii. Pl. XIV and p. 33. 'Le Dromos etait une espèce de stade où les jeunes Spartiates s'exerçoient à la course : il est extrêmement ruiné. On voit à l'un des côtés, qui regardait l'Eurotas, un grand nombre de piédestaux couverts d'inscriptions, qui nous instruisent particulièrement des noms de ceux qui avoient remporté les prix à ces jeux. Je ne donne pas ces inscriptions ; elles ont été copiées par M. Fourmont . . . mais j'ai représenté dans la Vue du Dromos, Planche xiv, la forme d'un de ces piédestaux.' In Fourmont's notes there is no trace of any such building or inscriptions ; yet he must have mentioned them if they had been visible on the Acropolis. Nor is it likely that remains so extensive had been laid bare after his visit in 1738 and had vanished before Leake's in 1805. On the other hand Fourmont confined his attention almost entirely to the Roman fortress and did not explore the ground near the river. Le Roy did so with a view to his map, and cannot have overlooked the Artemisium site. The inscribed pedestals which he saw on the side towards the river recall the five moulded bases found on that side of the arena in 1906. I cannot account for the position given to the 'Dromos' on his map, but it is so inaccurate and so full of speculative identifications based on Pausanias, that its evidence is open to question.

[2] Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 151.

About the same time Gell saw it:—

'In the little plain between the city and the Eurotas are the remains of a very small amphitheatre, constructed in Roman times, when the pride of Sparta had long been humbled. The whole is the most wretched attempt at a public building that I recollect ever to have seen in Greece.'[1]

In 1829 the architects of the French Expedition to the Morea made a plan (reproduced in Fig. 2 below) and section of this 'Amphithéâtre qui vraisemblablement fut construit à l'Époque du Bas-Empire.' They placed the Dromos on the bank to the north of it, where their map shows portions of two parallel lines of wall enclosing an area not unlike a stadium: 'CC. Restes de constructions de différentes époques: toutes celles qui sont du côté du fleuve sont les plus anciennes: celles qui lui sont opposées sont du moyen âge, à l'exception de la partie teinte plus en noir, qui se compose de fortes assises antiques. L'espace compris entre ces anciens débris devait être le *Dromos*: la disposition du terrain formant encaissement paraît fort convenable pour son usage, et c'est sans doute à cause de l'habitude que l'on avait de célébrer des jeux en cet endroit, qu'on a construit auprès, sous le Bas-Empire, un amphithéâtre,' etc.[2] The idea that the Dromos or training-ground of the Spartan youth must be sought in this pleasant spot, *παρ' Εὐρωτάο λοετρῷ*, can be traced back to Theocritus, and had been strong in the minds of the early travellers.[3] The French scholars adopted and developed it. Recent topographers are inclined to place the Dromos and the Platanistas in the south-west quarter of the city.

The next allusion is in Mure's *Journal* (ii. p. 236), written in 1838.

'There is a paltry little amphitheatre, of very wretched masonry, but tolerably well preserved, in a hollow not far from the river, and in its neighbourhood a ravine of a form which indicates the site of the stadium.'

Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, ii, page 222) describes 'die ansehnliche Ruine eines kreisrunden Gebäudes, aus Backstein erbaut. Die äussere Ringmauer und besonders die aufsteigenden Stützmauern der Sitzstufen sind gut

[1] Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, p. 333.

[2] *Expéd. de la Morée, Architecture* ii. Pls. 46 and 48, Figs. 1 and 2, p. 65; B. de Saint-Vincent, *Relation*, p. 420; Boblaye, *Recherches Géographiques*, p. 80. Aldenhoven's *Itinéraire de l'Attique et du Peloponnèse*, a guide-book published at Athens in 1841, reproduced the French plan of Sparta with the explanatory text, p. 328.

[3] Theocritus pictured the Dromos as lying among flowery meadows beside the Eurotas (xviii. 23 and 39). Cf. Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (nouvelle édition, Garnier), p. 103; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 232; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, v. p. 532.

erhalten ; der innere Durchmesser beträgt ungefähr hundert Fuss, die Dicke des Gemäuers mitgerechnet, gegen hundert und achtzig. Es scheint ein für musikalische und andere Aufführungen bestimmtes Amphitheater des römischen Sparta gewesen zu sein.'

He goes on to speak of a valley to the west, opening in the form of a horse-shoe, and enclosed by artificial banks of earth, running north and south parallel to the river, with walls partly ancient and partly mediaeval. Its length was about a stadium ; it is difficult not to connect this with the ravine which Mure compares with a stadium, but it must be remembered that that lies to the south of the round building, while the horse-shoe opening described by Curtius seems to be the region marked on the map as Tagari's garden. The two are clearly distinguished in Vischer's *Erinnerungen u. Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 378. He travelled in 1853, and had Curtius' description before him. 'Ich habe südlich von dem Odeon, über der Eurotasniederung einen solchen stadiumartigen Einschnitt, der sich von der West nach Ost gegen den Fluss öffnet, bemerkt und hingegen nordwestlich über dem Odeon eine halbkreisförmige, ganz der Cavea eines Theaters ähnliche Vertiefung am Hügelrand, nach Nordosten geöffnet, so dass man daraus den Blick auf den Eurotas und den obern Theil des Dromos hat.' The former is Mure's ravine (General Plan, **N. O. 16.**) The latter is what Boblaye calls 'l'excavation terminée par un hémicycle,' and Curtius 'ein Thal in Hufeisenform' ; its contour is approximately given by the course of the mill-stream (General Plan, **O. 15**). Nothing can be seen to-day that would justify our giving the name of Stadium to either of these natural hollows. Both Vischer and Bursian, who followed him in 1854, are silent about the 'künstlich gestützten Erdwällen' mentioned by Curtius. Did Curtius himself see them ? His description reads like a mere paraphrase of the French account, a remark about 'the well-preserved south-west angle' of the supposed Stadium being the only touch that suggests personal observation. In any case he as well as the French architects say that the fragments of wall on the west were, for the most part, mediæval work on ancient foundations—slender evidence for a Stadium. The definitely ancient wall seen nearer the river was probably a part of the city wall,[1] which was rediscovered here in 1906. Thus there is

[1] In 1834 Ross and Jochmus were able to trace the line of the enceinte along the Eurotas. Ross told Welcker (*Tagebuch*, ii. 113) that the supposed Amphitheatre or Odeum lay close to the city wall—as it does.

no good evidence for the Stadium which is marked in Kiepert's plan of Sparta, and described in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography* as lying to the north of the Odeum.

Whatever the real nature of these mediaeval remains on ancient foundations, they seem to have been destroyed or covered up when the channel of the mill-stream, first mentioned by Vischer (p. 377) in 1853, was excavated to bring water from the upper Eurotas to Matallas' corn-mill near Psychiko. It follows the margin of the higher ground, keeping close to the low-lying meadows which in summer are irrigated from it. As it was driven right through the Artemisium, the constructors can hardly have failed to meet with inscriptions, but it was not in their interest to call attention to the buildings which they were destroying.

We owe to Vischer another interesting observation. Whereas plans and descriptions placed the Odeum at some distance from the Eurotas, he found it close to the bank and could only suppose that the river had altered its course. The French map makes the distance rather more than 200 metres, while Leake's sketch, older by twenty-five years, makes it twice as much, and Le Roy's view gives the impression of a similar interval. Nowadays the main channel is only 90 metres away, and in winter the flood washes the base of the steep bank. The French map shows the whole of the ground up to the main channel as under cultivation, and it is clear that at that time not only the main channel but the winter-bed of the river made a great bend to the east before reaching the neighbourhood of the Artemisium.

Bursian, who visited Sparta in 1854, would interpret the building as an Odeum belonging to the Temple of Dionysus in the Marshes.[1] After this it seems to have vanished from sight.[2] The walls remaining above the surface must have been quarried away, and the ground levelled and planted, about the middle of the last century. When our work began no wall was visible, except in the river-bank. The field was dotted with well-grown olives and mulberry-trees, and only a hollow marked the position

[1] *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, ii. 126. For the date of his visit, see *Arch. Anzeiger*, xii. p. 477. He identifies Strabo's Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐν Λίμναις (see note on p. 304) with the Διονύσιον on or near the hill Κολώνη mentioned by Polemon (ap. Athen. xiii. 574 d). On the other hand Tozer (*Selections* from Strabo, p. 212) thinks that Strabo referred to the Dionysion ἐν Λίμναις at Athens.

[2] W. G. Clark describes the remains of a circus, and marks it on his plan (Pl. 4) at the south-east angle of the Acropolis. He mistook the area enclosed by the 'Stoa' and fortification walls for part of an elliptical circus (*Peloponnesus*, p 163). So also Guide-Joanne, *Grèce* (ed. 1891), ii. p. 252.

of the arena. A comparison of Fig. 2 with Pl. VIII, 1. will show how much of the outer wall had been eaten away by the river since the visit of the French expedition. The Eurotas, a feeble enough stream in summer, is liable in winter to violent floods, which fill its broad gravelly bed from bank to bank. At such times the positions of the main channel and of the subsidiary arms are frequently altered. Our first care, therefore, was to protect the bank adjoining the Artemisium from further erosion by the construction

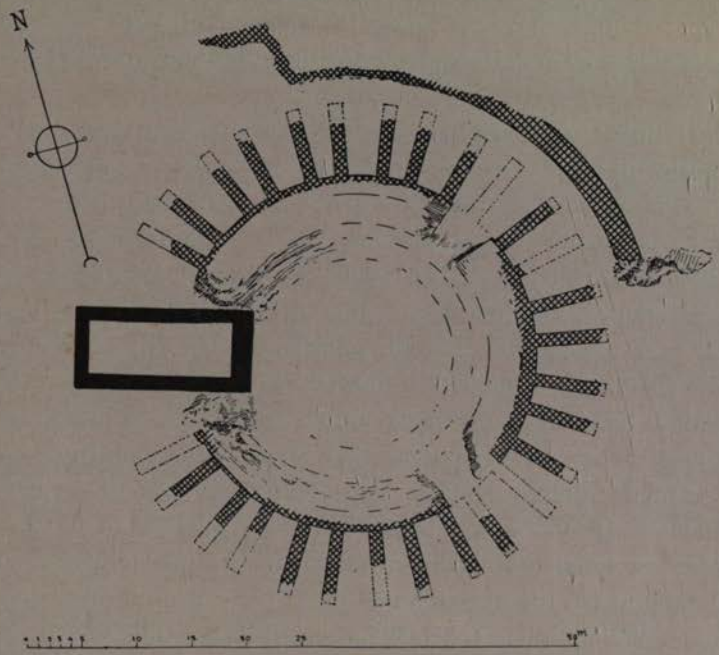


FIG. 2.—THE THEATRE AS SEEN BY THE FRENCH EXPEDITION.
(The Temple, which does not appear in the French plan, has been inserted.)

of a wall, and a second piece of engineering, the cutting of a new channel for the mill-stream, had to be undertaken before the excavation could proceed.

It was not until May 30th that the new channel was brought into use and the old one run dry. The next nine days were devoted to ascertaining the outline of the Roman building, and its internal plan was so far recovered as to confirm some of the details given in the plan of the French Expedition (Fig. 2, compared with Plate VIII, 1.).

The French surveyors saw nothing of the Temple; they show a gap, but evidently thought that the building had been a complete amphitheatre. Their accuracy is illustrated by the fact that they show the radial walls on either side of this gap, as breaking off just where the platform of concrete really comes to an end, although they were not aware of its form. The only part of the platform, as distinct from the radial walls, which they saw, was on the north-east: it projected into the river-bed and has been almost entirely destroyed since. Their plan shows a buttress of masonry thrown out towards the north, where the erosive action of the river was most to be feared, its ragged edge indicating that the work of destruction had begun.

The Temple (17 m. × 7·60 m.) is considerably older than the adjoining theatre, although it stands at the same level. Its substructures, which descend to the archaic stratum 2 m. below, are of rough Hellenic masonry without mortar, while the main structure is of large ashlar blocks. A drafted block in the substructure of the north wall shows that it was in part built with old materials. Remains of Hellenic buildings, found at a lower level in trenches A and B, probably mark the site of an older temple, which will be discussed in the following section. It is sufficient to say here that most of the objects found in association with these older walls, belong to the archaic period and are found in, and below, a bed of sand and gravel which may have been deposited by floods. Whether the precinct became untenable and was for a time deserted, we cannot yet say. The paucity of votive offerings of the fourth and third centuries has been observed at other sanctuaries and may be due to other than local conditions. When the later Temple was built, the ground-level seems to have been raised by more than 1·50 m., a vast amount of coarse gravel being brought from the adjoining river-bed to form a dry terrace for it. Probably when this was done the city wall, which bends outwards so as to include the Artemisium, had already been built and formed an effectual breakwater between the *temenos* and the river. The Temple faced east, as appears from the greater thickness of its east wall, which no doubt supported columns. Not a fragment of these or of other architectural members has been found: they must have shared the fate of the marble facings and seats of the adjoining theatre. Future excavations may determine at what period the Temple was built. It is certainly Hellenic, not Roman.

About the year 200 A.D. an addition was made to the sanctuary for which it is hard to find a parallel. An annexe in the form of a theatre, 54 m. in diameter, was built round the east front of the Temple, which supplied the place of a proscenium, enclosing a circular orchestra or arena 22 m. in diameter. Its construction does not warrant the contemptuous descriptions of Gell and Mure, who saw only the brick walls that supported the vanished marble seats. The auditorium rests on a platform of concrete, sunk to a depth which varies from 1·50 m. to 2·80 m. or more, through the gravel terrace of the later Temple to the archaic stratum below. Three feet from the temple wall the concrete platform stops: part of a line of slabs, fixed to mark the point to which it might be brought, is still in position at either side of the Temple. Had the outer face of the concrete been carried round so as to complete the circle, it would have terminated at the angles of the back wall of the Temple, just as the inner face stops at the front angles, and this no doubt was the original intention and governed the diameter of the platform, which is so nearly equal to the length of the temple. But a segment of the circle was cut off, giving to the whole the shape of a horse-shoe.

On this platform rose a small theatre of a type common in the Roman Empire: the substructure supporting the seats consisted of radial walls, at the outer extremity of which a vaulted corridor ran round the building, supported by piers and arches forming a continuous arcade outside. Such theatres seem to have been built either for winter performances and concerts, in which case they were covered, or for musical performances of a kind for which the large theatres were not fitted.[1] The building before us differs from the normal type in that the auditorium encloses all but a small segment of the orchestra circle. In an ordinary theatre the extent of the auditorium to right and left of the stage is limited by the necessity for the spectators to see the stage; in the present case the fact that the seats were carried so far round shows that the centre of interest was not the front of the temple, here corresponding to the stage, but the centre of the orchestra—a point of some importance for determining the nature of the performances for which the theatre was built. Probably an altar stood

[1] This type of theatre with radial supporting-walls and outer arcade is found as far east as Bostra (Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker u. Römer*, Fig. 739) and as far west as Saguntum (De La Borde, *Voyage de l'Espagne*, ii. Pl. 103). There were several such theatres in Crete, if we may trust Belli's drawings (Falkener, *Theatres . . . in Crete from a MS. History of Candia by Onorio Belli in* 1586)—at Hierapetra, Chersonesus and Gortyna.

in the centre of the orchestra, the size of which may have been determined by the distance of the altar from the temple; but until the orchestra has been cleared it is useless to speculate. Nor is it profitable to discuss the details of the plan. Of the two entrances shown on the French plan (Fig. 2 above) one, that on the south, has been cleared. The distances and dimensions of the piers are somewhat irregular, but this may to some extent have been equalised by the facing, which was probably of large ashlar blocks, like one which was found near the south-east front and is

FIG. 3.—PIERS OF THE ROMAN THEATRE.

shown on the plan. The piers (Fig. 3) have bonding-courses of oblong bricks with the usual diagonal scorings, measuring about ·47 × ·30 m.

A small part of the orchestra, east and north-east of the temple-front, was cleared with interesting results. Immediately before the temple were remains of a pavement, one slab of which was a well-preserved inscribed stele (No. 40–2482, p. 376 below). Further to the north, along the margin of the orchestra, five moulded bases which had supported inscriptions or

statues were found *in situ*. Some figurines of two different types, representing Artemis the Huntress, found at the south-east angle of the temple, complete the list of objects posterior to the building. For fuller information as to the nature of the festivals for which the theatre was built, we must turn to the far more numerous finds made in the concrete of the supporting platform.[1] These include the very important series of inscriptions relating to victories won by teams of boys in the competitions called *κελῆα*, *μῶα* and *καθθηρατόριον*, which are discussed by Mr. Tillyard in § 9. They had been used as material, the smaller slabs whole, the larger broken up, at an early stage in the work.

Those found last season came from the side nearest the river; it

FIG. 4.—TO RIGHT, THE NEW RETAINING-WALL. TO LEFT, THE PART OF THE ROMAN SUBSTRUCTURE WHERE MOST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS WERE FOUND.

remains to be seen whether they occur elsewhere in the substructure. The latest may be referred to the reign of Commodus. Consequently the theatre is not likely to have been built until at least a generation later, for monuments recording victories would not have been broken up wholesale while the persons who had erected them were alive. This brings us to the reign of Caracalla. It would appear indeed that there was some selection.

[1] I have not taken account of a quantity of figurines and some vases found early in the excavation upon the level top of the Roman platform near the river-bank. The reports which I received suggest that they had been stored in a vault beneath the seats but above the platform, between the radial walls, and are therefore posterior to the building; but it is possible that they had been buried or walled up in the course of the construction.

Among the *stelai* found last year the majority refer to victories won by teams of small boys (*μικιχιδδομένων*) and only one (No. 15) records a contest of *εἴρενες*. More significant still, only one names the event which ranked highest of all and was peculiar to this sanctuary, the scourging at the altar. Yet we know that victories in it were commemorated by inscriptions and statues.[1] Until the whole of the evidence is before us it is rash to draw inferences, but it certainly appears that the inscriptions which were broken up were mostly such as related to minor contests. Space would be provided in the new building for exhibiting more important monuments; some of them, as we have seen, stood about the margin of the orchestra. When the theatre was stripped of its marble seats and ashlar facing, the monuments preserved in it would be carried off. We may account in this way for the dedications to Orthia that have been found on other parts of the site.[2]

The inscription which forms so important an exception (No. 20, 2163, p. 368 below) is engraved on two fragments of red marble, found on April 23 with fourteen other inscribed stones, in a specially productive part of the substructure. The victor's name is lost. Then we have *κ]άσεν ἐπὶ (π)[ατρὸν]-ύμου Δεξι[μάχ]ου νικάσας τὸ[ν τῆ]ς καρτερίας ἀ(γ)ῶ[να] Ὀρθείᾳ*. The lower part is missing and we cannot say whether there was a prize-sickle or other emblem—we should expect a crown.[3] That this *καρτερίας ἀγών*, Contest of Endurance,[4] was the scourging at the altar, appears from a passage in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. Apollonius, who has recently been at Sparta, is questioned about the scourging, and gives the official explanation which he heard there: that the image of Artemis came from Scythia and had always required human victims; that an oracle said

[1] *Βωμονῖκαι*, *C.I.G.* 1364 *b*; Le Bas-Foucart 175 *b*; *S.M.C.* 252. Statues, Lucian, *Anacharsis* 38.

[2] Ross saw the inscription commemorating the virtues of Heracleia daughter of Tisamenus, which was originally set up in the Artemisium, extracted from a mediaeval building between new Sparta and the Theatre in 1841 (*Reisen im Peloponnes*, p. 21). Of the dedications by boy-victors known before our excavations, *a* and *b* (p. 355 below) were found at Magoula about 1868, *c* in the pavement of a church, *d* built into a house in the town in 1872, while *f* was copied as early as 1437 by Cyriac of Ancona.

[3] Statius, *Theb.* iv. 233 of a boy who died at the altar, *coronato contenta est funere mater*; Themistius, *Orat.* xxi. p. 250 *a*, *μαστίγων γὰρ τὸ ἀγώνισμα καὶ ὁ στέφανος*.

[4] Aristotle, *Eth. Mag.* ii. 6. 34 *ἡ δὲ καρτερία περὶ λύπας· ὁ γὰρ καρτερῶν καὶ ὑπομένων τὰς λύπας, οὗτος καρτερικός ἐστιν*. Cf. *Eth. Nic.* vii. 7. 4. Plato, *Leges* i. 633 *b*, describes the *καρτερήσεις* by which the system of Lycurgus developed the power of endurance. According to Athenaeus, 534 *b*, Alcibiades when at Sparta outdid the Spartans in their own virtues, *καρτερία* and *ἀφέλεια*.

'Wet the altar with blood of men,' *σοφισάμενοι δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θυσίας ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἀγῶνα ἥκουσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστιν μήτε ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ σφῶν αἵματος,* 'but the Spartans evaded the necessity of the sacrifice and hit upon the Contest of Endurance, by which they are able without loss of life to make oblation to the goddess of their blood.'[1] The accuracy with which Philostratus uses what now appears to have been the official name, lends weight to another statement. Apollonius is asked what view the Greeks at large take of the scourgings. 'They assemble,' is the answer, 'just as they do at the Hyacinthia and Gymnopaediae, to look on with enjoyment and eager interest.[2] A contemporary of Philostratus, Tertullian, is equally definite: 'the festival which in our day ranks highest at Sparta, the *Diamastigosis*—that is, the Scourging—is notorious'[3] Both testimonies were written in the age of Severus, and illustrate the degree of public interest excited by this festival about the time at which we suppose the theatre in the Artemisium to have been built.

The official explanation, given by Pausanias and others, as well as by Philostratus, which treated the scourging as a substitute for human sacrifice, was invented in comparatively late times to justify the cruel rite.[4] In its origin perhaps a ceremony of purification, in Hellenic times it had developed into a rough game. Its most odious feature, the passive endurance of successive scourgings inflicted by way of public examination, appears first after the artificial revival of the old Spartan discipline. There is no hint of the religious motive in the first accounts,

[1] Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* vi. 20. Cicero, *Tusc.* ii. 14, Plut. *Lycurgus*, 18, Lucian, *Anach.* 38, and others say that deaths were not infrequent; but this was due to the pertinacity of the competitors. The point of *μήτε ἀποθνησκειν* is that even where no death occurred, the claims of the goddess were satisfied.

[2] Philost. *l.c.* *συνιᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ Ὑακίνθια καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας θεασόμενοι ξὺν ἡδονῇ τε καὶ ὁρμῇ πάσῃ.* He names the two chief festivals of Sparta, celebrated respectively at Amyclae and in the Agora. Of the former Theodoret, *Therapeutica* viii. p. 908, *ἑορτὴν μεγίστην καὶ δημοθοινίαν*, of the latter Pausanias iii. 11. 7 *ἑορτὴ δὲ ἐΐ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν.*

[3] Tertullian, *Ad martyras*, 4. 'Nam quae hodie apud Lacedaemonas solennitas maxima est, Διαμαστίγωσις. id est Flagellatio, non latet; in quo sacro ante aram nobiles quique adulescentes flagellis affliguntur astantibus parentibus et propinquis et uti perseverent adhortantibus.' Cf. the peroration of his *Apologia*, 50, and *Ad nationes* i. 18, both written about the same time as *Ad martyras*, probably 197 A.D.

[4] I must reserve for a future paper a discussion of the origin and development of the custom. See Frazer, *Pausanias* iii. p. 341–4, Anton Thomsen in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* ix. pp. 397–416, and Martin Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 190–196. The passages relating to it were collected by Trieber in a dissertation now out of print, *Quaestiones Laconicae*, Göttingen, 1866.

those of Cicero and Seneca. Lucian makes Solon defend it as a part of the system of education devised by Lycurgus, the prime object of which was efficiency in war; the defenders of Sparta, *καρτερικώτατοι καὶ παντὸς δεινοῦ κρείττονες*, might be taken by the enemy, tortured and scourged, but would never reveal their country's secrets.[1] The *ἐξηγητὴς τῶν Λυκουργείων*, who in one case known to us had himself won a victory at the altar,[2] may have held up ideals of this kind before the candidates in training for the *καρτερίας ἀγών*, but his expositions must have sounded hollow in days when Sparta had no army and engaged in no wars. For a moment, indeed, about 214, a breath of real life blew through Dromos and Platanistas and precinct of Orthia, when Caracalla raised two local regiments for the war in the East, naming them *Λόχος Λακωνικός* and *Λόχος Πιτανάτης*.[3] The appeal to ancient memories was well devised; a *Λόχος Πιτανάτης*, such as had covered itself with glory at Plataea, was again to meet the Persians in the field. They went as volunteers, so that Sparta, *civitas foederata* and exempt from military obligations, could boast of her alliance with Rome: *τὴν εὐτυχεστάτην συμμαχίαν τὴν κατὰ Περσῶν*, says a monument raised to one of them who never returned.[4] It was, then, in a generation which had felt or was soon to feel the thrill of participation in war against the ancient enemy of Hellas, that the theatre was reared besides the Eurotas.

It was a belated repetition of the process by which at Athens, Eretria and many other places, an ancient dancing-ground near a temple of Dionysus had grown into a permanent theatre. There, however, ample space was left about the temple and the great altar; the orchestra was pushed back, and a minor altar served as rallying-point for the chorus. But at Sparta the altar of Orthia, sanctified by the blood of so many generations, seems to have been all in all. The temple might be enclosed and almost swallowed up by the new horse-shoe building, but it was essential that the annual rites should be performed about the ancient altar. Those rites, as

[1] Lucian, *Anach.* 38 *ad fin.*

[2] *C.I.G.* 1364*b*.

[3] Herodian, iv. 8. 3, describes how Caracalla formed a Macedonian phalanx on the ancient model, *ἀπό τε Σπάρτης μεταπεμψάμενος νεανίας Λακωνικὸν καὶ Πιτανάτην λόχον ἐκάλει*. Compare Wolters' discussion of inscriptions found at Sparta which mention the Persian campaign, *Athen. Mitt.* xxviii. pp. 291 ff. He shows from a relief on a tombstone that their equipment, like that of the Macedonians, was on the ancient model.

[4] *C.I.G.* i. 1495 and Wolters, p. 296.

the inscriptions show, included numerous choral and musical contests between teams of boys strictly graduated according to years, and retaining the archaic nomenclature: and overshadowing these, that terrible final examination, which in Roman Sparta was the goal and crown of the whole training, the Contest of Endurance or, as Philostratus also calls it, the Custom of the Whips. In the fourth century it was known by the latter name. Libanius in a curiously self-righteous account of his student days at Athens, about 335-340 A.D., says that he saw Corinth, not through having to attend the law-courts like his less orderly companions, but 'once on my way to a Laconian festival, the Whips, and once when about to be initiated at Argos.'[1] Later allusions show that the festival was maintained far into the second half of the century.[2] From fragments of Byzantine walls, marked on Plate VIII., and some Christian interments—in two of them there were base silver ear-rings and other jewellery—it appears that a church afterwards stood upon the site.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

[1] Libanius, *Orat.* i. 23 (p. 18 Reiske). The mysteries meant are those of Lerna—cf. *Orat.* xiv. 7 (p. 427 R.)—which then ranked almost with the Eleusinian.

[2] Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* iv. p. 109, and xxxix, p. 679; Themistius, *Orat.* xxi. 250 A.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 6.—Remains of the Archaic Greek Period.

(Plates VIII, 1, 2, XI, XII.)

The archaic remains, which the trial trenches have revealed at a level beneath the Roman building and temple described above, present in one respect a striking contrast. Except inscriptions, the later buildings have not yielded many small objects: their importance lies in their architectural arrangement and purpose. In the archaic stratum on the other hand, although some architectural fragments have already been found, and more are expected, the chief interest centres in the wonderful wealth of small objects, doubtless votive offerings, and the light they throw on the early stages of art in Sparta. Before our work this year, this deposit was accessible only from the side of the river, where erosion has produced a section of all the strata from the present surface down to virgin soil. This face, shewn in Fig. 1, p. 319, in its original condition before excavation, we have protected with a wall, to guard the site from the destructive effect of the floods to which the Eurotas is liable, the lowest remains being hardly higher than the level of the bed of the river. Work was begun at this naturally exposed face, where the lead figurines now in the Sparta Museum were found, which gave the first clue to the site, and the number of archaic objects unearthed in the first few hours immediately revealed its extraordinary richness.

The archaic deposit extends all along Trench A (Pl. VIII, 2), under the

temple itself, beyond which it almost immediately fails, and in lessening richness as far as the *temenos*-wall, thus covering an area of some 2,500 square metres.

Directly above it rest the foundations of the Roman arena and its associated temple, except just inside the *temenos*-wall, at the point where this is cut by the new water-channel. Here it was immediately succeeded by remains of buildings, probably a house, belonging to later Greek times, built close against the inner side of the wall. The inner face of this part

FIG. 1.—INNER FACE OF TEMENOS-WALL.

of the *temenos*-wall, freed from the later Greek wall, is shewn in Fig. 1. In the places where there are no Roman foundations, the archaic stratum is separated from the surface *humus* by a thick layer of shingle. Its limit on the landward side is formed by the *temenos*-wall, where the earth changes from soft mud to tightly packed gravel. This, and the fact that no archaic objects were found outside it, shew that the wall goes back to this early date.

Before the full excavation of the site it would be premature to examine very fully the history of the sanctuary. The absence of later Greek remains

and the name of the site, *Limnae*, indicate that it was at that time a marsh, probably liable to be flooded by the river; and the layer of shingle must have been brought by the Romans to make a firm foundation for their arena, and to raise its level well above that of the river. Pl. VIII, 2. which

FIG. 2.—IVORY FIGURES OF ANIMALS. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

shews the section disclosed on the north side of Trench A, gives the disposition of the strata, with the archaic shewing below the Roman.

This archaic deposit, hitherto spoken of as single, was found to consist of two clearly separable strata as shewn in the sectional drawing,

with a marked difference of earth. The lower contained pottery of the Geometric period, but all so much broken that no complete vases have yet been recovered. Many bronze *fibulae* and pins were also found and a series of couchant animals in ivory. This 'Geometric' stratum was never more than ·50 m. thick, and terminates abruptly both above and below.

Six examples of the ivory figures of animals out of the dozen or so that were found, are shewn in Fig. 2. They rest on oblong bases, sometimes decorated below with zigzag lines or incised drawings of birds Fig. 2, *c*, *d*). Sheep are commonest, but other animals occur, and the figure shews a Sphinx (*b*), a lion (*c*), a dog (*d*), and a calf (*e*). They are all small, the bases varying from ·03 to ·06 m. in length. The style shews a good deal of realism, within the narrow limits of one motive. A unique example shews a beast of prey seizing an animal by the back.

The *fibulae* are all of the type formed of flat coils of bronze wire, with the pin behind them. Some examples have two coils only ('spectacle fibulae'), whilst others have four or six, with a small circular plate in the centre. Similar *fibulae* were found at Olympia,[1] and the specimens with two and four coils are indistinguishable from those from Halstatt.[2]

The pins were of a type found at the Argive Heraeum, with the head formed of a series of bead-shaped bulbs.[3]

Two bronze animals were found, a horse and a bird, standing on bases formed of a frame of zigzag wire. These are characteristically Geometric, and occurred at Olympia and the Argive Heraeum.[4] Some scarabs of glass-paste were found, which await further study.

Above this 'Geometric' deposit is the main archaic stratum, the richness of which is the most remarkable feature of the site. The soft fine earth of which it consists is everywhere full of small objects, of which Corinthian pottery, lead figurines, terracotta masks, bronze objects, and ivories are the most important. Pavements and roof-tiles were also found, and both the trial trenches A and B are crossed by walls, which, as they run in the same direction, probably belong to the same building (see Plan,

[1] *Olympia*, iv. Pl. XXI, 359–361.

[2] Ridgeway, *Early Age in Greece*, i. p. 578, Figs. 126, 127.

[3] *Argive Heraeum*, i. Pls. LXXVIII, LXXIX. Nos. 95, 195. Also *Aegina, Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Pl. 114, 44.

[4] For horses see *Olympia*, iv. Pl. XIV, and *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pls. LXXII, LXXIV. For birds, *Olympia*, iv, Pl. XIII. No. 210. A horse from the Temple in Aegina is published in *Aegina, Heiligtum der Aphaia*, p. 391, Pl. 113, 2.

Pl. VIII, 1). The lower courses of the wall in trench A are imbedded in the 'Geometric' stratum, and above them the stones become much larger and finer, and evidently as much intended to be seen, as those below to be concealed. The wall therefore belongs to a building set up some time during the period to which the objects in the upper stratum belong. Corinthian sherds were found both above and below the pavement in trench B, which is therefore possibly slightly later. The roof-tiles, mostly from trench B, are semicylindrical, and covered with a red or black glaze. One is from the eaves, and closed at the end, where it is painted with a pattern of semicircles. A piece of painted terracotta architecture ornament was also found. All these objects are probably remains of a temple erected in the seventh century, in which the great mass of objects found in this *stratum* were offered as votives. The campaign of 1907 will be mainly devoted to the full excavation of this building.

The Lead Figurines.

These were found in very great numbers, and the total already recovered from this small area may be estimated as at least ten thousand. They are characteristic of the district, and have been found at other Laconian sites. Thus the Sparta Museum contains specimens from the Amyclaeum and the Menelaum, as well as those from the Artemisium itself, which furnished the first clue to the discovery of the site. These earlier finds have been described, with a tabular list, by Mr. Wace, in the Catalogue of the Sparta Museum,[1] and Fig. 3 gives the more important types that have been found this year.

These are :—

(1) Wreaths or crowns. By far the commonest type, of which at least as many as all the rest put together, have been found. *S. M. C.* Fig. 79, No. 552, and Fig. 81.

(2) Figures of warriors in profile, with circular shields, which are sometimes decorated with heraldic devices. Fig. 3*f* and *S. M. C.* 552a, and Fig. 81. More rarely the warrior is shewn in the act of charging.

(3) Female figures.

[1] *Sparta Museum Catalogue*, p. 228.

FIG. 3.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM THE ARTEMISIUM. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

(4) Goddesses, generally a winged Artemis type (Fig 3*a*, and *S. M. C.* 552, 679). Athena with spear, helm, and snake-fringed *aegis* is shewn in Fig 3*c*; and *b* is a unique figure on a plaque holding two birds.

(5) Horse (Fig. 3*d*), cocks (Fig. 3*e*), and other animals. *S. M. C.* Fig. 79, No. 552a.

(9) Oblong grilles. *S. M. C.* Fig. 31, No. 552. The meaning of these is quite obscure. Examination shews that Dr. Rouse's suggestion,[1] that they were used to support figures of animals, is not tenable, probable as it seems judging from the illustrations, and from a comparison with the openwork bases of the bronze Geometric animals.

(7) Palm-branches. Fig. 3*h*, and *S. M. C.* Fig. 81, No. 552.

(8) Centaurs.

(9) Horseman. Fig. 3*g* shews an unusually large example.

(10) Men playing the flute or lyre. Fig. 3*j* is a man playing the double-flute furnished with a mouthstrap.

(11) Female type in the archaic running attitude Fig. 3*k*.

(12) Nude male figures.

(13) A great variety of less common types, jugs, sprays of flowers ornaments, and others. These will no doubt be greatly increased by further excavation.

The figures are all moulded on one side only, and the channel through which the metal was poured is very often left. In the case of the horseman in Fig. 3*g* it is very conspicuous above his head. From their enormous numbers they must have been the cheapest kind of votive offering. It may be noted that the female dress, consisting always of bodice and separate skirt, suits the archaic dating.

Terracotta Masks.

Of these some fifteen to twenty were found fairly complete (Pls. XI, XII), and there are a great number of fragments, which it will be possible partly at all events, to put together, when further excavation has given us all the material. They are found only in this *stratum*, and in all parts of the site, though they were especially abundant at the east end of trench A,

[1] Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 15, note 8.

where an enormous mass of them occurred. They were clearly dedicated objects, and were probably suspended from walls, a practice alluded to in a fragment of Aristophanes, as in use in the precinct of Dionysus at Athens.[1] Many were never anything else than votive offerings, as they are too small to have been worn, and the eyes, nose, and mouth are not pierced. Others, with open eyes and mouths, and pierced nostrils, may well have been worn by the actors in some ritual drama, and then dedicated. The holes often found at the edges have probably been used for strings to hold them in position on the face. They fall into a series of well marked types:—

(1) Large female masks wearing a diadem. These are generally a good deal painted, especially the diadem, which is picked out with vertical stripes of red paint.

(2) Satyric masks, with long, upright, bestial ears, and broad low faces, much wrinkled.

(3) Male masks, whose chief feature is that they have a full beard, spreading out from the jaws all round, giving much the appearance of the gold death-masks from Mycenae, but no moustache. They illustrate the Spartan edict, which imposed on the Spartans, besides obedience to the laws, the duty of shaving their moustaches.[2]

(4) Masks of elderly people with much wrinkled faces (Pl. XII, *c*). The wrinkles on the forehead and cheeks are often exaggerated to such a point, that realism becomes caricature.

(5) Masks of the grotesque type shewn in Pl. XI, *a*. The spirals on the cheek and jaws, and possibly the wrinkles in the last type, are probably marks of tattooing, and some of the painted examples shew marks, which can hardly be anything else. It does not follow that the Spartans of the seventh century tattooed their faces. Masks, used for a ritual purpose, would be likely to imitate in their decoration such a custom long after it had become obsolete in practice.

The specimen shown in Fig. 4, with its realistic and masterly modelling, stands rather apart from the others.[3]

The facial type is characterized by strongly marked features

[1] Quoted by Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 162.

[2] Κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις. Plut. 2. 550 B.

[3] For other masks on Pls. XI and XII see § 7.

prominent chin, and a high well formed nose, which tends to droop at the end.

Two of the terracotta masks found in graves in Samos[1] resemble these very closely. One has incised lines like the wrinkles in type 4 above, reminding Boehlau of tattooing, and the other has long ears and a

FIG. 4.—TERRACOTTA MASK FROM THE ARTEMISIUM.

broad low face with wide nostrils, like the Satyr masks of our type 2. Grotesque terracotta masks, dated to the sixth century, have been found in the Punic tombs at Dorumes, near Carthage.[2]

[1] J. Boehlau, *Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen*, p. 157 and Pl. XIII, 106.
[2] Moore, *Carthage of the Phoenicians*, p. 39 and Plate facing p. 36.

Bronzes.

The commonest bronze objects found are pins, like those found at Olympia, Aegina, and the Argive Heraeum, with the head formed by a large heavy disc.[1] It is the type that, according to Thiersch, is characteristic of the sixth century,[2] and an example in silver was found, like one in the British Museum from near the Argive Heraeum, with an inscription of this date.[3] Of the others, the most interesting are pieces of sheet-bronze, with an incised pattern imitating plaited strands, that was found at Olympia on fragments of shields, and regarded as Argive or Corinthian work of the sixth century.[4]

Objects in Ivory and Bone.

(1) Narrow strips of bone, generally pointed at one end, about ·10 m. long by ·02 m. wide, decorated on one side with patterns of concentric circles and dots in square panels, which are often edged with rows of triangles. One bears a figure of a man in the archaic running attitude very shallowly carved. These objects, whose use is unknown, were found also in the tomb by Matállas' mill mentioned above (*S. M. C.* 549, 4)

(2) A great number of knucklebones, some artificially flattened on the two opposite sides.

(3) Bone objects of the shape and about the size of thimbles, the top being a separate piece fitted on like a lid. They look like pieces for some game like draughts, an idea which is supported by the number of knucklebones, the most primitive kind of dice, that were found.[5]

(4) Pieces of long bones split in halves and pierced with a hole in the centre (*S. M. C.* 549, 3).

(5) Two four-sided ivory seals and a carved disc, possibly a lid, like those from the Argive Heraeum.[6] The seals are carved with intaglios of birds and beasts and, once, of a face.

[1] *Olympia*, iv. Pl. XXV, Nos. 481-485. *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pls. LXX-LXXIII, Nos. 384-669.

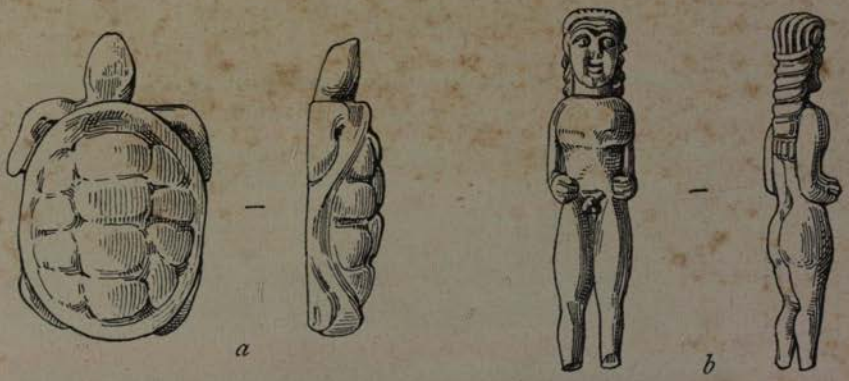
[2] *Aegina, Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Pl. 114, Nos. 41, 43, 50-52, and p. 114.

[3] *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. CXXXVII and *I.G.* iv. 508.

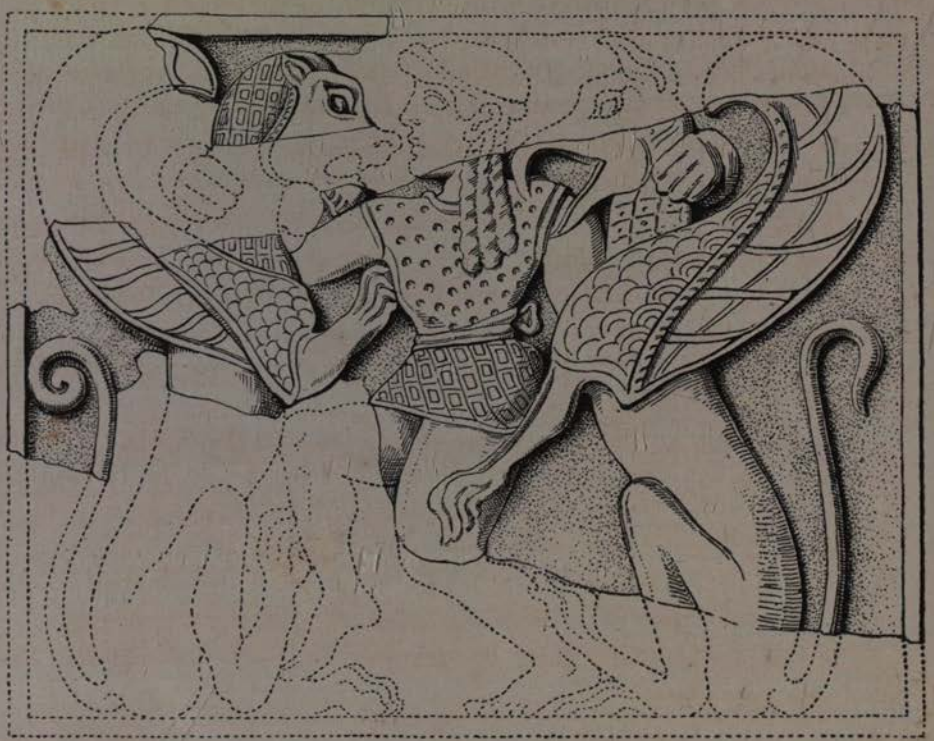
[4] *Olympia*, iv. Pl. LXII, Nos. 3009, 3, 1110 and Pl. XLII. No. 76.

[5] One was found by Matállas' mill, *S. M. C.* 549, 8, where it is catalogued as a mouthpiece.

[6] *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 351, Pl. CXXXIX, 1-3.



a *b*



c

FIG. 5.—IVORIES FROM THE ARTEMISIUM. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

(6) Various fine ivories, of which the best is shewn in Fig. 5*c*. It is a plaque, which when complete measured ·12 m. by about ·095 m., representing a man struggling with a lion and gryphon. Fig. 5*b* represents a small nude male figure, and *a* a tortoise, which was found in trench B, together with a turtle and a frog of the same size and material, but less well carved.[1]

Pottery.

A great quantity was found all over the deposit. The painted pieces, all a good deal broken, belong to the 'Old Corinthian' style, the second of the three classes under which Wilisch arranges Corinthian pottery.[2] It is marked by the yellow ground, the use of purple as a subsidiary colour, and representations of animals, rather than of the human figure. The drawing is sometimes helped out by incised lines. Both Wilisch and Walters[3] date this style to the middle of the seventh century B.C. As to shapes: the amount yet found only permits the statement that the aryballos is extremely common.

Besides this painted ware, which may very well have been imported, there were found great numbers of the small vases, specimens of which from Angelona have been published by Wace and Hasluck in *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 83 *sqq.* These were of a red clay, and the only decoration was on vases of the shape shewn in *B.S.A.* xi. p. 85, Fig. 6, No. 4, which often have thin bands of white on a black ground.

Specimens from the Menelaeum are described in the Sparta Museum Catalogue No. 553, and they have been found this year at the Heroön on the river above the Artemisium, and in trial-pits on the Acropolis.

These different wares were found indiscriminately in all parts of the *stratum*, all the objects in which seem therefore to be confined to one period. A close study of this pottery, which will give the best evidence for the date of the deposit, must be deferred until all the material has been made available.

[1] Three ivory plaques from Sparta carved with figures, two of a warrior and one of a woman, now at Dhimitzana have been published by G. C. Richards, *J.H.S.* XII, p. 41, Pl. XI.

[2] Wilisch, *Die Altkorinthische Thonindustrie*, p. 19.

[3] Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. p. 311; Wilisch, *op. cit.* p. 151.

Inscribed Reliefs.

Another class of dedication is represented by four specimens. These are small plaques of soft stone bearing an animal rather crudely carved in low relief. They are discussed on pp. 333 f.. For the inscriptions on two of them see p. 353.

A large number of iron spits were found, probably Spartan money. Owing to the dampness of the soil they are unfortunately much corroded.

After a second season it should be possible to date this deposit with some accuracy. At present the pottery suggests the seventh, and the inscriptions the sixth century B.C., though there is nothing to prevent these latter from being somewhat earlier. Nor is the pottery exactly like the usual Corinthian ware; it perhaps belongs to a local school continuing the earlier Corinthian tradition. The turn of the seventh and sixth centuries seems at present the most probable central date, although the accumulation of such a mass of objects must have taken some time.

R. M. DAWKINS.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 7.—THE CULT OF ORTHIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FINDS.

(PLATES X., XI., XII.)

THE resemblance of certain of the ivories to some in the Ephesus deposit makes it clear that they came from Asia. Close relations and exchange of gifts between Sparta and Lydia are recorded for the sixth century, and have been claimed for the seventh, the age of Alcman. Long ago Curtius pointed out certain affinities between the Lydian goddess of the Lake, Artemis Gygaea, and the Spartan Orthia.[1] Now that Mr. Hogarth has vindicated the Hellenic character of the early worship of Artemis at Ephesus, it becomes probable that the great Ionian sanctuary may have made its influence felt at Sparta as well as at Koloene. The road to Sardis was by Ephesus, and the road to Ephesus by Samos, and with Samos too we have links. The legend of the *xoanon* found in a thicket of *agnus castus* is common to the cult of Hera at Samos and of Orthia at Sparta. Again the best parallels for the Spartan masks have been found, as Mr. Dawkins has pointed out, in Samian tombs.

The lead figurines do not throw much light on the cult, since they seem to have been made in quantities for use at different shrines; at present, at any rate, it is hard to say with certainty which types refer to the worship of Orthia.[2] On the other hand they furnish invaluable

[1] *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, pp. 150 ff.

[2] Besides the winged goddess, the figure holding two water-birds (Fig. 3 *b*, p. 323 above) may be an Artemis. Cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, Taf. A.

evidence of the infiltration of Ionian and other elements into local art. We must turn therefore to the limestone carvings and the masks, both so far as we know peculiar to this sanctuary. But something must first be said of the goddess and her names.

Pausanias (iii. 16) quotes a story meant to explain these names: *καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὑρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν.* The λύγος or *Agnus castus* is a shrub with blue or white flowers which grows freely in the water-courses of Greece, and was probably more prominent than it now is, before the introduction of the oleander. By the Eurotas it sometimes attains the dimensions of a tree; the French Expedition measured one in the plain of Helos that was 8 m. high and had a trunk 20 cm. in diameter. That it was supposed at Sparta to possess medical virtues is certain; Asclepius was worshipped there under the name *ὁ Ἀγνίτας* because, says Pausanias (iii. 14. 7), his xoanon was made of *agnus*-wood. What those virtues were we may judge from the sections devoted to *agnus* in the medical writers. It was efficacious in a variety of disorders; the idea that it diminished sexual desire seems to have been of secondary importance.[1]

The association of both Orthia and Asclepius with this tree at Sparta may be illustrated by the fact that at Epidaurus Asclepius was sometimes called Orthios and Artemis, Orthia.[2] Whether or no Pausanias was right in taking *ὀρθία* = *ὀρθή* as the original meaning, it is probable that when these titles were instituted at Epidaurus the epithet had acquired the sense of *Ὀρθωσία*, explained as denoting her who raises up or makes sound[3]; it seems to have had a special reference to child-birth. The evidence at Sparta goes to shew that from the first, Orthia was a goddess to whom women and men alike did service. In one aspect she was nearly akin to Eilithyia, for whom a precinct was built near the Artemisium by command of the Delphic oracle; in another she was identified with the Huntress, the goddess of the chase and of war.

[1] Dioscorides, i. 134, Galen, xi. 807, Pliny, xxiv. 59–63, Aelian, *Nat. An.* ix. 26. Cf. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 47.

[2] Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 38, 147, 155.

[3] See Roscher, p. 1212, *s.v. Orthia* (Höfer) for a collection of the ancient explanations. *Schol. vet.* Pind. *Ol.* iii. 54 *Ὀρθωσίᾳ . . . τῇ ὀρθούσῃ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῶν τοκετῶν ἀγούσῃ . . . ὀρθοῖ τοὺς γεννωμένους.* In a general sense *Schol. ad* Plat. *Leg.* p. 450 *τῆς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνορθούσης*, etc. But the reference to women and children is more frequent.

The *Parthenion* of Alcman, an ode to Artemis Orthia, sung by one of several competing choirs, is evidence that in the seventh century she claimed the allegiance of Spartan women.[1] From an inscription discovered last year, the dedication of a rudely carved horse, it appears that one of her titles was Parthenos (Fig. 1). This enables us to claim for the cult of Orthia an ancient festival at which cakes in the form of breasts were carried in procession and a choir of women sang a hymn in honour of the Maiden.[2] We have the echo of such a hymn in the *Lysistrata* (1262), where the Spartan women invoke her with the words *ἀγρότερ' Ἄρτεμι σηροκτόνε μόλε δεῦρο, πάρσενε σιά.* As *Ἀγροτέρα*, the Huntress, she was also a man's goddess. The huntsman made his prayer at dawn to Apollo and Artemis Agrotera before loosing his hounds; the Spartan king sacrificed to her on the battle-field before bidding his pipers sound the charge.[3] Since hunting was accounted the best training for war, it is not surprising to find the ephebi at Athens as well as at Sparta doing homage to Artemis Agrotera.[4] These two titles belong to the old Homeric conception and do not denote different cults. An epigram found at the Artemisium in northern Euboea named her *Παρθένος ἀγροτέρα.*[5] The women in the Lysistrata invoke her by both names. A men's drinking-song calls her *ἐλαφηβόλον ἀγροτέραν Ἄρτεμιν, ἃ γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος.*[6] And the dedications of horse and hound, which I have next to describe, were made, if we may judge from a single inscription, by men or boys to the Maiden Orthia.

Limestone Reliefs and Statuettes.

Portions of three horses carved in soft limestone were found in the archaic stratum,[7] which Mr. Dawkins has described (p. 381). The most complete

[1] Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici*, iii. pp 23–44; Diels, *Hermes* xxxi. pp. 339–374.

[2] Athen. xiv. 646 A *κριβάνας πλακοῦντάς τινας ὀνομαστικῶς Ἀπολλόδωρος παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι. ὁμοίως καὶ Σωσίβιος ἐν γ' περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς εἶναι φάσκων αὐτούς, χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς Λάκωνας πρὸς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιάσεις, περιφέρειν τ' αὐτούς, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ᾄδειν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον ἐγκώμιον τῆς Παρθένου αἱ ἐν τῷ χορῷ ἀκόλουθοι.*

[3] Xen. *Cyneg.* vi. 13; *Hell.* iv. 2. 20, etc.

[4] A procession of Ephebi *ἐν ὅπλοις* in honour of Artemis Agrotera, *C.I.A.* ii. 471.

[5] Lolling, *Athen. Mitt.* viii. 202.

[6] Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici* iii. 644, from Ath. 694 C.

[7] Several unfinished carvings in the same material were found at the same time, which makes it probable that they are all of local workmanship. Of finished figures, besides the one described in the text, the best is a crouching goblin with grotesque features and hunched back.

(Fig. 1) bears the dedicatory inscription *Ἐπανίδας ταῖ Πα(ρ)[θένοι ἀνέ]θ(ε)κε Fορθά[ι*, written *boustrophedon*. The variant *Fορθά* for *Fορθεία* is remarkable[1] and need not of necessity be a slip, although the omission of a letter in the previous word and the feeble writing shew that like the carving it was done by an unskilled hand—perhaps a boy's. *ἡ λύγος*, says Pausanias, *ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν*. One of the images of Artemis Brauronia is described in the list of her votive robes as *τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ὀρθόν* or *τὸ ἑστηκός*, the upright or standing, as distinguished from the older seated figure, *τὸ ἕδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον* or *τὸ λίθινον*.[2] So the image in the Limnaeum may have been distinguished as the upright, *Ὀρθία* or *Ὀρθά*, from the seated image in some rival sanctuary. By a natural transition *Ὀρθία* would acquire the meaning also

FIG. 1.—LIMESTONE RELIEF OF HORSE WITH ARCHAIC INSCRIPTION. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

of *Ὀρθωσία*, 'she who makes upright,'[3] she who raises up women from child-bed and makes their children straight and strong[4]; hence the cults

[1] An inscription found this year suggests *Fορθω[ίαι* as a possible reading, cf. p. 353.

[2] *C.I.A.* ii. 758 and Robert, *Archäol. Märchen*, pp. 150 ff. Paus. x. 38. 5 saw at Amphissa *Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν*, said to have been brought from Troy, *ἀρχαιότερον καὶ ἀργότερον τὴν τέχνην*.

[3] The title of Dionysus *Ὀρθός* at Athens was explained in this way; Amphictyon learned from Dionysos how to mix wine with water, *διὸ καὶ ὀρθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πίνοντας, πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου καμπτομένους* (Philochorus *ap.* Ath. 38 c). But in its origin the epithet was no doubt simply descriptive of an image.

[4] See the Scholia quoted on p. 332, note 3 above. The punishment of those who incur the wrath of Artemis is described in Callimachus' Hymn to her, 126

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἢ βληταὶ θνήισκουσι λεχωΐδες ἠὲ φυγοῦσαι
τίκτουσιν τῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ σφυρὸν ὀρθὸν ἀνέστη.

of Epidaurus. Temples of Artemis were numerous in Laconia, and the goddess of this sanctuary was commonly known by her distinctive name, Orthia, just as Athena Alea appears on a tile-stamp (§ 8. No. 11) simply as Alea.

Mr. Farnell, to whose treatment of the cults of Artemis I am much indebted, believes that 'a singularly wild and barbaric character attached to the worship and the idol' of Orthia; 'the idea always prevailed that this goddess craved human blood'; 'we cannot find any other ground for the connexion between Artemis Ὀρθία or Ὀρθωσία, in Laconia and other places, and the Tauric Artemis, than the similarity of the traditional shape of their images and the survival of certain cruel rites.'[1] But there is little or no ground for the assumption that cruel rites formed part of the worship

FIGS. 2 AND 3.—LIMESTONE RELIEFS, HORSE AND HOUND. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

of Orthia or Orthosia at places other than Sparta; and at Sparta the story of human sacrifice was invented to explain the flogging, itself a somewhat late perversion of the Lycurgan discipline. The antiquity of the idol and the fact that the goddess of Tauris was also known as ἡ Παρθένος were sufficient to suggest the identification when once, as Robert has shown,[2] the influence of Euripides had made such claims fashionable.

The relief of Epanidas, the most complete of the series, has a square hole through it, which shews that these little limestone plaques were meant to be affixed to a wall. Another fragment gives the hind part of a horse in the same childish style; another (Fig. 2) a horse's head carved with knowledge and decision by someone familiar with the artistic

[1] *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. p. 453.

[2] *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 148. On the significance of the title παρθένος see Farnell, *op. cit.* pp. 442–9.

methods of Ionia. The arched neck, almond-shaped eye, and sweeping incisions of the mane, are in the correct manner of the day, and the few letters visible below the muzzle (see p. 353, No. 2) are firmly cut. The dog (Fig. 3) is again by an unskilled hand but not without character. The type represented is unlike the Laconian hound described by Aristotle and Xenophon, which had a long nose, and was lightly built.[1] This dog has short, perhaps cropped, ears, a short square muzzle, very thick neck and legs and a long upturned tail. But for the collar on the neck it might almost be a lioness. Just such a heavy mastiff-like dog is represented on a slab from the palace of Assurbanipal, reproduced by Conrad Keller in his *Abstammung der ältesten Haustiere* (p. 73) as evidence for the derivation of the Molossian hound from the Thibetan. It is difficult to accept his arguments—he would derive the Molossian breed of Epirus from specimens obtained by Alexander the Great on his way to India,[2]—but there is no reason why some of the hounds that were used in Assyria in the seventh century should not have been imported into Lacedaemon during this period of close intercourse with Ionia.

A headless statuette in the same material and of about the same date is shown in Fig. 4. It represents a man or woman wrapped in a mantle with thick corded hem, which is fastened across the chest with a pin. The hair falls over the back in a solid mat, without subdivision. The left hand is raised and projects from a fold of the mantle. One would unhesitatingly describe the figure as male were it not that below the mantle there appears a cylindrical base which might represent a feminine *chiton*. The feet are not indicated, and there is little modelling except in the hollow of the back.[3] Very close parallels, so far as the costume is concerned, are furnished by some archaic statuettes discovered in 1902 by Dr. Kourouniotes at the sanctuary of Pan, near Mount Lycaon in Arcadia.[4] Two of the bronzes

[1] Arist. *Gen. An.* v. 2, Xen. *Cyneg.* iv. cf. x. 1 and 4. Two hounds of this type, in terracotta and bronze, were among the dedications to Artemis at Lusoi, *Jahresh.* iv. pp. 44, 48.

[2] Aristotle speaks of the Molossian as an established breed, *Hist. An.* ix. 14. On the other hand Xenophon recommends Indian hounds for boar-hunting (*Cyneg.* x. 1).

[3] The outline of the right arm is seen under the mantle, extended down the right side. The figure is only a three-quarter length, being cut short a little below the knees; its cylindrical lower portion may be compared with the shaft of a herm.

[4] I am indebted to Dr. Kourouniotes for an opportunity of examining these interesting unpublished figures. Their numbers in the Athens Museum are 13057, 13059, 13060; 13078 is the upper part of a terracotta statuette of similar type. See Πρακτικά, 1902, p. 74, and *B.C.H.* xxvii. (1903) Pls. VII.–IX. p. 300, where M. Perdrizet publishes three statuettes found on this site before Dr. Kourouniotes' excavation.

represent men muffled from head to foot in mantles; neither hands nor feet are seen. A third wears a shorter mantle, falling to the knees, and has both hands raised to his chest. The mantle in each case is fastened at the neck with a pin, which has a large disc-shaped head.[1] Another bronze, representing a bearded man wearing a conical felt hat and scanty cloak with the same pin-fastening, which has recently found its way to an English collection, must have come from the same shrine of Pan near the

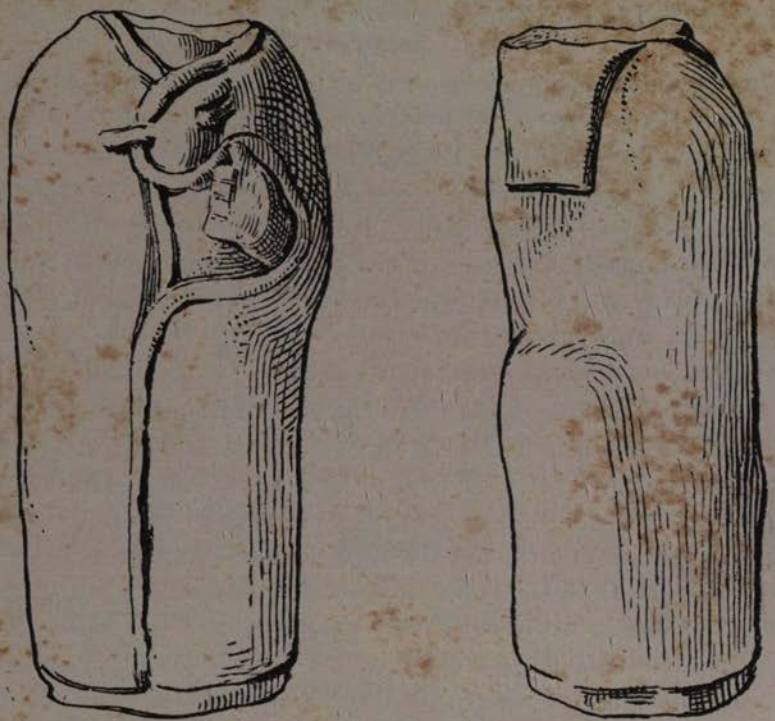


FIG. 4.—LIMESTONE STATUETTE. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

sources of the Neda.[2] In publishing it Professor Studniczka has discussed the Arcadian dress and the Arcadian style of the whole group. In the muffled figures he sees worshippers who had themselves portrayed in the warm wraps which they wore on their pilgrimage to the mountain-shrine. Such coverings have at all times been necessary among the snow-moun-

[1] The head of the pin on our statuette was (as on the bronzes) to the spectator's right, but has been broken or worn away.

[2] *Athen. Mitt.* xxx. Pl. IV. p. 65, with inscription Φαυλέας ἀνέθυσε τῷ Πανί.

tains of the Peloponnese; this woollen *chlaina* may have been as characteristic of the Arcadian of that day as is the stiff round capote of the modern Greek mountaineer. Our Spartan figure probably represents a worshipper in his winter cloak from one of the villages in Taygetus.

Terracotta Masks.

The masks found in the Artemisium form a series of exceptional interest. They differ from the terracottas of the 'funeral mask' or *protome* type, so widely diffused over the Greek world, in that they imitate masks meant to be worn, and may in some cases have been worn themselves; the eyes are always perforated, and in most cases the nostrils and mouth also. Elsewhere, terracottas of a kind in demand for votive purposes were often reproduced mechanically from moulds, so that in the course of generations the patterns changed but little. Here on the other hand a large proportion of the masks are the result of free modelling, and there is a great variety of types, representing not only the work of many hands but a process of evolution extending over several centuries.

There can be little doubt that they were dedicated to Orthia. It is true that Strabo mentions *τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐν Λίμναις*,[1] but no dedication or tile bearing his name has been found, and the masks are found on both sides of the temple which is identified by numerous inscriptions as that of Orthia. Although the mask was far more frequently used in the service of Dionysus than in that of any other god, there are traces of its use in other cults, and among others, in those of Apollo and Artemis in Laconia. Pollux (iv. 104) speaking of Laconian dances says: *καὶ βαρυλλικά, τὸ μὲν εὕρημα Βαρυλλίχου, προσωρχοῦντο δὲ γυναῖκες Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.* Hesychius gives further information about what seems to be the same group of dances.: *βρυδαλίγα· πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον περιτίθεται καὶ γυναικεῖα ἱμάτια ἐνδέδυται, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς μαχρὰς (? μαχλάδας) βρυλλίχας καλοῦσι Λάκωνες παρὰ τὸ γελοῖον καὶ αἰσχρόν. ὁ Ῥίνθων τὴν ὀρχήστριαν.*[2] Again *βρυλλιχισταί· οἱ αἰσχρὰ προσωπεῖα περιτιθέμενοι γυναικεῖα καὶ ὕμνους ᾄδοντες.*

What was the nature of these masks? Hesychius has three words

[1] *Strabo*, viii. p. 363. Compare p. 308 above, note 1.

[2] The text is uncertain; cf. van Herwerden, *Lex. Suppletorium*, and the glosses in Hesychius on *βρυαλίκται*, *βυλλίχαι*, etc. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 184 ff. discusses these dances at length.

κύνθιον, κυλίνθιον and κύριθρα, which he explains as προσωπεῖον ξύλινον or προσωπεῖα ξύλινα, and also κυριττοί· οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ ξύλινα πρόσωπεια κατὰ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἑορτάζοντες τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ γελοιασταί. Now Artemis Korythalia had a temple at Sparta near the brook Tiassus (Athen. iv. 139) to which male children were brought by their nurses at a festival called Τιθηνίδια; her title is derived from κορυθάλη, the Dorian equivalent of the εἰρεσιώνη. She was therefore a goddess of childhood and vegetation and in both respects near akin to Orthia. Hesychius has another name, κορυθαλίστριαι· αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεᾷ, from which we learn that these dances, like the βαρυλλικά, were danced by women or else by men in masks. In the one case we are told that the men wore ugly feminine masks, in the other only that the masks were of wood. The statements about the κυριττοί relate to Italy, probably to Dorian colonies which had brought the cult and dances with them. We hear of orgiastic dances in honour of Artemis at Dera in Taygetus, at Caryae on the Arcadian frontier, and in Elis where the goddess was called Kordax and the dance was explained as of Lydian origin—which means that it resembled the posturings of so-called Λυδῶν κόραι in honour of Artemis at Ephesus.[1] Alcman's *Parthenion* (64 ff.) describes the purple robes and golden jewellery and Lydian head-dresses which the receptive Sparta of that day was borrowing from the East, and long afterwards we hear of a πομπὴ Λυδῶν which followed the scourging of the ephebi at the festival of Orthia. But though these external trappings may have been borrowed from Lydia and Ionia, though with the introduction of Lydian music the native dances may have been modified, it is plain that there was a substratum of primitive Peloponnesian religion, in which a great nature-goddess was propitiated with traditional uncouth rites. In the meadows near the mouth of the Alpheus stood a temple of Artemis Alpheaea, among surroundings not unlike those of the Spartan Artemisium; here it was said that at an all-night festival, παννυχίς, Artemis and her nymphs had daubed their faces with clay in order to baffle the amorous pursuit of Alpheus.[2] Here we have masking in its most primitive form, for the purpose of disguise and protection. A study of the masks from the Artemisium will shew that this was their original intention. Just as the priest of Demeter

[1] See the passages quoted by Diels, *Hermes* xxx. p. 362, Meineke, *Fr. Com. Gr.* i. 270, and Arist. *Clouds*, 598.

[2] Paus. vi. 22. 5.

Kidaria at Pheneus in Arcadia put on a mask when at the mysteries he smote 'the underground folk' with rods[1]—a rite evidently intended to promote the fertility of the earth—so the worshippers of Artemis originally donned these masks lest in drawing near to the powers whose energy they wished to awake some harm should befall them.

The earliest of the masks so far discovered at Sparta are of the Gorgon's head type (Plates X. and XI., *a*.) The former is painted in Corinthian style and may perhaps reproduce the angular lines of a clumsy wooden original.[2] The tongue-pattern on the forehead is alternately black

FIG. 5.—UPPER PART OF TERRACOTTA MASK. (SCALE 3:8.)

and purple, purple being used also for the lips and the tongue. The upper lip is shaved in true Spartan fashion, the chin covered by a pointed beard. A beard surrounding the lower part of the chin is not uncommon on early

[1] Paus. viii. 15. 1, and Frazer's note. The name Kidaria is no doubt derived from the dance κίδαρις, Athen. xiv. 631 D.

[2] Height ·155 m. Thickness ·01 to ·016. Breadth inside ·07, consequently too small for actual use except by a child. Crisp reddish micaceous clay, pale yellow slip, deep brown glaze-paint; purple added on alternate labels of diadem, line round lips, and tongue. Incisions made before laying on slip or paint—between labels, above and below eyebrows, round the eyes to indicate lashes, and in beard. The dot-and-circle ornaments on the brow were first impressed with a round tipped instrument, then painted; similar impressions on the cheeks were left without colour. Six string-holes, in top of diadem, tip of beard, and two on either side. A central tooth which rested on the tongue has been broken away.

Gorgon-heads.[1] The ears were probably pointed; they are set high and must have projected above the diadem.

The smaller Gorgon figured on Pl. XI., *a* is of interest for the spiral *tatu*-like markings on the cheeks, recalling Maori faces. The very rudely modelled mask on the same Plate (XI., *b*) might at first sight seem older than the two Gorgon-heads, but it is an example of hasty rather than primitive workmanship. The convention of representing the mouth as having lost several teeth is already established, and remains a constant feature. The large nose is characteristic of most of the male heads.

Hasty or careless workmanship is the exception. Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 are examples of carefully modelled masks, probably of the latter part of the sixth century, in which the arrangement of the hair, in the one case of a

FIG. 6.—UPPER PART OF TERRACOTTA MASK. (SCALE 3:8.)

bearded man, in the other of a woman, is shewn in detail. The treatment of the eye in Fig. 5 is common in the masks of this period; in some cases the white of the eye is painted the natural colour, giving a very life-like effect. As might be expected at Sparta, where the women were not pent up at home like those of Ionia and Athens, their skin, when colour is used, is represented as pink rather than white.

The three masks on Plate XII. illustrate a later and freer stage. It is often difficult to decide whether the heads are those of old men or old women. Thus *c*, which with its high bald forehead has the look of a philosopher, has only to be covered with a hood to become the thin kindly face of an old woman. It is difficult to put these heads as late as the

[1] See instances in Roscher, *s.v.* Gorgonen, pp. 1707, 1718 (Furtwängler).

latter part of the fourth century, when the fashion of shaving the beard became common, and the evidence of Hesychius regarding the use of 'ugly feminine masks' is in favour of regarding them as those of old women. Plate XII., *d*, is a very delicately modelled mask, the clay being no thicker than pasteboard; the hollow nose and large orifices adapt it for actual use.

The masks just described have no very exaggerated facial markings, but on many of those representing old women, the whole surface is a mass of wrinkles; Fig. 8 is not an extreme instance. In others, such as Fig. 7, these lines are more like cicatrices than wrinkles, and probably represent tattooing such as may have survived among the Helots or been seen on the faces of imported slaves. The dreadful face of the *crétin* (Pl. XII., *e*) is an

FIGS. 7 AND 8.—WRINKLED MASKS. (SCALE 3:8.)

extraordinary piece of realistic modelling; the distorted mouth and cheeks and the goître on the neck are accurately observed. Of this pathological realism we have no other instance. Like the splendid head figured and described by Mr. Dawkins on p. 326, it seems to be the result of a sudden impulse, an isolated offering made by a modeller of consummate skill.

Of milder realism there are many examples, passing into caricature. The original apotropaic intention of the ugly Gorgon masks makes itself felt to the last in these grotesque faces with enormous noses, such as startled the spectators of the *Clouds*.[1]

[1] *Schol. Nubes*, 343 αὗται δὲ ῥῖνας ἔχουσιν. Εἰσεληλύθασι γὰρ οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ προσωπεῖα περικείμενοι μεγάλας ἔχοντα ῥῖνας καὶ ἄλλως γελοῖα καὶ ἀσχήμονα.

It must be remembered that Sparta had its own type of comedy of which Sosibius, writing in the third century B.C. has left a description. The *δικηλιστής*, as the comic actor was called, produced his effects by the simplest means; he would mimic boys stealing fruit, always a popular adventure at Sparta, or the formal phrases of a foreign doctor—just such improvisations as are sometimes introduced as interludes between the dances at a modern Cretan *πανήγυρις*.[1] The same writer tells us of a

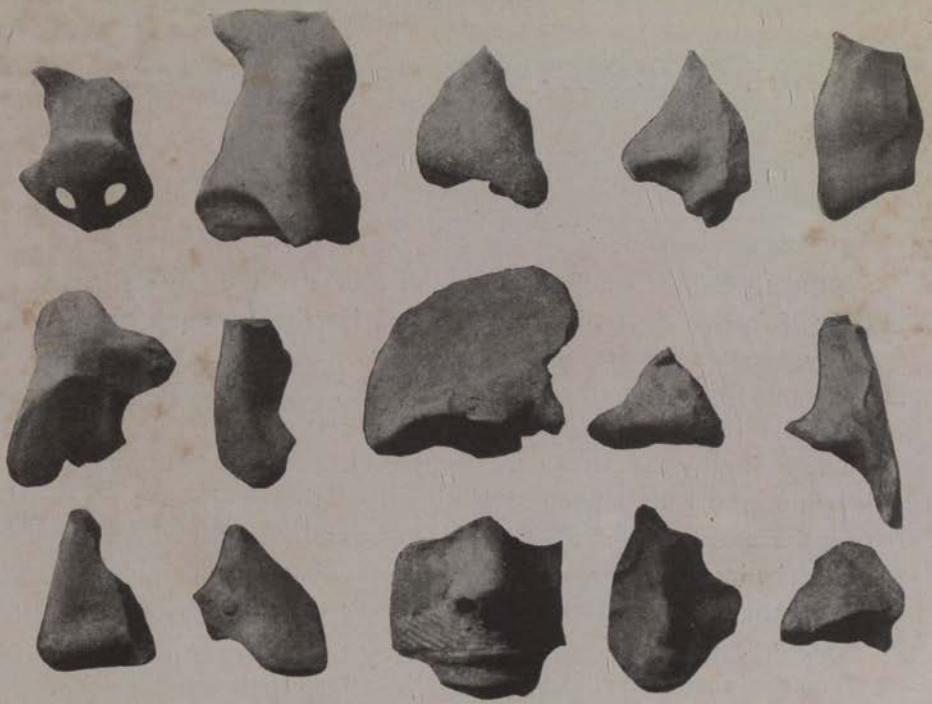


FIG. 9.—NOSES FROM MASKS. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

statue of Laughter said to have been set up by Lycurgus himself, who encouraged mirth at proper seasons, as a sweetener of toil.[2] Certainly the masks from the sanctuary of Orthia suggest that her festivals were scenes of rustic merriment far removed from the austerity of the later scourgings.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

[1] Sosibius *ap.* Athen. 621 D *παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις τρόπος παλαιός, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, οὐκ ἄγαν σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ κἀν τούτοις τὸ λιτὸν τῆς Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούσης. ἐμιμεῖτο γάρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντάς τινας ὀπώραν ἢ ξενικὸν ἰατρὸν τοιαυτὶ λέγοντα κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Sosibius *ap.* Plut. *Lycurg.* 25.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 8.—THE STAMPED TILES.

DURING the excavations along the course of the city wall a great number of fragments of tiles with stamped inscriptions were found. The majority, about a hundred in all, including several examples of the same stamp, came from the well by the Heroön (cf. p. 286). Many were found on the line of the wall further south, and many more in the Artemisium: a few by the Altar[1] and in trial-pits north of the carriage road. It is by no means uncommon to find inscribed tiles in Greece; but in this respect the excavations at Sparta have so far easily surpassed all previous finds.[2] The inscriptions are for the most part easy to read and intelligible, and fall into different classes, which in their turn sub-divide themselves into varieties.

The tiles themselves, like most ancient Greek tiles, seem to have been semicircular in section. They are always covered on one side by a glaze which varies from red to black-brown. The stamp is impressed on the glazed side, as a rule once, but in some cases twice. To judge by the broken letters and lines of graining visible in some examples, the stamp with which the letters were impressed was of wood.[3] The object of

[1] Described in § 4 of this Report.

[2] It is interesting to note that Laconian tiles were specified to be used in repairs to the walls of the Piraeus, *I.G.* II. i. 167, 6. 69.

[3] Perhaps the *τύπος ξύλινος κεραμίδων* of the Delian inventory was such a stamp: *B.C.H.* 1882, p. 48, l. 172. Paris (*Élatée*, p. 116) thinks the stamp was cut in the mould: it is not yet certain if this was the case at Sparta.

glazing the tiles sometimes inside and sometimes outside, was to fit them for the method of roofing used, in which the edges of two tiles lying on their backs, are covered by another with its back upwards. A few samples of square *imbrices* and flat tiles have been found, but not enough to enable their use to be determined.

In the following list only the most important inscriptions are given. Those that are doubtful, or too incomplete to be restored with any degree of certainty, are omitted, since future excavations may yield more complete specimens. None of the tile-stamps described in the following pages can be said to date from the Imperial period, with the possible exception of type **20**. The rest probably belong to the last two centuries before Christ.

CLASS A.

1.	ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝΔΑΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝΑΔΑΜΑΡΧΙΔΑ [1]	Moenium publicorum (tegula), redemptore Damarchida.
2.	ΔΑΜΟΣ[ΙΟΣ] ΤΕΙΧΙΩΝ(ΔΙ) [2]	Publica (tegula), Moenium, Di[- - - -] (redemptore).
3.	[ΙƎΤ]ΣΟΙΣΟΜΑΔ [ΥΟϘΔΝ]ΑΣΥΛΝΩƎΧ [3]	Publica (tegula) moenium, Lysandro (redemptore).
4.	ϕΙΛΟΔΑΜ[ΟΥΤΕΙΧΕ] ΩΝΔΑΜ[ΟΣΙΟΣ] [4]	Philodamo (redemptore), moenium publica (tegula).
5.	ΔΑΜΟCΙΟCΤΕΙ ΧΕΩΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ [5]	Publica (tegula) moenium, Antiocho (redemptore).
6.	ΔΑΜΟCΙΟCΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝΑΕΥΑΜΕΡΟΥ [6]	Publica (tegula) moenium, redemptore Euamero.
7.	ΔΑΜΟCΙΟΙΤЄΙΧ ЄΩΝCΩΤΗΡΙΔ [7]	Publicae (tegulae) moenium, Soterida (redemptore).

[1] Ten specimens all from the well, Inv. Nos. 2342, 2343+2387, 2354, 2355, 2382, 2388, 2401, 2420, 2425, 2434.

[2] Five specimens from the well, Inv. Nos. 2340, 2341, 2347, 2353, 2463.

[3] Three specimens from the well, all from the same stamp, Inv. Nos. 2338, 2344, 2427.

[4] One specimen from the well, Inv. No. 2433.

[5] Two specimens from the same stamp, from the well, Inv. Nos. 2352, 2416+2422.

[6] Thirteen specimens, most from the same stamp, from the well, Inv. Nos. 2337, 2339, 2345, 2346, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2436, 2456.

[7] Two specimens from same stamp, both from the well, Inv. Nos. 2442, 2458.

8. [ΔΑΜΟCΙΟC]ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ
[ΕΡΓΩΝΑΜΕΛ]Α(ΝΙ)ΠΠΟΥ [1]
Publica (tegula) moenium, redemptore Melanippo.

9. [ΔΑ]ΜΟCΙΟCΤΕΙΧ
[ΕΩΝ]ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC [2]
Publica (tegula) moenium, Dionysius (redemptor).

The tiles bearing these inscriptions were without doubt made expressly for the city walls. The formula mentions that the tile was state property, the public work for which the tile was intended, and the name of the contractor. None of the contractors are otherwise known except Euamerus, whose name occurs also on bricks made for the Skanotheke.[3] Tiles or bricks stamped as state property have been found at Sparta,[4] Megalopolis,[5] Pergamum,[6] Eretria,[7] Tanagra,[8] Tegea,[9] Athens,[10] Piraeus,[11] Elataea,[12] Mantineia,[13] and the Argive Heraeum.[14] Tiles specially made for the city walls have hitherto only been found at Pergamum.[15]

CLASS B.

10. ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΣΤΕ
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΠΡΑ [16]
(Stamp complete)
Publica (tegula) moenium (ex officina) Athenae, Pra[tolao] (redemptore)

11. ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΣΤΕΙΧΕ
ΩΝΑΛΕΑΣΑΦΡ[ΟΔΙ]
ΣΙΟΥΕΠΙΑΡΧΙΑΔΑ [17]
Publica (tegula) moenium (ex officina) Aleae, (redemptore) Aphrodisio, patronomo Archiada.

[1] Four specimens, all from same stamp, whose wooden character is most marked; three are from the well, the fourth (2470) from a hill by Magoula, where it is possible to conjecture that the wall ran, Inv. Nos. 2384, 2437, 2444, 2470. The beginning of the same is perhaps to be found in two fragments both from the same stamp (one (2385) from the well, the other (2471) from the same hill at Magoula) which read $\frac{\Delta\Lambda M}{\epsilon\,P\,\Gamma}$.

[2] One specimen, Inv. No. 2398, from the well.

[3] Inv. No. 2078. [4] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* 712.

[5] Gardner and others, *Megalopolis*, pp. 140, 4.

[6] Fränkel, *Inschriften v. P.* ii. Nos. 724, 728.

[7] Richardson *ap.* Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, i. p. 218, 4.

[8] Paris, *Élatée*, p. 112, 10. [9] *Athen. Mitt.* 1879, p. 144.

[10] *B.C.H.* 1888, p. 356. [11] *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 209, 4.

[12] Paris, *Élatée*, p. 113. [13] Fougères, *Mantinée*, p. 539.

[14] Richardson, *op. cit.* p. 217. [15] Fränkel, *op. cit.* ii. No. 645, inscribed ΤΕΙΧΩΝ only.

[16] Three specimens, Inv. Nos. 2214, 2370, 2408; the two latter from the same stamp. One (2214) is from the altar, the other two from the well.

[17] Six specimens, all from the same stamp, Inv. Nos. 2293, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2414, 2426. Two, 2293 and 2414, which are stamped twice, are from the wall north of the altar, the others from the well.

This second class of tile-stamps, though including only two varieties, is more important. One (**10**) mentions in addition to the contractor and the public work for which the tile was destined, the factory where it was made, that of Athena. The abbreviation of ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ to ΤΕ is unusual: the expansion of ΠΡΑ to ΠΡΑΤΟΛΑΟΥ is merely conjectural; any other name beginning with Πρα would suit. The other (**11**) whose formula is yet fuller, gives the year, indicated by the name of the eponymous patronomus Archiadas (unfortunately not otherwise known [1]), and further specifies the factory by calling it that of Alea [2]: which seems to mean that tile-works [3] were attached to, and formed part of the endowment of, the sanctuary of Athena Alea. This sanctuary stood on the bank of the Eurotas near a bridge, on the road to Therapne.[4] At the present day there are tile-works near the river bank, in a line between Sparta and Therapne, but there is as yet no reason to assume that the shrine of Athena Alea stood here.

CLASS C.

12. [ΔΑΜΟΣΙ]ΟΣ — Publica (tegula)
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΑΥ [5] — Athenae (ex officina), Au [- - - -] (redemptore).

13. [ΔΑ]ΜΟΣΙΟΣ — Publica (tegula)
[ΑΘ]ΑΝΑΣΝΙ [6] — Athenae (ex officina), Ni [- - - -] (redemptore).

14. [Δ]ΑΜΟΣΙΟΣ [Σ] — Publica (tegula)
[Α]ΘΑΝΑΣΠΟΛΥΚ[ΛΗ] [7] — Athenae (ex officina), Polycles (redemptor).

15. ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΣ Σ — Publica (tegula)
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΦΙΛΟΚΛΗ [8] — Athenae (ex officina), Philocles (redemptor).

[1] See the lists given by Boeckh in the *C.I.G.* i. pp. 606 f., and by Le Bas-Foucart, p. 109. Some of the Elataea tiles are dated in the same way, v. Paris, *Élatée*, pp. 113 *seqq.*

[2] For the use of Alea to denote Athena Alea compare the *'ιν 'Αλέαι* of the Tegea inscription, *B.C.H.* 1889, p. 281; v. also Fougères, *Mantinée*, p. 288.

[3] At Priene the State owned tile-works; for tiles inscribed ΠΟΛΕΩΣ and ΔΡΟΜΩΝΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ were found there; Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften v.P.*, 359, 9, 10, 26, 27.

[4] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 27; Pausanias, iii. 19. 7.

[5] One specimen, Inv. No. 2371, from the well.

[6] Two specimens, Inv. Nos. 2281, 2430; the first from trial pits north of the carriage road, the other from the well.

[7] One specimen, Inv. No. 2454, from the Heroön.

[8] Six specimens, Inv. Nos. 2377, 2368, 2423, 2424, 2435, 2438, 2446+2453, all from the same stamp, and from the well.

16. ΔΑΜΟCΙΟC — Publica (tegula)
ΑΘΑΝΑCΦΙΛ[1] — Athenae (ex officina), Phil[ocles] (redemptor).

17. ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΣ — Publica (tegula)
ΑΘΑΝΑΣ[2] — Athenae (ex officina).

The formula on this class is less full, and only states that the tiles were made for public works at the factory of Athena. In most varieties the name of the contractor is also added, either in full or in abbreviation. The name ΦΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ in No. **15**, confirms Tod's conjecture that the stamps of type **16**, found by Ross at Sparta, should be completed ΦΙΛΟΚΛΗC and not ΦΙΛΟC as Ross suggested.[3] Though these tiles were not made expressly for the city wall, yet they were extensively used for it. Stamps of type **17**, are common all along its course, and of type **16**, seven examples out of eight were found on the line of the wall by the Heroön.

CLASS D.

18. ΙΕΡΟΙ
ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ[4] — Sacrae (tegulae) Orthiae.

19. ΒΩΡΘΕΙΑΣ
ΙΕΡΟΙ[5] — Orthiae (tegulae) sacrae.

20. ΒΟΡ[Θ]ΕΙΑCΙΑΡΟΙ[6] — Orthiae (tegulae) sacrae.

21. ΕΛΕΥΣΙΑ[7] — Eileithyia.
(Incomplete stamp.)

[1] Eight specimens, Inv. Nos. 2228, 2240, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2272, 2273, 2450; the first seven from the line of the wall by the Heroön, the other from the well: cf. Ross, *Inscrr. Graec. Ined.* i. 50.

[2] Forty-nine certain specimens of this stamp have been found at the Heroön, the Artemisium, the Theatre, and elsewhere: the majority have so far been discovered on the line of the city wall.

[3] *S.M.C.* p. 28.

[4] Twelve specimens, Inv. Nos. 2127, 2192, 2278, 2329, and 2407 are from the same stamp; 2334 is from a different stamp; the rest are uncertain 2313, 2315, 2321, 2322, 2331, 2469. All are from the Artemisium.

[5] Fourteen specimens, Inv. Nos. 2177, 2177[B], 2205, and 2330 are from one stamp; 2193 and 2314 are from another: the rest 2188, 2316, 2319, 2320, 2432, 2441, 2467, and 2468 are doubtful. All are from the Artemisium.

[6] Four specimens, all from the Artemisium, Nos. 2226, 2318, 2323, 2406; the last three are from the same stamp.

[7] Two specimens, one 2294 from the Artemisium, the other 2287 from the city wall by Tagari's garden.

22. ΒΑΙΛΕΙΝΑΒΙ[1] Regi Nabidi.
(circular stamp.)

Tiles of the first three types of this class were found only at the shrine of Artemis Orthia and afford additional evidence for its identification. An exactly similar inscription is that found near Elataea on the *ἀσάμινθοι* from the shrine of Athena Cranaea, ΑΘΑΝΑΣ ΙΕΡΟΣ.[2] The use of the genitive ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ, indicating the destination and not the maker of the tile, has many parallels. At the shrine of Athena Cranaea were found tiles reading ΑΘΑΝΑΣ ΕΝ ΚΡΑΝΑΙΣ[3]; from the Amyclaeum we have ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΕΝ ΑΜΥΚΛΑΙΟΙ[4]; from Pergamon there are the stamps ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ, ΤΕΙΧΩΝ, and ΙΕΡΩΝ[5]; from Sparta itself we have ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ and ϹΚΑΝΟΘΗΚΑϹ[6]; from Megalopolis ΦΙΛΙΠΠΕΙΟΥ and ϹΚΑΝΟΘΗΚΑϹ[7]; from Mantineia ΠΟΔΑΡΕΟΣ[8]; and from Lycosura *Δεσποίνας*.[9] Also from the Argive Heraeum there is the stamp ΣΩΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΔΑΜΟΙΟΙ ΗΡΑΣ.[10] These last two words mean *tegulae publicae Herae*.[11]

This implies that the Argive Heraeum was a state shrine, and that the state was responsible for repairing it. Similarly, bricks inscribed *πλίνθος δαμοσία ἐπὶ Ἀπελλέα* were used at the temple of Athena Cranaea.[12] At Sparta, however, it seems that the trustees of the shrine of Artemis Orthia were in charge of the fabric. This was the case at Delos, where the inventories of the hieropoioi mention the purchase and use of tiles, and of woodwork.[13]

Of type 21 only two specimens have been found, one at the Artemisium,

[1] One specimen, from the city wall by Tagari's garden, Inv. No. 2286.

[2] Paris, *Élatée*, p. 183, cf. the tiles stamped ΙΕΡΑ found at the temple at Abae, *J.H.S.* 1896, p. 298.

[3] Paris, *op. cit.* p. 82.

[4] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* Nos. 636–642, 644: cf. Richardson *ap.* Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, I. p. 216; van Hook, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1904, p. 1470.

[5] Fränkel, *Inschriften v. P.* ii. Nos. 641, 645, 646.

[6] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* Nos. 276, 535, 712.

[7] Gardner and others, *Megalopolis*, p. 140, 1, 4.

[8] Fougères, *B.C.H.* 1890, p. 255; Id. *Mantinée*, p. 191. [9] *Δελτίον*, 1889, p. 160.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.* p. 217.

[11] They might also be rendered *Tegulae publicae ex officina Herae* on the analogy of type 11. This would mean that there were tile-works attached to the Argive Heraeum. But this is very unlikely.

[12] Paris, *Élatée*, p. 115; the tiles from the Heroön of Podares at Mantineia are inscribed ΠΟΔΑΡΕΟΣ ΔΑ[ΜΟΣΙΟΣ], v. Fougères, *Mantinée*, p. 191.

[13] Homolle, *B.C.H.* 1882, pp. 135, 136.

and the other by the city wall just above Tagari's garden. This seems to suggest that a temple of Eileithyia was in the neighbourhood, which is confirmed by Pausanias, who says that there was a shrine of this goddess near that of Artemis Orthia.[1]

The solitary example of type **22** stands alone because of its circular shape and its historical interest. The use of the dative is unusual, but there is little doubt that this tile, like one formerly in the Museum, was made by order of the tyrant Nabis. We have an exact parallel in tiles from Oeniadae inscribed ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, since they are believed to belong to re-fortification carried out by Philip V.[2] Similar personal inscriptions occur on tiles from Megalopolis[3] and Epidaurus,[4] reading respectively ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΗΝ ΔΙΙ and ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ, the latter of which refers to Antoninus Pius. The regal inscription has analogies in tiles from Kertch[5] and Pergamon, reading ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ[6]; and at the latter site there was also found a series of tiles stamped ΑΒ, which may be for *Ἀττάλου βασιλέως*,[7] but is usually taken as *Ἀττάλου βασιλεύοντος*, and as a date. The tile formerly in the Museum, but now lost, read ΒΑΛΕΟΣ ΝΑΒΙΟΣ.[8] Wolters conjectured that it was made for repairs to the city wall, which Nabis is said by Pausanias[9] to have undertaken, and this view is confirmed by the fact that our tile was found beside the city wall.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

[1] Pausanias, iii. 17. 1.
[2] *A.J.A.* 1904, p. 170.
[3] *J.H.S.* 1893, p. 336.
[4] Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, I., p. 107, 247.
[5] Macpherson, *Antiquities of Kertch*, pp. 72, 75.
[6] Fränkel, *Inschriften v. P.* ii. No. 642. [7] Fränkel, *op. cit.* Nos. 652 *seqq.*
[8] Wolters, *Athen. Mitt.* 1898, p. 139: cf. the coin inscription, Wroth, *Num. Chron.* 1897, p. 107. ΒΑΙΛΕΙ is the Doric form for *βασιλεῖ*, due to the dropping of Σ between two vowels: in earlier inscriptions an aspirate Β would appear between the vowels; *v.* Collitz-Bechtel, 4421, 4422; Meister, *Dorer u. Achäer.* p. 11.
[9] Pausanias, vii. 8. 5.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 9.—Inscriptions from the Artemisium.

The inscriptions may be classed as follows: (1) about fifty from the Artemisium; (2) a few fragments found near the Altar; (3) about forty from various other sites. The last class includes many which were found built into the late Byzantine walls and a few which were obtained outside the area of the excavation, but are undoubtedly of Spartan origin. A final section deals with the inscriptions copied by Fourmont.

It has been thought best to publish without delay everything but small fragments. The commentary does not claim to be complete; this applies especially to the inscriptions from the Artemisium, where no finality of conclusion can be reached until all available stones have been dug out and read. With very few exceptions the inscriptions are given from my own copies and impressions.[1]

The figures in brackets are the current numbers of the Excavation Inventory and are at present affixed to the stones in the Museum at Sparta. All measurements are given in metres.

[1] I wish to thank Mr. M. N. Tod for his great kindness in reading through the whole of this article, and for many valuable corrections, notes, and references; and Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse for their help and suggestions. Mr. A. M. Woodward has kindly supplied the paragraphs marked with his initials.

SUMMARY OF CLASSIFICATION.

	PAGE
From the Artemisium—	
Archaic Fragments	353
Votive Inscriptions of the Boys' Contests	353
Other Inscriptions	380
From the Altar	440
From other sites—	
Spartan Decree	441
Law regarding the Leonidea	445
Honorary Inscriptions	456
Lists of Magistrates, etc.	467
Grave Inscriptions	473
Various	475
Note on Inscriptions copied by Fourmont	477

INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT THE ARTEMISIUM.

Of all Spartans cults the worship of Artemis Orthia is the most famous and the most typical of the Spartan character. The goddess, who had been adored at Sparta from the earliest dawn of men's tradition,[1] was the patroness of the Spartan youth in their warlike training; at her altar the lads underwent the ordeal of the lash,[2] and to her the choirs of maidens sang and brought their offerings by starlight.[3] Her worship lasted late into the Roman Empire; Pausanias, no less than Plutarch, speaks of the ordeal as still in use in his own day,[4] and inscriptions of the Imperial age tell of offerings to the goddess by winners in certain contests among the boys. A few of these stones had long been known in the Sparta Museum,[5] but all record of their finding-place was lost. The circumstances of the identification of the Artemisium have been related above (pp. 278 f.). The precinct has already yielded inscriptions in large numbers, among them a few archaic fragments.

[1] Her image was said to be that stolen from the Tauri by Iphigenia and Orestes (Paus. iii. 16, § 7). Helen was said to have danced in her temple (Plut. *Thes.* 31).

[2] Paus. *ib.* § 10.

[3] Alcman, fr. 5 (Bergk) 60 ff. *Ταὶ πελειάδες γὰρ ἀμίν | Ὀρθίᾳ φῶρος φερούσαις | νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον | ἄστρων ἀFειρομέναι μάχονται.*

[4] Paus. *ib.*; Plut. *Lycurg.* 18 . . . *πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἑωράκαμεν ἀποθνήσκοντας ταῖς πληγαῖς.* Cf. Plut. *Inst. Lacon.* p. 239 C; cf. Sam Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 99, 113, and pp. 317 f. above.

[5] These are given below.

Archaic Fragments.

1. On an archaic relief of a horse in soft stone; letters scratched unevenly.[1]

ΕΠΑΝΙDΑϟΤΑΙΠΑ'	Ἐπανίδας τᾶι πα(ρ)[θένοι
Α⊗ ΟΗΞ⋊⊗	ἀνέ]θ(ε)κε Ϝορθ(εί)α[ι].

There is no room for any form of Ἄρτεμις on the stone. The second vowel of ἀνέθεκε seems to have been left out by mistake, and also the -ει - in Ὀρθεία; the final iota may be worn away. It is doubtful whether Ρ or Ρ was the form for ρ, the short stroke may be merely a flaw in the stone.

This inscription may go back to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. It has the forms which mark the earliest period of the Laconian alphabet: three-stroke σ, crossed θ, ε with long back-stroke, the use of Ϝ, and the *boustrophedon* writing (cf. Roberts, *Introd. to Gk. Epigr.* i. pp. 248 ff.). The stone was found with pottery of the 'Corinthian' type. The chief point worthy of note is the name of the goddess, who is called Παρθένος Ὀρθ[εί]α with no mention of Artemis. It will be seen below that even in later times she was often called simply Orthia, and it is easy to believe that such was her popular name throughout. The title παρθένος recurs in a metrical dedication to Artemis Orthia (5 below).

2. Small fragment of relief with horse's head.

FC	Ϝ(ο)[ρθείαι
FI	ἀνέθ]ε(κ)[ε. ?

This inscription is of the same nature as the last.

Dedications by the Winners in the Boys' Contest.

Of this class of inscription a fair number of examples are already known, and the excavations yielded a great many new stones of the same type. In almost all cases the victory is recorded on a small ornamental slab or stele of local marble; the decoration consisted of a gable-top,

[1] For a reproduction see p. 334, Fig. 1.

sometimes with the addition of corner ornaments or acroteria; elsewhere a small pediment was carved on the slab, or it was embellished with rosettes or other conventional designs. Many of the slabs further show a groove or socket for holding a sickle-shaped object, and in two instances this object has remained in place. It is iron and resembles a flat rather clumsy sickle-blade; for the present therefore it will be spoken of as a sickle without any assumption as to its real nature. Sometimes the sickle was not let into the stone but fastened to it by rivets. Every stone of this class that is whole or nearly whole shews some trace of the sickle, which therefore must have been an essential to the dedication. The form of words stating the successes of the victors seems to have been fixed by custom, and hence it is possible to see the sense of many small fragments which otherwise could not be understood. A feature of some of these inscriptions is their attempted return to the old Doric dialect;—that this is merely affectation is shewn by the varying degrees of archaism that the inscriptions present, and by the lateness of the date, since the most consistently archaistic inscriptions seem to belong to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. A detailed discussion of the various points presented by these inscriptions will be given at the end of the body of texts, but at the outset a few words of explanation may be allowed. The dedicators are boys, who as leaders, seemingly, of their own bands (*βοῦαι* or *ἀγέλαι*) won certain contests: these were either the Hunt (called *καθθηρατόριν*, etc.—that is, some kind of athletic match) or a Musical Competition (called either *μῶα* or *κελῆα*, the two being probably different). The contest is commonly called *τὸ παιδικόν*, as a whole, the other three words describing the branch of it in which the winner had been engaged; the age of the winner is sometimes specially defined, mostly by the term *μικιχιζόμενος*, which seeems to have meant a boy in the third year of his state-training when he was nine years old.[1] The other indications of age or standing are obscure and will be discussed later. The iron sickle let into the stone as an offering to Artemis Orthia was the prize given for the contest. The inscriptions generally give the date of the victories, the year being fixed, as usual under the Romans, by the *πατρονόμος ἐπώνυμος*, who is alluded to simply as *πατρονόμος*. The dating of most of the inscriptions is a matter

[1] The *tenth* year of a boy's life being denoted by *μικιχιζόμενος*, such boys are often called boys of *ten* years; whereas (as far as can be determined) they were still according to our reckoning nine years old.

of great uncertainty. The earliest of those newly found may belong to the beginning of the Roman era, and the latest to the age of Commodus; within these limits there are few fixed points, and even where the Eponymus is known it is seldom possible to fix his year of office. It is to be hoped that further discoveries will increase the means for building up a system of Spartan chronology. In order to give a complete view of the inscriptions in hand we shall first repeat the examples already published.

(*a*) Gable-topped slab of white marble with sickle let in. Collitz-Bechtel, 4501 (pp. 41, 145). Preger, *Ath. Mitt.* xxii (1897), 334 f. No. 1, with facsimile. *S.M.C.*[1] No. 218.

'Ορθείῃ δῶρον Λε|οντεὺς ἀνέθη|κε βοαγός βψλ' |
μῶαν νικήΙσας καὶ τάδ' ἔπαθλα | λαβών βψλ' | 5
καί μ' ἔστεψε πα|τὴρ εἰσαρίθμοις | ἔπεσι βψλ' |

'(Dianae) Ortheae donum Leonteus dedicavit boagus (*i.e.* dux puerorum), victor certaminis Moae (cantus), hoc praemio reportato. Et me honoravit pater aequalibus versibus.'[2]

The sum of the numbers represented by the letters in each line amounts to the same total, βψλ', that is 2730. Between the second and third verses there is a space, perhaps meant for another hexameter.

(*b*) Similar slab. Collitz-Bechtel, 4500 (pp. 41, 145). Preger, *ib.* No. 2. *S.M.C.* 219+501.

'Αγαθῇ τύ]χῃ. | Φίλητορ Φιλήτω | ἐπὶ πατροΙνόμω Γορ- | 5
γίππω τῶ (Γοργίππω) | νεικάαρ κελῦαν | 'Αρτέμιτι
Βωρσέᾳ | ἀνέσηκε.

Κεαναν, given by some authorities, should certainly read κελῦαν, a by-form of the usual κελῆαν. The stone has Λ not Α.

'Quod dedicanti bonum et faustum sit; Philetus, Phileti filius, patronomo Gorgippo Gorgippi f. victor certaminis Celyae (cantus), Dianae Ortheae dedicavit.'

[1] This abbreviation has been adopted throughout for *Sparta Museum Catalogue.*

[2] A literal translation is added to each inscription. I have chosen Latin for the sake of keeping the order of words.

(*c*) Similar slab. Collitz-Bechtel, 4499 (pp. 40, 145). Preger, *ib.* No. 3. *S.M.C.* 220.

'Αγαθᾷ | τύχᾳ. | M. Αὐρ. Ζεύξιππορ ὁ κ[αὶ] | Κλέανδρορ
Φιλομούσω ἐε||ρεὺρ Λευκιππίδων καὶ Τινδαρι|δᾶν
βουαγὸρ μικκιχιδδομέ|νων ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Πο. Αἰ-·
λίω | Δαμοκρατίδα τῶ 'Αλκανδρίδα ἀρ|χιερέορ τῶ
Σεβαστῶ καὶ τῶν || [θ]είων προγόνων ὠτῶ φιλο-
[κ|αίσ]αρορ καὶ φιλοπάτριδορ, αἰ[ω|νίω] ἀγορανόμω
πλειστον[είκω | παραδ]όξω καὶ ἀρίστω 'Ελλά[νων |
νεικά]αρ κασσηρατόριν || ['Αρτ]έμιδι Βωρθέᾳ ἀν[έθη]|κεν.

In line 14 the editors inserted *μῶαν* after *κασσηρατόριν*. There is indeed room on the stone, but no further ground for the addition.

'Bona fortuna; M. Aur. Zeuxippus, vel Cleander, Philomusi filius, sacerdos Leucippidum et Tindaridarum, dux puerorum decennium, patronomo P. Aelio Damocratida Alcandridae f. pontifice maximo Augusti et eius Divorum patrum, amico Caesaris, amico patriae, perpetuo agoranomo (vel aedili) victore illustrissimo, optimo Graecorum, victor certaminis Casseratori (venationis) Dianae Ortheae dedicavit.'

(*d*) Slab with sockets for two sickles. Collitz-Bechtel, 4498 (pp. 40, 145). Preger *ib.* No. 4. *S.M.C.* 221.

- - - |ος καὶ Νεικηφόρ|ος οἱ Νεικηφόρου, |νεικάαντερ κασ- |
σηρατόριν μῶαν καιλ[ῆ]||αν 'Αρτέμιδι Βωρθέᾳ ἀν|έ-
θηκαν ἐπὶ πατρονόμ|ου Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σωσινείκου |
τοῦ Νεικάρωνος, φ(ι)[λ](ο)[καί]|(σαρ)[ορ καὶ φιλοπάτριδορ.]

'- - - us et Nicephorus, Nicephori filii, victores certaminum Casseratori Moae Caeleae (venationis et cantus), Dianae Ortheae dedicaverunt, patronomo M. Aur. Sosinico Nicaronis f. amico Caesaris, amico patriae.' In ll. 4–5 *καιλ[ῆ]αν* or *καιλ[ῦ]αν* is a better reading than *καιλ[ῶ]αν*. The reasons for the change will be seen below.

(*e*) Slab with socket for sickle. Martha, *B.C.H.* III. 194, No. 5. Preger, *ib.* No. 5. *S.M.C.* 410.

Μᾶρκος Οὐαλέ|ριος Οὐλπιανὸς | 'Αφθόνητος Σω|-
(σικ)[ρ]άτους βουαγ||[ὸς μικιδ](δομέ)[νων - - -

'M. Valerius Ulpianus Aphthonetus, Sosicratis filius, dux puerorum decennium . . . *sc.* Dianae dedicavit.'

The winner may be a younger kinsman of M. Ulpius Aphthonetus, the Eponymus in 12 (below).

(*f*) Preger, *ib.* No. 6.

ΕΠΙΕΡ
ΓΗΡΑΙ////
ΜΕΜ////
ΞΙΜΑΧ////
Sickle
΄Χ////Δ

Preger restores the last line as *βουαγὸς μι*]*κιχιδ*[*δομένων*]. The other letters seem to be fragments of names, say

ἐπὶ Ἐρ[*μογένους*] -|- - |Μέμ[*μιος* - - - Δε]|*ξίμαχ*[*ος* - - -]

(*g*) Preger, *ib.* No. 7. Fragment with trace of socket for sickle.

ΙΙΛ1
-\ \Ρ - -
L

Meaning doubtful.

(*h*) Slab with trace of socket for sickle. Tod, *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904), 50. *S.M.C.* 783.

- - - [*βοαγὸς* | *μικ*](*ι*)*χιδδομέ*|*νων ἐπὶ πατρο*|*νόμου* Τι*β*.
Κλαυ||*δίου* Ἀττικοῦ | *νεικήσας τὸ* | *παιδικὸν καθ*|*θηρατόριον* | 5
Ἀρτέμιδι Ὀρ||*θείᾳ ἀνέ*(*θ*)[*η*|*κ*]*εν*. 10

'. . dux puerorum decennium, patronomo Tib. Claudio Attico, victor puerorum certaminis Cattheratori (venationis) Dianae Ortheae dedicavit.'

(*j*) The following should be added.

C.I.G. 1416. Collitz-Bechtel, 4471, and Tod, *ib.* include it in this series, following Foucart (Le Bas, *Explication*, p. 79).

Δαμοκλείδας Χαλέα, ἐπὶ Ἀλκίππου νεικάσας τὸ
παιδικὸν | ΚΕΛΗΔ Ἀρτέμιτι ΟΡΘΕΡΑ.

The last word was rightly altered by Boeckh into Ὀ*ρθείᾳ*. He made *κελη*δ into *κέλητι*, but *κελῆα* [1] must be the right reading.

[1] Meister in Collitz-Bechtel, III. 2, p. 145, reads *κέλωρ*, with the same sense.

'Damoclidas Chaleae filius Alcippo (patronomo) victor puerorum certaminis Celeae Dianae Ortheae (dedicavit).'

In support of his view that the contest here alluded to was the horse-race (whence *κέλητι*), Boeckh referred to an inscription on a black-figured Panathenaic Vase [1] *κέλητι Δαμοκλίδας*; but the likeness of name seems a mere coincidence.[2]

New Inscriptions from the Temple-Site.

1. (2118).[3] Gable-topped slab of blue marble, ·40 × ·28 × ·03. Letters ·02–·01 h. Socket for sickle.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Χαρίξενος Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Λυσικράτους υἱός, ἐπὶ Σικλείδα, πατρονομοῦντος ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἁρμονείκου, νεικήσας τὸ παιδικὸν μῶαν Ὀρθείᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνέθηκεν.

C. Julius Charixenus C. Julii Lysicratis filius Siclida (patronomo) suffecto Tiberio Claudio Harmonico, victor puerorum certaminis moae (cantus) Ortheae Dianae dedicavit.

Lines 5 ff. *πατρονομοῦντος* seems to agree with *Ἁρμονείκου*, and to denote that the latter was taking the place of the Eponymus. See 31 and note there. Charixenus, son of Lysicrates, belongs to a house of which several members are already known; Julius Charixenus appears as

[1] Reproduced in Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 321, where no mention is made of the inscription; the date therefore cannot be inferred.

[2] The name is fairly common. Two examples both distinct from the present in Pape-Bens. *s.v.* Preger, *l.c.* 341, follows Boeckh's reading without noticing the possibility of taking it otherwise.

[3] The numbers added in brackets are those of the day-book of the Excavation, and, temporarily, those of the Museum where the stones have been placed.

Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1241, and in 1240 C. Julius Lysicrates son of Charixenus is senior Ephor; in 16 Lysicrates son of Charixenus wins the *καθθηρατόριν*; in *S.M.C.* 718 J. Lysicrates appears as Eponymus, and in 719 C. Julius Lysicrates seems to be an Ephor. There is every reason for believing the same father and son to occur in all the cases. The dates are not fixed, as Siclidas was not known before as an Eponymus. In Le Bas-Foucart 182, a C. Charixenus occurs as Eponymus; in Le Bas-Foucart 286 b J. Charixenus occurs before Hadrian himself, as Eponymus. Hadrian doubtless accepted the office on the occasion of one of his visits to Greece, either in 126 or 129 A.D. If C. J. Charixenus was Eponymus before 126, he must have won the Boys' Match in the reign of Trajan. The present inscription might, as far as the style of writing is concerned, belong to the Trajanic age. It is possible that Charixenus here may have been the father of the C. Julius Lysicrates who is senior Ephor *C.I.G.* 1240. The latter inscription may belong to the latter part of Hadrian's reign, and the inscription *S.M.C.* 718, where Lysicrates is Eponymus, may be still later.

The tree might therefore be as follows:

C. J. Lysicrates — here.
|
C. J. Charixenus wins the Boys' Match, 1. eponymus *C.I.G.* 1241.
|
C. J. Lysicrates wins the Boys' Match, 16. senior ephor, *C.I.G.* 1240. ephor, *S.M.C.* 719. eponymus *ib.* 718.

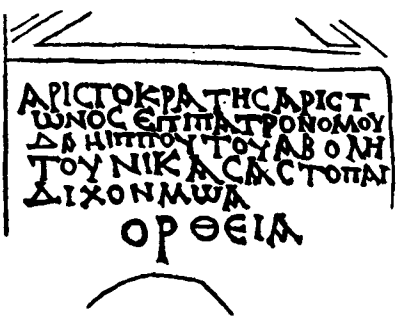
2. (2119). Slab of white marble, ·34 × ·26 × ·04. Socket for sickle.

ↄPı falx		(*-ορι*)	
E		*-ϵ*	
⅂ATPoN̂		*ἐπὶ*] (*π*)*ατρονό*(*μου*)	patronomo
ĀAAKAN		Π. Αἰ]λ(*ίου*) Ἀλκαν-	P. Aelio Alcan-
AAPXIEPE	5	*δρίδ*]*α ἀρχιερέ-*	drida pontifice
⅄NΣEBAΣTΩN		*ος τῶ*]*ν Σεβαστῶν*	maximo Augustorum
KAIΣAPoP		*φιλοκ*]*αίσαρορ*	amico Caesaris
ᑕΠATPı		*καὶ φιλο*]*πάτρι*[*δορ - - -*	amico patriae

An Alcandridas occurs in inscription (*c*) as father of P. Aelius

Damocratidas. That inscription from its lettering might belong to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The Alcandridas there mentioned may quite well be the patronomus of the present inscription, which would thus fall about Hadrian's reign. *τῶν Σεβαστῶν* probably refers not to any colleague of the Emperor, but to the whole series of deified Augusti. In *C.I.G.* 1364 (*a*) there is an inscription in honour of P. Ael. Alcandridas son of Damocratidas and 'high-priest of the emperor' besides *φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλόπατριν*; it is signed by the five colleagues of Alcandridas of whom four bear the name of Aurelius. The wholesale adoption of this Imperial name dates probably from Caracalla's edict, shortly after which the inscription should be placed. We may therefore take the Emperor to be Caracalla, and this Alcandridas the son of the Damocratidas of inscription (*c*) and grandson of the Alcandridas of our inscription. The style of writing in *C.I.G.* 1364, which is full of contractions, bears out the view taken of its date.

3. (2122). Gable-topped slab of greyish marble, unbroken, ·55 × ·31 × ·08. Letters about ·02 h. Socket for sickle.



'Αριστοκράτης Αρίστωνος ἐπὶ πατρονόμου Δαμίππου τοῦ 'Αβολήτου νικάσας τὸ παιδιχὸν μώα 'Ορθείᾳ.

Aristocrates Aristonis filius, patronomo Damippo Aboleti f., victor puerorum certaminis moae (cantus) Ortheae (dedicavit).

The name Aristocrates is very common, but no previously known bearer of it can be identified safely with the present winner.

Damippus, son of Aboletus, does not occur in Boeckh's list of Eponymi, but a man of that name is found as colleague of the *ἐπιμελητάς* in *S.M.C.* 216 (date; probably first century B.C.), and this may be the same. [In *C.I.G.* 1361 we read of Damippus, son of Aboletus, as husband of Alcibia, the daughter of Tisamenus, She belongs to the first century B.C. on the evidence of 23, p. 468 (2002). Thus this inscription, with 35 (q. v.), dates from the Augustan age, or earlier.—A. M. W.]

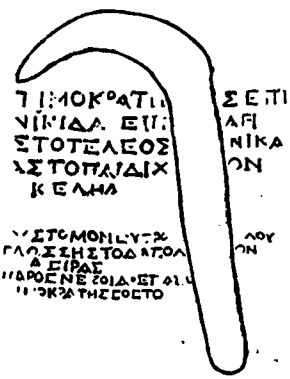
4. (2123). Gable-topped slab of blue marble, ·43 × ·31 × ·06. Letters ·02 h. Two sockets for sickles.

Ξενοκλῆς Ξενοκλέος
ἐπὶ Εὐέτεος νικάας
τὸ παιδιχὸν μώιαι
Ὀρθείαι
καὶ ἐπ[ὶ
Ἱππάρ-
χου
ὡσαύ-
τως.

Xenocles Xenoclis filius, patronomo Euete, victor puerorum certaminis moae (cantus) Ortheae (dedicavit), atque Hipparcho patronomo iterum.

None of the men here mentioned seem to be known elsewhere. This inscription is of value as shewing that a boy could win the match in two different years.

5. (2134). Slab of blue marble, ·43 × ·23 × ·05. Letters about ·01 h. Socket for sickle. Very faint writing.



Τιμοκράτης Ἐπι-
νικίδα ἐπὶ Ἀρι-
στοτέλεος νικά-
ας τὸ παιδιχὸν
κελήᾳ.
[εὖ]στομον εὐτρο[χά]λου
γλώσσης τόδ' ἄεθλον
ἀείρας
[Π]αρθένε σοι ἀρετᾶς
(Τιμο)κράτης ἔθετο.

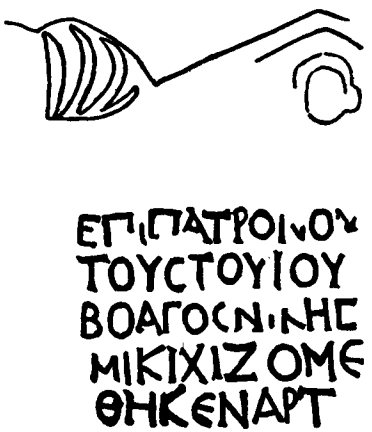
Timocrates Epinicidae f., patronomo Aristotele, victor puerorum certaminis celeae (cantus).
Clara suae nanctus facundae praemia linguae
Artis Timocrates haec tibi, Virgo, dedit.

The writing is even fainter than would appear from the facsimile, the reading needed much patience and even now the text, especially in the

metrical part, is not quite certain. Ἀρετᾶς if right, must be a genitive, on which γλώσσης depends. Εὔστομον though in grammatical agreement with ἄεθλον in sense qualifies γλώσσης. Timocrates son of Epinicidas is not known elsewhere.

One Claudius Aristoteles occurs as eponymous patronomus in *C.I.G.* 1243, and may be the magistrate of the present inscription.

6. (2139). Part of carved gable-topped slab of greyish marble, ·25 × ·16 × ·04. Letters ·015 h. Stone unbroken on left side, on right side about half is lost.



	Ἐπὶ πατρονό(μου) [Πασικρά-]	Patronomo Pasi-
	τους τοῦ (υ)ἱοῦ [ὁ δεῖνα]	crate filio, aliquis
	βοαγὸς νικήσ[ας μῶαν]	dux puerorum victor
	μικιχιζόμε[νος ἀνέ-]	moae (cantus) decennis ipse
5	θηκεν Ἀρτ[έμιδι Ὀρθέᾳ].	dedicavit Dianae Ortheae.

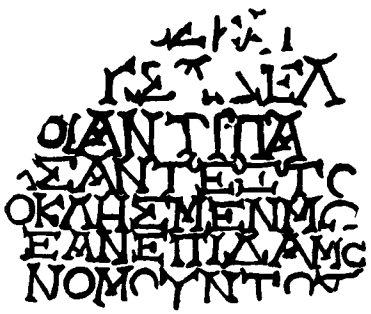
Πασικράτης νεώτερος occurs as Eponymus in *C.I.G* 1254 and 1257, and this suggests Πασικράτους τοῦ υἱοῦ as a possible reading here. In the present inscription, as in the other two, the style of writing points to a somewhat late date. The word πατρονόμου could easily have been contracted, thus leaving room for the proposed reading.

7. (2140). Bluish marble, ·11 × ·12 × ·06. Letters ·02 h.

ΓΛ	- - - -
ΠΡΑΙ	Πρα(τ)[όνικος ?
ΒΟΛΗΓ	Ἀ]βολή(τ)[ου βοαγὸς
ΠΙΔΑΜ	ἐ]πὶ Δαμ[ονικίδα - - -

Restoration uncertain. There is indeed no doubt about Ἀβολήτου, but the first line might be Πρατόλαος or Πρατέας, while for the Eponymus there is a choice between Δαμο - - Φιλοκράτους (*C.I.G.* 1258), Δαμάρης (1243), Δαμοκρατίδας (1364), Ἰούλιος Δαμ - - (1320), Δαμονικίδας (1276), and Ἀμιππος (3 above).

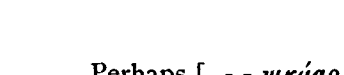
8. (2142). Red marble, ·18 × ·21 × ·04. Letters ·02 h. Very ornate writing.



- - ος καὶ	aliquis et
- - κλέ](ο)υς ἀδελ-	- - -, fratres
φοὶ - -]- - οἱ Ἀντιπά-	filii Antipatri, victo-
τρου - - νεικ](ά)σαντες τὸ	res puerorum certa-
παιδιχὸν - - -]οκλῆς μὲν μῶ-	minis, - ocles quidem
αν - - - δὲ κελ]έαν ἐπὶ Δαμο-	moae, - autem celeae,
- - - - πατρο]νομοῦντ(ος).	patronomo Damo - - - -

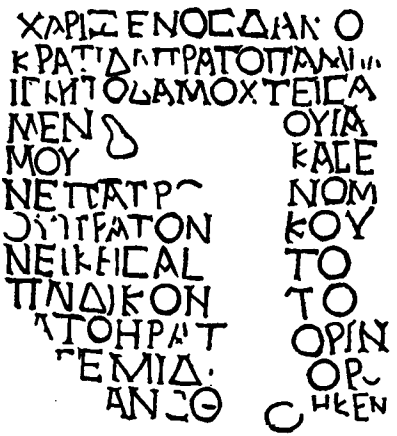
There is a vacant space at the end of line 3, the reason being that the mason, who has kept very carefully to the division of syllables, had not room for the letters -τρου. In the fourth and following lines the writing is smaller and rather crowded. The inscription seems to refer to two sons of Antipater. The above restoration, though of course uncertain, will give the general sense. The readings μῶαν and κελέαν cannot be doubted. The Eponymus might be one of those suggested for 7.

9. (2306). Lower end of slab with raised left edge and carved leaf.



Perhaps [- - - νικάαρ τὸ παιδιχὸν κε](λ)ῆ(α)[ν
[Βωρ](σέ)α ἀνέση(κ)[ε] - ?

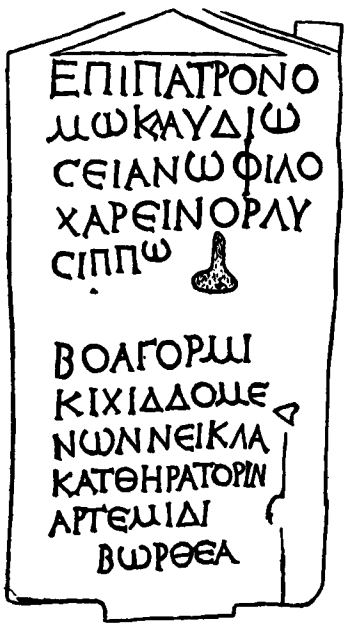
10. (2147). Slab of bluish marble, ·47 × ·32 × ·03. Letters ·02. Sickle had been rivetted on.



Χαρίξενος Δαμο-		Charixenus Damo-
κρατίδα πρατοπάμ[παι-		cratida filius, puero-
ις Κριτοδάμου Τεισα-		rum primus,
μεν -οῦ Ιά-		Critodami, Tisameni,
μου κάσε-	5	Iami comes,
ν ἐ(πὶ) πατρονόμ-		patronomo Pratonico
ου Πρατον[ί]κου		victor
νεικείσας τὸ		
παιδικὸν τὸ		puerorum
[κ](α)τθηρατ- -όριν	10	certaminis
['Αρτ]έμιδι 'Ορ[θ]-		cattheratori (venationis)
[εἰαι] ἀνέθ- ηκεν.		Dianae Orthiae dedicavit.

Pratonicus appears as Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1250 and 1276. The date of these is not known. The question raised by the forms *πρατοπάμπαις* and *κάσεν* will be discussed later. Tisamenus may have been an Eponymus (*C.I.G.* 1282).

11. (2151). Gable-topped slab of bluish marble, ·54 × ·27 × ·04 Letters ·02 h. Sickle had been rivetted on.



'Επὶ πατρονό-		Patrono-
μω Κλαυδίω		mo Claudio
Σειανῶ, Φιλο-		Seiano, Philo-
χαρεῖνορ Λυ-		charinus Ly-
σίππω	5	sippi filius
βοαγὸρ μι-		dux puerorum
κιχιδδομέ-		decennium
νων νεικάα[ρ]		victor
κατθηρατόριν		certaminis cattheratori
'Αρτέμιδι	10	(venationis) Dianae
Βωρθέᾳ.		Ortheae (dedicavit).

Σηϊανός occurs as Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1249, and Σειανός possibly Eponymus in *S.M.C.* 787. Both these may be the same as our Claudius Sejanus. In *S.M.C.* 204, l. 19, *C.I.G.* 1242 Lysippus son of Philocharinus is mentioned as Eponymus: this Philocharinus may be the present victor.[1] His name also seems to occur in *S.M.C.* 372.

12. (2152). Slab of bluish marble, ·33×·24×·04. Letters ·02 h. Place for sickle.

	- - - Φουλ]-	
ΒΙΩΛΑΚΙ	*βίῳ Λάκ(ω)[νος,*	Fulvii Laconis f.
ΤΩΑΡΙCΤΟΤΕ	*τῶ Ἀριστοτέ-*	cujus Aristoteles
ΛΗΡCΥΝΕΦΗ	*ληρ συνέφη-*	synephebus,
ΒΟΡΕΠΙΠΑΤΡΟ	*βορ, ἐπὶ πατρο-*	patronomo
ΝΟΜΩΜΟΥΛ	*νόμῳ* M. Οὐλ-	M. Ulpio
ΠΙΩΑΦΘΟΝΗ	*πίῳ Ἀφθονή-*	Aphthoneto
ΤΩΝΕΙΚΑΑΡ	*τω νεικάαρ*	victor
ΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΝ	*τὸ παιδικὸν*	puerorum certaminis
ΜΩΑΜΙΧΙΧΙΔ	*μώᾳ μιχιχιδ-*	moae, decennis
ΔΟΜΕΝΟΡ	*δόμενορ.*	ipse.

The sense of the first two lines is rather doubtful. The winner's name is lost and *-βίῳ* seems to be the end of a Roman '*nomen*.' Τῶ the archaistic form for *τοῦ* must be used as a relative pronoun, otherwise the construction becomes impossible. Aphthonetus occurs as Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1241, but without any Roman names; that inscription may belong to Hadrian's reign, to which the present one also might be assigned, and it is therefore very likely that the same Eponymus occurs in both. In *B.C.H.* I. 380, No. 3, M. Οὔλπιος Ἀφθόνητος is Eponymus.[2] The present magistrate must be the same.

13. (2153). Slab of blue marble, ·43×·29×·04. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle.

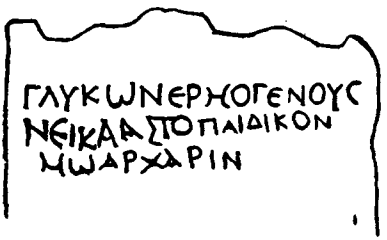
Φιλόνικος Φιλο-	Philonicus Philo-
νίκου νικάσας	nici, victor
τὸ παιδιχὸν κε-	puerorum certaminis ce-
λήᾳ Ὀρθέᾳ.	leae (cantus), Ortheae (dedicavit).

[1] Or probably his grandfather.—A. M. W.]

[2] The reading in *B.C.H.* l.c. may be corrected from Οὐλπιανοῦ to Οὐλπίου on the strength of the present inscription. Cf. *S.M.C.* 211.

Philonicus is a fairly common name in many parts of Greece (cf. Pape-Bens. *s.v.*) but does not seem to have been borne by any leading Spartans.

14. (2154). Slab of blue marble, ·43 × ·30 × ·04. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle.



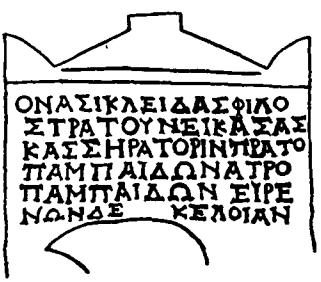
Γλύκων Ἑρμογένους νεικάας τὸ παιδικὸν μῶα(ν) χάριν.

Glycon Hermogenis victor puerorum certaminis moae (cantus) gratiam (retulit).

The formula is unusual. Μῶαρ might be an archaistic genitive for μώας, but the construction would be unusual, and it is more likely to be a mistake due to the nearness of the letters -αρ- in χάριν.

One Hermogenes occurs in *C.I.G.* 1242, but there is nothing to shew whether he was akin to the present winner. The dates are not certain, but neither inscription seems to be earlier than Antoninus Pius.

15. (2155). Gable-topped slab of bluish marble, ·25 × ·24 × ·05. Letters ·01 h. Socket for sickle.



Ὀνασικλείδας Φιλοστράτου νεικήσας καφσηρατόριν πρατοπαμπαίδων ατρο παμπαίδων, εἰρένων δὲ κελοῖαν.

Onasiclidas Philostrati victor certaminis casseratori (venationis) puerorum primus (?) *juvenumque celoeae* (*cantus*) victor.

The meaning of line 4 is obscure, unless indeed ατρο can have been a mistake for πρατο, and even then the repetition of πρατοπαμπαίδων would be curious.

The winner is not known elsewhere.

16. (2156). Gable-topped slab of bluish marble, ·39×·24×·035. Letters ·02. Broken through.

ΛΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΧΑ	Λυσικράτης Χα-	Lysicrates Charixeni
ΡΙΞΕΝΟΥΕΠΙΑΡΙ	ριξένου ἐπὶ Ἀρι-	(filius) Aristocle
ΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ	στοκλέους	(patronomo)
ΝΕΙΚΑΣΑΣΤΟ	νεικάσας τὸ	victor puerorum certa-
ΠΑΙΔΙΧΟΝ///ΑΘ	παιδιχὸ(ν) [κ]αθ-	minis cattheratori
ΘΗΡΑΤΟΡΙΝΑΡ	θηρατόριν Ἀρ-	(venationis) Dianae
ΤΕΜΙΤΙΟΡΘΕΙ	τέμιτι Ὀρθ(εί)[ᾳ].	Ortheae (dedicavit).

For the persons here mentioned see note on No. 1.

17. (2158). Bluish marble, ·14×·16×·03. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle.

ΔΡΕΠΑΝΗΝ	- - - (δ)ρεπάνην [τήνδ' ἀνέ-
ΑΝΑΒΩΝ.	θη](κα λα)βών.

- - - falcem hanc acceptam dedicavi.

This seems to be part of a metrical inscription. The restoration is uncertain, though δρεπάνην is plain.

18. (2159). Greyish marble, ·22×·22×·03. Letters ·02 h.

ΜΑΡΚΟC	Μᾶρκος	Marcus Aurelius
ΠΡΗΛΙΟC	[Α](ὐ)ρήλιος	Prateas Tyranni
ΤΕΑCΤΥΡΑΝ	[Πρ](α)τέας Τυρά(ν)[νου	filius dux puero-
-ΟCΜΙΚΚΙ (ΧΙ)	[βοα]γὸς μικκιχι[ζομένων - -	rum decennium - - -

The letters supplied fit the vacant space. In line 4 the letters -χι- were left out by mistake and added later.

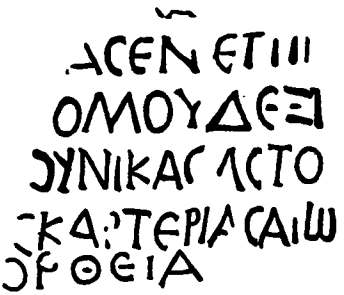
Πρατέας is known as a Spartan name, cf. *S.M.C.* 247.

19. (2162). Fragment of gable-topped slab of blue marble, ·16×·17×·04. Letters ·025 h.

ΤΗΣ<	- της (- - - τεος)
ΓΠΟΥ	- - ἐπὶ - - ἱ](π)που - -

This seems to give the winner's name and father, with the date; the latter might be the year of Lysippus, who is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 1241, 1242.

20. (2163). Two fragments of red marble (thickness ·04) measuring ·26 × ·19 and ·20 × ·09. Letters ·025 h.

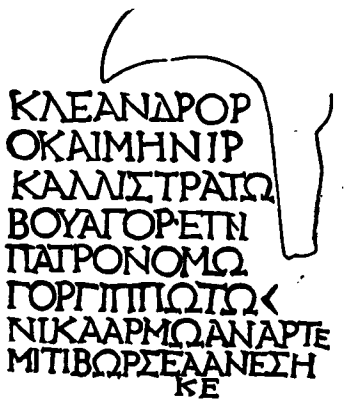


	κ]άσεν ἐπὶ (π)[ατρο-	- - - comes patro-
	ν]όμου Δεξι[μά-	nomo Dexima-
	χ]ου νικάσας τὸ[ν	cho victor
	τῆ]ς καρτερίας ἀ(γ)ῶ-	certaminis patientiae
5	*να] Ὀρθείᾳ.*	Ortheae (dedicavit).

Deximachus is a possible reading in ll. 2, 3 ; although no Eponymus is known whose name began with the letters seen above, yet in *C.I.G.* 1261 we find that the Eponymus Pratolaus had as father Deximachus, so that the present magistrate might have belonged to the same family.

καρτερίας ἀγών refers to the flogging at the altar : see pp. 314 f. for a full discussion of this inscription and the contest in question.

21. (2165). Slab of bluish marble, ·45 × ·27 × ·08. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle. Neat writing.



	Κλέανδρορ	Cleander
	ὁ καὶ Μῆνιρ	vocatus quoque Menis
	Καλλιστράτω	Callistrati filius
	βοναγὸρ ἐπὶ	dux puerorum
	πατρονόμω	5 patronomo
	Γοργίππω *τῶ* (Γοργίππω)	Gorgippo Gorgippi f.
	νικάαρ μῶαν Ἀρτέ-	victor certaminis
	μιτι Βωρσέᾳ *ἀνέση-*	moae, Dianae
	κε.	Ortheae dedicavit.

Gorgippus, son of Gorgippus, is Eponymus in another inscription of this class ((*b*) above) in which the victory of Philetus in the *κελῦαν* is recorded. The year of Gorgippus falls in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

22. (2166). Bluish marble, ·22 × ·10 × ·03. Letters ·02 h.

ΑΡΑι		.(*α*)ραι - - [*μι-*
ΚΙΧΙΔ		*κιχι*(*δ*)[*δόμενορ ἐπὶ*
ΠΑΤΡ		*πατρ*[*ονόμω* - -
ΝΑΙΟ		*ναι*(*ω*) - -
ΤΟΡ	5	*τορ* - - [*Ἀρτέμι-*
ΤΙΒ		*τι* Β[*ορθέᾳ* - - ?

Except in line 1 no letters are lost on the left side. Line 4 may have given the Eponymus.

23. (2167). Fragment of bluish marble, ·15 × ·17 × ·03. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle.

ιΖΟΜΕ	- - - *μικιχ*](*ι*)*ζομέ*[*νων* - - ?

24. (2168). Fragment of gable-topped slab. Whitish marble, ·21 × ·10 × ·04. Letters ·015 h.

ΓΑΘΗΤ	*Ἀ*]*γαθῇ τ*[*ύχῃ*
ΣΙΛΛΛ	- - - *Σιλ*(*αν*)[*ὸς* - -
ΤΡΟΝ	*ἐπὶ πα*]*τρονό*(*μου*) [Π. Αἰλ.
ιΝΔΙ	*Ἀλκ*](*α*)*νδ*(*ρ*)[*ίδα* - - - -

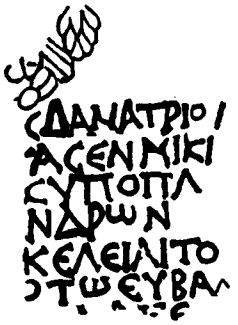
Restoration quite uncertain. Alcandridas seems to be Eponymus in 2, and may be read here.

25. (2303). Corner of slab with carved pediment, ·11 × ·08. Letters ·015 h.

....	
ΑΓΑΕ	*Ἀγαθ*[*ῇ τύχῃ* - -
Σ	. . *σ* - - [*Ἀφθο-* ?
ΝΗΤΩι	*νήτω* - -

This fragment seems to belong to the series, but the sense is doubtful.

26. (2170). Fragment of red marble, ·16 × ·13 × ·04, showing traces of carving in upper left corner. Letters ·01 h.



. ς Δαματρίου
[κ]άσεν μικι[χιζόμενο]ς ὑπὸ π(α) - -
. νδρων - -
. κελείαι το -
. (ο) τῶ Εὐβάλ[κεος
- - - -

The reading in the first two lines is fairly safe and *κελείαι* in the fifth line is clear, but the meaning of the rest is doubtful. *Εὐβάλκης*, which seems to have stood in l. 6, is known as a Spartan name (*S.M.C.* 205, 393). It is a form of *Εὐϝάλκης*, the B standing for F (as in *Βωρσέα*, 21 = *Ϝορθέα*).

27. (2171). Fragment of greyish marble, ·10 × ·13 × ·02. Letters ·01 h.

ΑΝΑΡΙι
ΘΕΚΕΝ

[- - - *νικάσας τὸ παιδιχὸν*
μῶ]αν Ἀρ(*τέ*)[*μιδι Ὀρθεία*
ἀνέ]θεκεν.

Restoration quite uncertain.

28. (2172). Fragment of gable-topped slab of greyish marble, ·23 × ·20 × ·04. Letters ·01 h.

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟ////
ΠΑΙΔΙΧ
ΠΙ

- - - *Δαμοκράτου*[ς *νικάσας τὸ*] *παιδιχ*[*ὸν* - -
- - - *ἐ*]*πὶ* - -

In line 1 *-ου-* is written in contraction.

29. (2174). Blue marble, ·17 × ·15 × ·04. Letters ·015 h.

Ι
ΝΝΕι
ΓΑC
CCΗ
ΙΑΤΟΡΙΝ
ΕΠΙΠΑΤΡ

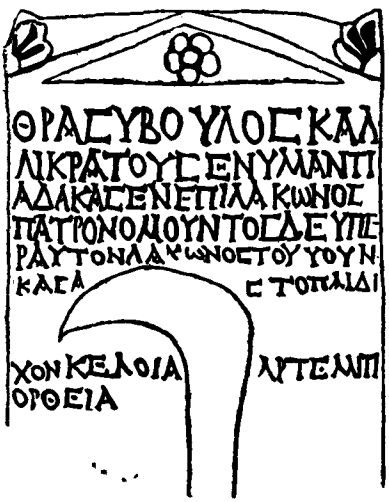
- - -
- *ν ν*(*ει*) -
κά](*σ*)*ας*
κ](*α*)*σση* -
(*ρ*)*ατόριν*
ἐπὶ (*πατρ*)[*ονόμου* - - -

30. (2175). Blue marble, ·23 × ·17 × ·05. Letters ·02 h.

		[ἐπὶ πατρονόμου]
ΠΑ . ΑΥΡΗ		(Μ)άρ. Αὐρη[λίου - -
ΠΟΡΟΥΤΟ		πόρου το[ῦ - -
ΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΚ		δρου τοῦ Κ - -
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤ		Ἀρτέμιτ[ι Ὀρθείᾳ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚ	5	ἀνέθη(κ)[ε.

In line 3 there seems to be the end of a name like Εὔπορος, which however would not suit any known Eponymus; in line 4 is the end of a name like Ἄλκανδρος; what follows is uncertain. Finally we have the usual form of dedication.

31. (2178). Gable-topped slab of bluish marble, ·48 × ·32 × ·03. Letters ·02—·01 h. Iron sickle in socket.



Θρασύβουλος Καλ-	Thrasybulus Calli-
λικράτους Ἐνυμαντι-	cratis Enymanti-
άδᾳ κάσεν ἐπὶ Λάκωνος,	adae casis, (patro-
πατρονομοῦντος δὲ ὑπὲ-	nomo) Lacone,
ρ αὐτὸν Λάκωνος τοῦ ὑοῦ	suffecto autem
ν[ι]|κάσας· τὸ παιδι-	ejus filio Lacone,
χὸν κελοίᾳ Ἀρτέμιτι	victor puerorum
Ὀρθείᾳ.	certaminis
	celoeae (cantus) Dianae
	Ortheae (dedicavit).

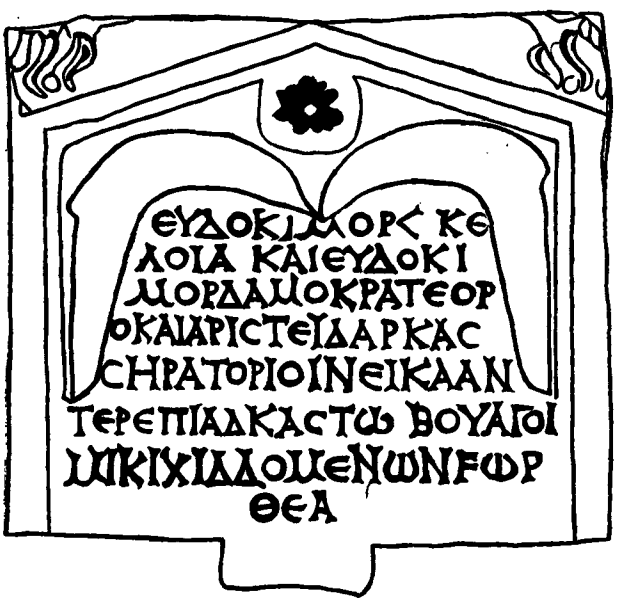
An Enymantiadas occurs in *S.M.C.* 210 (Le Bas-Foucart 173 a) where Chalinus and Hierocles stood to him as *κάσις*; this may be the Enymantiadas mentioned here.

The statement that some other man acted for the Eponymus is made here, in 1 and in 38. In the present case there is no doubt as to the construction, so it cannot be thought that the acting-patronomus discharged his duties merely in relation to the winner (as if *ὑπὲρ αὐτόν*, in the present inscription, could refer to Thrasybulus and not to Lacon). We must therefore believe either that the deputy took over the whole duties of the

Eponymus after the latter had had the honour of giving his name to the year (as with the *suffectio* of consuls under the Roman Empire), or else that he merely took the place of the latter at the boys' contest. While the fact that the Eponymus was no longer acting would not need to be mentioned in most documents, it is quite possible that the Patronomus took a leading part in the Artemis festival, and that therefore the name of the official actually in charge was of some interest; not otherwise can we understand why the whole list of titles borne by the Patronomus should be mentioned in this class of inscription (as in (*c*) and probably 2).[1]

In the present case Lacon may have been an old man, and therefore willing to make way for his son, who may have been elected as a compliment to the father.

32. (2179). Handsomely carved slab of greyish marble, ·45 × ·49 × ·09. Letters ·02 h. Two sockets for sickles.



Εὐδόκιμορ (Εὐδοκίμω) κελοίᾳ καὶ Εὐδόκιμορ Δαμοκράτεορ ὁ καὶ Ἀριστείδαρ κασσηρατορίοι νεικάαντερ ἐπὶ Ἀλκάστω βοναγοὶ μικιχιδδομένων, Ϝωρθέᾳ.

[1] This inscription seems to give us a new member of the family of Eurycles, namely a Lacon, son of that C. Julius Lacon who was son of Eurycles and prominent in Laconia under Claudius: his name appears on coins of that Emperor (B.M. Catalogue, *Peloponnesus*, Pl. XXV. 12). His existence had been already conjectured by J. M. Paton (*Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1895, 38, where a family-tree is given). This inscription probably dates at latest from the reign of Claudius. The elder Lacon also had a son named Argolicus, who was married before 33 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 18); which places his own birth earlier than 15 B.C., at least. It is apparently Lacon the younger who is Eponymus for the second time in *C.I.G.* 1347.—A.M.W.]

'Eudocimus Eudocimi (filius) celoeae, et Eudocimus Damocratis (filius), vocatus quoque Aristidas, casseratori victores, patronomo Alcasto, duces puerorum decennium, Ortheae (dedicaverunt).'

The two boy-winners may have been cousins, both named after their grandfather. An example of an *alias* has occurred in 21. Alcastus is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1241, about the end of the reign of Hadrian. The archaism is noteworthy.

33. (2183). Bluish marble, ·10 × ·15 × ·05. Letters ·02 h.

ΙΑΥΡΗΛΙ////	- - (M.) Αὐρήλι[ος]
ΟΣΥΛ	Χαρμ]οσυ(ν)[ὸς - -
⌐Γ	- - -

Restoration uncertain.

34. (2185). Fragment of blue marble, ·13 × ·07 × ·03. Letters ·02 h.

Є	- ε -	
ΤΟ	νικάας] (τ)ὸ [παιδι-	victor puerorum
‹ΕΛΟ	χὸν] (κ)ελο[ῖαν	certaminis celoeae (cantus)
ΙΤΙΒΟ	Ἀρτέμ]ιτι Βο[ρθέᾳ	Dianae Ortheae
ЄΘΗ	ἀν]έθη[κε.	dedicavit.

35. (2189). Slab of greyish marble. Broken through; ·21 × ·17. Letters ·015 h. Sockets for three sickles.

ΛΑΧΑΡΗΣΛΑΧΑΡΕ	Λαχάρης Λαχάρε-	Lachares Lacharis
ΟΣΝΙΚΑΑΣΤΟΠ	ος νικάας τ(ὸ π)[αιδι-	filius victor puerorum
ΛΟΝΙΕΛΕ	χ(ὸν) (κ)ελέ(αν) [ἐπὶ	certaminis celeae
ΕΥΒΑΛ	Εὐβ(αλ) - - [πα-	
ΤΡΟΝΟΜ	τρονόμ[ου - - - *e.g.* Σωκλεί-	
ΔΑΚ////////	δα Κ - -	
ΚΑΙΚΛΕΟ	καὶ Κλεο- -	
ΚΑΙΚΥΝΑΓ////	καὶ Κυναγ - -	
ΚΑΙΔΕΡΕΙ	καὶ δερει - -	
ΝΙΚΑΘΡΟΝΒ	νίκαθρον Β[ωρθέᾳ.	

Nothing seems to be lost on the left side. The letters are rather faint. In line 4 a name like Εὐβάλκης seems to occur,[1] though no such Eponymus is known. In line 7 is the beginning of a name like Cleomenes, perhaps

[1] Cf. perhaps 26, l. 6.

another winner recording his triumph on the same stone with Lachares.[1] Of lines 6 and 9 nothing can be made. Κυναγ[ός] may be a proper name in line 7: *νίκαθρον* in line 10 means a thank-offering for victory.

36. (2169+2194).[2] Two fragments of whitish marble. Letters ·02 h.

	- - [β	
ΟΙ ΜΙΚΙ	(οα)[γὸρ] (μικκ)[ιχιδδο-	dux puerorum dec-
ΜΕΝΣΙΝΕΠΙ	(μ)έν(ων) ἐπὶ [πατρονό-	ennium patronomo
ΛΩΤΙΒΚΛΑΥΒ	(μ)ω Τι*β*. Κλαυ. Β[ρασίδα ἱε-	Tib. Cl. Brasida
ΡΕΩΡΔΙΡΙΟΝ 5	(ρέ)ωρ δὶρ (τῶν) [Σεβαστῶν καὶ	pontifice II. Augustorum
ΓΙΩΝ	τῶν θ](εί*ω*)ν [προγόνων αὐ-	et eorum
	τῶν] - -	divorum patrum.

Restoration somewhat uncertain. Cl. Brasidas is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1259 and would suit the space here. In line 4 *δίρ* is archaistic for *δίς*; the usual formula has been supplied.

37. (2206). From trench A. Part of carved slab, ·20 × ·19. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle. No letters lost on the right side.

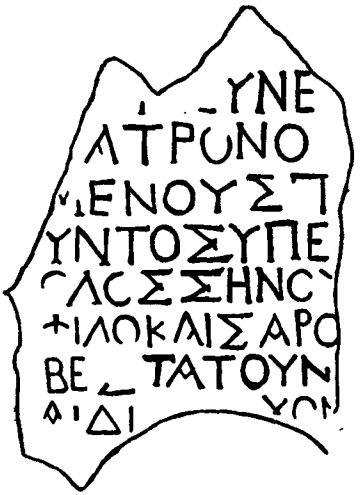
Ἀγαθῇ]τύχῃ	Bona fortuna
- - Ἀρχιάδαρ	Archiadas
- - *α βοαγὸρ*	- - - filius, dux
- - -	puerorum.

An Archiadas, son of Damolas, occurs in *S.M.C.* 267; as far as the writing goes, there is no reason against the present Archiadas being the same. The name is not very common.

[1] [We seem to have another previously unknown member of the Eurycles family, for it is probable that the elder Lachares is the father of C. Julius Eurycles, and thus that the younger one—not known elsewhere—is the latter's (? younger) brother; as Lachares was killed before the battle of Actium (Plutarch, *Ant.* 67), this inscription dates back to the first century B.C.: a conclusion which suits the date of *S.M.C.* 205, in which Eubalces occurs.—A.M.W.]

[2] 2194 was found in the wall of the upper Roman building, trench B.

38. (2248). Part of gable-topped slab, ·25 × ·17. Letters ·02 h. Socket for sickle.



- - - -
. . . .(σ)υνέ[φηβος ἐπὶ
π]ατρονό[μου Τιμο-
(μ)ένους, (π)[ατρονομο-
ῦντος ὑπὲ[ρ αὐτὸν Λ. Οὐ-
5 ολοσσηνο(ῦ) [Δαμάρους
φιλοκαίσαρο[ς καὶ εὐλα-
βεστάτου, ν[εικάσας τὸ π-
αιδιχό(ν) - - -

'- - - alicujus synephebus, patronomo Timomene, suffecto autem L. Volusseno Damare amico Caesaris viro dignissimo, victor puerorum certaminis - - -'

In line 2 Timomenes, the Eponymus of *C.I.G.* 1248, is a possible reading. His year falls about the reign of Marcus Aurelius, to which age our inscription, with its rather poor lettering, might belong.

In lines 3, 4 there is mention of a deputy Patronomus, whose honours are given at length (cf. 31 and note there). The name Volussenus occurs at Sparta in *C.I.G.* 1438 and *S.M.C.* 281, both times with the names Lucius and Damares. It is possible that here also is a mention of some member of that house, wherefore the names have been restored. The title of *φιλόκαισαρ* does not denote an 'amicus Caesaris' in the sense of a member of the Emperor's council, but is merely complimentary, as also is *εὐλαβέστατος*, 'worthy' or 'pious.'

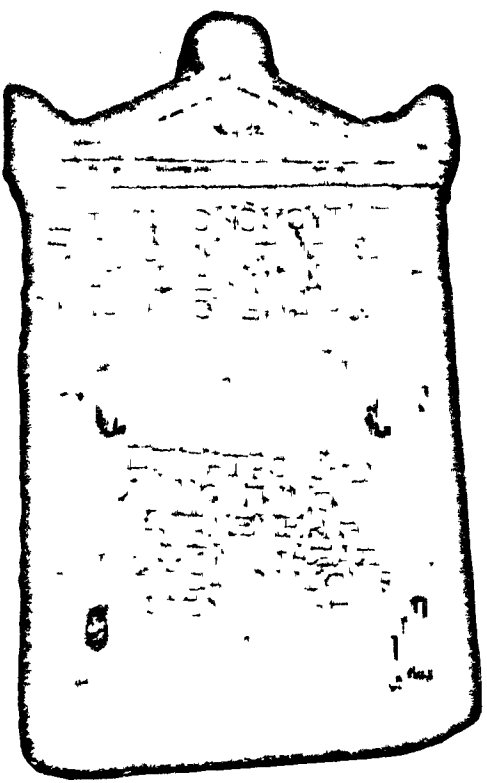
39. (2476). From trench before Temple. Slab with trace of sculptured pediment and socket for sickle. Broken through in three places, ·43 × ·18 × ·025. Letters ·037 h., rather thick and clumsy.

ΕΠΙ	Ἐπὶ [πατρονόμου	Patronomo
ΔΑΜ	Δαμ - -	Dam - -
ΔΑϹ‹‹	δας (- - δα) - - [νεικάσας	- das (-dae filius)
ΤΟΠΑ	τὸ π(α)[ιδιχὸν καθθη-	victor puerorum
ΡΑ	ρα[τόριν - - -	catheratori (ve-
Falx.		nationis) - -

The letters in lines 1 and 2 are larger than those below.

The Eponymus might be Damares (*C.I.G.* 1243), Damippus (3 above), or some other of the possible names given under 7.

40. (2482). Found face down in pavement before E. end of Temple. Gable-topped slab of coarse marble, ·65 × ·41 × ·095. Letters ·016 h. Two sickles were fastened on.



Ἐπὶ πατρονόμου Σ<ι>ωσινίκ(ου)	Patronomo Sosinico
Πρῖμος Νηρέος Μενε-	Primus, Nerei f., Mene-
κλεῖ κάσεν νικάσας μῶα(ν)	clis comes victor moae (cantus)
Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ ἀνέθηκεν.	Dianae Ortheae dedicavit.

Ἐπὶ πατρονό(μο)υ Εὐ-	Patronomo Eu-
δάμου Πρῖμος Νη-	damo Primus, Ne-
ρέος Μενεκλεῖ	rei f., Meneclis
κάσεν νικάσας	comes victor
κελέαν ἀνέθηκε[ν]	celeae (cantus) dedicavit
Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ.	Dianae Ortheae.

In line 1 the last two letters are written above ικ, in line 5 -μο- are left out probably by mistake.

In line 1 it is not easy to see what the name of the Eponymus can be if not Sosinicus; the inscription shows traces of carelessness and the -ι- may be simply a mistake; the last six lines are rather crooked, though they must have been added before the setting up of the stone.

In line 3 the mark on the stone above the A is the missing N.

The dating of this inscription presents some difficulty. The only Sosinicus known to have been Eponymus is seen in (*d*) above; he bears the names M. Aurelius, and further the inscription already gives the winner of the μῶα in that year. It might indeed be believed that there could be two dedications on the strength of one victory, one by the βοαγός, the other made unofficially by some private member of the team whose father wished to record the event. On the other hand the only Eudamus known to have been Eponymus seems to have borne office in Hadrian's reign (*C.I.G.* 1241), and must have been distinct from the present magistrate. Primus, son of Nereus (as the right rendering seems to be), is hardly a name that we should expect at Sparta as early as Hadrian's reign. The name Nereus is known (cf. Pape-Bens. *s.v.*).

41. From house of Matalas at Aphesou. Red marble, ·095 × ·09 × ·04. Letters ·02 h.

ΙΙ/	- - -
ˊ<ΑΘΘΗΙ/	καθθη(ρ)[ατόριν]
ΟΡΔΕΚΙ	ἔφηβ]ορ δὲ κ(ε)[λέαν - -
⌒ ⌒ΡΘ/	(Β)ορθ(έ)[ᾳ

The reading *ἔφηβορ*, if at all possible, would imply that the winner won the cattheratorin in his boyhood, and the celea when he was an ephebe. Two forms Θ and Θ are used. The restoration is quite uncertain.

42. (2307). From Temple site. Bottom of slab with trace of socket for sickle. Letters ·02 h.

	- - [*νικά-*	victor
ΣΑΣ	*σας* [*τὸ παιδικὸν*	puerorum certaminis
ΜΩΑΝ	*μῶαν* (*ἀ*)[*νέθηκεν* - -	moae (cantus) dedicavit
	- - - - [*Ὀρθείᾳ* - -	Ortheae.

43. (2304). Corner of slab with carved pediment, ·16 × ·08. Letters ·015 h.

ΑΓΑ		*Ἀγα*[*θῇ τύχῃ*
ΣΕΚΠ		*Σέ*(*ξτος*) *Π*[*ομ*(*πήϊος*) *Δα-*
ΜΑΙΝΕ		*μαίνε*[*τος Θεοξένου ?*
ΒΟΑΓϹ		*βοαγ*(*ὸ*)[*ς μικιχιζομέ -*
ΝΩΝ	5	*νων* - - -

The name in line 2 is Sextus not Secundus, as it is clearly a *praenomen*: this seems to have been the common abbreviation (cf. *C.I.G.* 1345 and note). Boeckh believes that at the time of Sextus Pompey's occupation of the Peloponnese many Greeks took his name. The father of Damaenetus may have been Theoxenus, as two *Σέκ. Πομ. Θεόξενοι* and a *Δαμαίνετος Θεοξένου* are known (*C.I.G.* 1369, Le Bas-Foucart, 168 i).

44. (2475). Slab with carved pediment, ·275 × ·26 × ·04. Letters ·015 h. The inscription seems to begin with two metrical lines, but what follows is uncertain.

ΙΡΕΥΣΣΕΙΟΜΑΚΑΙΡΑΚ⌐
ΤΕΤΡΑΧΕΙΡΟΣΜΩΑΝ
ΘΕΤΟΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗ⌝
ΕΦΗΒΟΣΟΝΕΥΓΓ
ΠΟΥΡΧΛΑ ΕΥΡΥΙ 5
ΜΑΝΤΙΣΑΠΟ⌝

Ἰρεὺς σεῖο, Μάκαιρα, κ(*α*)[*σιγνήτου*] | *τετράχειρος*
μῶαν [*νικήσας ἄν*]|*θετο Καλλικράτη*(*ς*).
- - - *συν*]|*έφηβος* - - || - - - - | *μάντις αποσ* - - - 5

The use of *σεῖο* and *ἱρεύς* shows the dialect to be conventional Ionic, of which (*a*) has already furnished an example. *Μάκαιρα* could be applied to any goddess, *Τετράχειρ* was an attribute of Amyclaean Apollo[1]; this suggests the reading *κασιγνήτου* in line 1. No line seems to have been lost below.

Another priest appears as a victor in (*c*) above. These may have been hereditary priesthoods. It is also possible (1) that the stones were set up some years after the victory, or (2) that Callicrates was on the verge of manhood when he won the *μῶα*; this, as will be seen below, was not impossible. Were this the case, *ἔφηβος* might be read in line 4, though *συν*]*έφηβος* would be equally allowable. On the other hand the winner in (*c*) was *βοναγὸρ μικκιχιδδομένων*.

45. (2285). Slab unbroken on the right.

-ΙΔΑΡ	- (*ε*)*ίδαρ*	- - - idas
ΛΚΙΧΙΤ	*βοαγὸρ μι*](*κ*)*κιχιτ-*	dux puerorum
-ΝΕΠΙΜ	*τομέν*](*ω*)*ν ἐπὶ πα*(*τ*)-	decennium patro-
ΔΩΜΡΑΥΡΝΕΙ	*ρονόμ*](*ω*) *Μάρ. Αὐρ. Νει-*	nomo M. Aur. Nicephoro
ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΑ	*κηφόρω τῶ*] (Φ)*ιλωνίδα* 5	Philonidae f.
ΡΚΑΣ	*νεικάα*](*ρ*) *κασ-*	victor venationis?
	σηρατόριν] - - -	

In line 1 there seems to be the end of a name. Line 2, *μικκιχιττομένων* is a new form, instead of *μικκιχιδδομένων*. The Eponymus must be M. Aur. Nicephorus, son of Philonidas, for whom see *B.C.H.* ix. 515, No. 6. Owing to the free use of contractions this inscription must be placed late, perhaps in the reign of Commodus.

46. (2284). Unbroken on left. Small fragment, ·13 × ·05. Letters ·015 h.

Ν	*ν* - -
ΤΟΥΘ	*τοῦ θ* - - - [*ἀ-*
ΡΙCΤΟΠ	*ριστοπ*[*ολιτευτής*?
ΟΡΘΕΙΑΑ	*Ὀρθεία ἀ*[*νέθηκε*].

[1] Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, 68, 69, where several references are given, cf. 95. Cf. also Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, p. 101.

Other Inscriptions from the Artemisium.

47. (2161). Lower end of whitish marble slab, ·30×·20×·03. Letters ·01 h.

Ξενοκλῆς
(Δ)ηιλόχοι κάσε[ν]
μικιχιδδόμενος

πρα(τ)[ό-
παις

This stone is of a different shape from those so far given, the letters *πρα(τ)[ό]παις* being separated from the rest by a ridge. Though the end of the inscription is here, there is no word of Artemis Orthia. The doings of some boy are commemorated, as is shown by *μικιχιδδόμενος* and by the form *πρατόπαις*, which will be discussed later; but beyond this the nature of the inscription is doubtful.

48. (2157). Greyish marble cut to a point on left side, ·16×·12×·05. Letters ·01 h.

? - - - *Ζεύ]ξιππος* -

- *δων* -
- *νερα* -

Meaning doubtful.

NOTE 1.—NATURE OF THE CONTESTS.

It is clear from the above inscriptions that there were at least three kinds of competition. These are given in the following terms (a few doubtful cases being left out).

(i.) *τὸ παιδικὸν μῶαν* 1, 14 (prob.); *τὸ παιδικὸν μώᾳ* 3, 12; *τὸ παιδιχὸν μώιαι* 4; *μῶαν* (*a*) (*d*) 21, 40; *μῶ[αν]* 8.

(ii.) *τὸ παιδιχὸν κελήᾳ* 5, 13; *κελέαν* 40; *κελοίᾳ* 32; *κελοῖαν* 15, 34 (prob.); *κελείαι* 26; *καιλ[ή]αν* (*d*); *κελῦαν* (*b*).

(iii.) *τὸ παιδικὸν τὸ (κα)τθηρατόριν* 10; *τὸ παιδιχὸν καθθηρατόριν* 16; *τὸ παιδιχὸν καθθηρατόριον (h)*; *κατθηρατόριν* 11; *κασσηρατόριν* 15, 29, (*c*), (*d*); *κασσηρατορίοι* 32.

The case-forms in which these words appear seem to be (1) accusative, *e.g.*, 1. *νεικήσας τὸ παιδικὸν μῶαν*. Here *τὸ παιδικόν* is a cognate accusative after *νεικήσας*, and *μῶαν* an apposition to *τὸ παιδικόν* which it limits and explains. 'Having won the boys' contest, namely the *μῶα*.' In the same way are to be explained *νεικήσας τὸ παιδικὸν καθθηρατόριον (h)*, *νεικήσας τὸ π. καθθηρατόριν* 16, and others. The occurrence of *καθθηρατόριον* shews that *καθθηρατόριν* is merely a shortened form,[1] not the accusative of a noun in *-ις*. Elsewhere the name of the contest is used by itself as the object of *νεικήσας*, *e.g.* (*a*) *μῶαν νικήσας*, (*b*) *νεικάαρ κελῦαν*, (*c*) *νεικάαρ κασσηρατόριν*, and elsewhere. (2) Dative—either instrumental or locative in its force. In view of *μώιαι* 4 and *κελέαι* 26 it seems likely that the other forms without the accusative ending are also datives and should therefore be written with an iota subscript; the omission of the iota in the dative would of course be usual in late inscriptions. We should therefore write *μώᾳ* 3 etc., *κελήᾳ* 5 etc., *κελοίᾳ* 31, 32. These forms are found most commonly with *τὸ παιδικόν* (32 is a certain exception), but are quite possible without it. *Κασσηρατορίοι* 32, if not locative, may be an archaistic dative.[2]

As to the exact meanings of these various terms there has been a good deal of disagreement. It will be best to take each in order.

(i) *Μῶα*. This word, as suggested by Baunack,[3] seems to be a Doric form of *μοῦσα*; by the change of intervocalic *σ* to h, and of *-ου-* to *-ω-* by the ordinary rules, we have *μοῦσα* = *μῶha*; later the aspirate would naturally be dropped. The contest would therefore be some form of musical performance. In support of this view it may be mentioned that the hymns of Alcman were sung in honour of Artemis Orthia by choirs of maidens, perhaps in competition.[4]

[1] The shortening of *-ιον* to *-ιν* which in the end produced the modern Greek forms ending in *-ι* began at a fairly early date: cf. Jannaris, *Hist. Gk. Gram.* §§ 302–3.

[2] *-ΟΙ* as a dative ending is common in archaic inscriptions; cf. *I.G.A.* 63. Roberts, *Introd. to Gk. Epigr.* i. p. 253, No. 254, ΝΠΙΟΙ = ['Ολυ]μπίῳ.

[3] *Rhein. Mus.* xxxviii. (1883) 293. Hesych. *μῶα· ᾠδή ποιά.* Plato, *Laws* 666 D *ποίαν δὲ ᾄσουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες φωνὴν ἢ μοῦσαν;* (quoted by Meister ap. Collitz-Bechtel, III. 2, p. 144); Ar. *Lysist.* 1297 (chorus of Spartan women) *μῶα μόλε Λάκαινα.*

[4] So Diels, *Hermes* xxxi. 1896, 339 ff. The passage of Alcman has already been quoted, p. 352, footnote, above.

(ii) *κελῆα*, etc. All kinds of views have been held as to the meaning of this group of words. In inscription (*d*) *καὶ λῶαν* was read, *λῶαν* being taken in the sense of *λᾶαν*, 'quoit-throw.' This was the explanation of Baunack, who further took *κεαναν* to be meant for *κε' λαῦαν*, 'victorious with the quoit twenty-five times.' Komnenos took *λόα* to be another form of *λύρα* (*Λακωνικά*, 364). Preger took the words to refer to the musical competition; he is followed by Meister,[1] who gives many words from the same stem as *κελῆα*, all connected with singing. Both authorities considered the word to be either an apposition explaining *μῶαν* or an adjective qualifying it.

The new evidence makes the meaning of *κελῆα* rather plainer. In 5 Timocrates, winner of the *κελῆα*, speaks of the 'Fair-sounding prize of his tuneful voice', and this seems to prove Preger's view to be the true one. But though the *κελῆα* was a contest in singing it does not seem to have been the same as the *μῶα*, for in 8 the two are contrasted. In that inscription two brothers, sons of Antipater, record their success and state that in the same year one was victorious in the *μῶα* and the other in the *κελῆα*.[2] What the difference was is not yet known, but there would be nothing strange in having two singing contests: one (*κελῆα*) might have been formal hymns to Artemis, such as the hymns of Alcman; the other (*μῶα*) marching songs like those of Tyrtaeus, accompanied perhaps by instrumental music. Paus. iii. 17. 5 mentions the association of such music with the Muses, and adds that the Spartans used the flute and lyre to play their men into battle. Plut. *Lycurg.* 21 says the same thing (mentioning the flute only) and adds that the king sacrificed to the Muses in the field.

The various forms of the word itself seem to be due to the uncertainty of spelling in a dialect word. It may be noted, if the reading *κελῦαν* for *κεαναν* be accepted, that all the forms in the modern Greek pronunciation would have exactly the same sound, except *κελέα*, where the spelling may be archaistic.

(iii) *καθθηρατόριν*, *καθθηρατόριον*, etc. Here again the explanations are various. Baunack thought the word was connected with *καταθηρᾶν*,

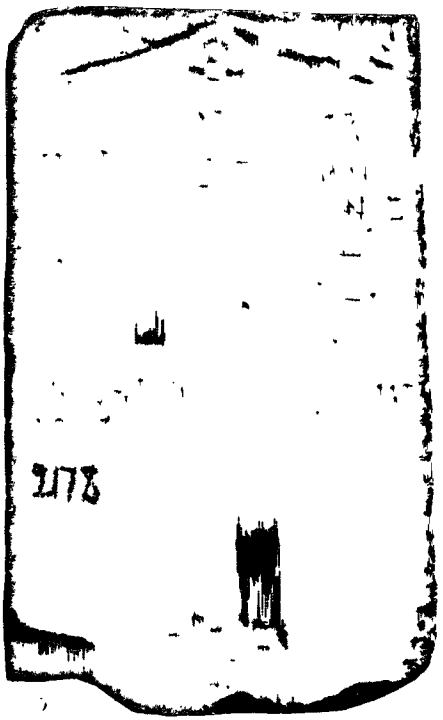
[1] In Collitz-Bechtel, III. 2, pp. 143 ff. Hesych. Καλαοίδια· ἀγὼν ἐπιτελούμενος Ἀρτέμιδι παρὰ Λάκωσιν.—Καλαβοίδια· ἐν τῷ τῆς Δερεάτιδος ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος ᾄδόμενοι ὕμνοι. This word may be a form of *κελῆα*. Hesych. Κέλωρ· φωνή. Compare the words *κέλαδος*, *κελαδεῖν*, *κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Inscr. (*d*) proves nothing against this, for there may have been *three* winners, or the same ἀγέλη might have won both *μῶα* and *κελῆα*.

'to hunt down,' and referred to some kind of beast-fight.[1] Koumanoudes took *καασηρᾶτόριν* in (*c*) as a dialect form of *Καισαρείοισιν*.[2] Komnenos took it to be a foot-race.[3] Foucart derived the word from the root of *cassis* and *θορεῖν* = 'a leap with a helmet.'[4] Preger, who thought that all the competitions were musical, proposed either to connect *καθθηρατόριν* with *σηραφόρος*, or to make it = *κατὰ θηρατόριον* 'on the hunting ground,' or else to take it as the name of a festival, sc. *ἀγώνισμα*.[5] Meister agrees with the latter view and quotes *ἀγητήρια*, a Cyprian festival.[6] Lastly Tod,[7] on the discovery of (*h*), refuted the last view and justified Baunack's idea. Here the new inscriptions quite bear him out; the form *καθθηρατόριον* has been further established (32) and such a form as *κατθηρατόριν* (11) seems to fix the derivation from *κατά* and *θηρᾶν*. It remains to be seen what kind of 'hunt' is meant by the *καθθηρατόριον*. Baunack, Mayer,[8] and Tod[9] all refer it to an actual bull-fight such as is supposed to have been held in the Mycenaean age. Baunack proves the existence of the bull-fight in Thessaly, and at Rome, and quotes five inscriptions from Hellenistic times onwards which show that it was common in Asia Minor, though in no case definitely associated with the worship of Artemis. But all this is not enough to prove that the same thing happened at Sparta. Baunack's view that the Spartans borrowed the practice from Rome seems unlikely, for the use of archaic words shows that the contest must have been an old one; and the idea of setting ten-year-old boys to fight bulls does not seem reasonable. It seems therefore more natural to believe that the *καθθηρατόριον* was a rough game played by the bands of Spartan boys, which took its name from its likeness to a hunt or beast-fight. It need not have been fought against a bull any more than the games of 'cock-fighting' and 'bear-baiting' nowadays have anything to do with cocks or bears. The contest of the lads in the Platanistas described by Pausanias (iii. 14. 9, 10), as a prelude to which two boars fought, may give an idea of the kind of struggle that the hunt would have been. The matter however is still uncertain.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, where the various forms of the word are explained.
[2] *Ἀθήναιον* i. 256. [3] *Λακωνικά*, 363. [4] In Le Bas *Explication*, p. 143.
[5] *Loc. cit.* 342. [6] *Op. cit.* p. 144. [7] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904) 52.
[8] *Arch. Jahrbuch* vii. (1892) 72 ff. *Mykenische Beiträge. I. Stierfang.*
[9] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904), 55, where three fresh examples of bull-fights are given, from inscriptions of Larissa. All these refer to imperial times.

NOTE 2.—WHAT WAS THE THING DEDICATED?



INSCRIPTION 31, SHOWING IRON SICKLE IN PLACE.

It would naturally be thought, if the same thing was offered up in memory both of a musical and an athletic victory, that the object itself would have no connexion with either contest, but would rather have been chosen for an altogether different reason.

The suggestions are:

1. A scraper.[1] This being used by athletes may perhaps be a fit offering, but in a musical contest it would be out of place; moreover the shape of the implement is not that of the Greek scraper, and we are told that the Spartans used scrapers made of cane not iron.[2]

2. A kind of high cap called στλεγγίς. This is the view taken by

[1] So Reisch, *Gr. Weihgeschenke*, p. 61, n. 2.

[2] Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 32 Στλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλαμίναις ἐχρῶντο. Cf. Preger's note *l.c.* 335.

Meister, *l.c.* p. 143, and he quotes the following passages in support of it: (i) In the Andania Inscription (Collitz-Bechtel, 4689 l. 13) the *πρωτομύσται* are crowned with *στλεγγίδες*; (ii) Xen. *Anab.* i. 2 § 10, Xenias gives golden *στλεγγίδες* as prizes to Cyrus' troops; (iii) Sosibius *ap.* Athen. xv. p. 674a (*F.H.G.* ii. p. 626) *καὶ γὰρ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλάμῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν, γράφων οὕτως· ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ στλεγγίδι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν* (where Meister would read *ἀγέλης* for *ἀγωγῆς*). Lastly, Meister compares the fixing of the iron sickle on the stone with the common practice of carving a wreath to record the distinction of being crowned.

Meister's proof however is not satisfactory. In the Xenophon passage a golden scraper is quite as likely a prize in an athletic meeting as a golden cap, though the latter is the usual rendering.[1] The *στλεγγίς* at Andania is not to the point, because there is no question of a prize there. As to Sosibius, Athenaeus at least took him to mean that the votaries wore wreaths of plaited reeds, in other words that *στλεγγίς* and *κάλαμοι* meant the same thing at Sparta.[2] It has been already mentioned that the Spartans used reeds for scrapers, so probably *στλεγγίς* simply meant a reed. In any case the wearing of a *στλεγγίς* does not prove that it was given as a prize; nor does Meister explain how *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας* can be the leaders of the bands, nor yet how *ἀγωγῆς* can be the same as *ἀγέλης*. Moreover the Promachea, whatever festival it may have been, had nothing to do with Artemis.[3] Again, if the 'prize-cap' was to be offered on the stone itself it would have been just as easy to carve a cap in stone as it was to carve and gild a wreath,—and the fact that this was not done is enough to show that there is no comparison between the two cases. Nor is it easy to think of a worse copy of a gilded cap than a long iron sickle.

3. A sickle-blade. This is the view of Preger, *l.c.*, and it seems to be proved by the new inscriptions. It must be noted, firstly, that the thing dedicated was the prize itself; so (*a*) *τάδ' ἔπαθλα λαβών.* 5 *τόδ' ἄεθλον ἀείρας.* 17 (*δ*)*ρεπάνην* [*τήνδ' ἀνέθη*](*κα λα*)*βών.*

[1] In Polyb. xxv. 4, where Perseus gives golden *στλεγγίδες* to a Rhodian crew as gifts, there is the same uncertainty. Pollux vii. 179 gives both meanings.

[2] With this custom may be compared the wearing of basket-crowns by the maiden worshippers of Artemis Coloenè at Sardis. Strabo xiii. 626.

[3] Widë, *Lak. Kulte*, 349, 356.

The last example proves that the offering was called a sickle, for in spite of the broken state of the stone, the socket and the word δρεπάνην (both are quite plain) are not to be explained in any other way. How then could a sickle be a fit offering to Artemis? Let us think to what uses such a tool could be put in early times. It would serve very well for reaping corn, and perhaps for pruning olive-trees,[1] for hunting however it would have been useless. It must therefore have been offered to Artemis Orthia as the life-giving and fructifying goddess, the giver of increase; there is good reason to think that this was one attribute of Orthia. It is moreover quite possible that the sickle had no special connexion with Artemis Orthia, but was merely a useful prize such as might be given in early times. Any such reward could have been offered to the patroness of the contest.

NOTE 3.—AGE AND STANDING OF THE WINNERS.

The use of the word παιδικόν of the competitions under discussion, as it is found in most of the inscriptions, shows clearly that the competitors were usually boys. The age for entry is further defined by the term μικιχιζόμενοι, clearly a form of μικιζόμενος,[2] which was applied at Sparta to a boy in the third year of his state training, the tenth year of his life. The common form, βοαγὸς μικιχιζομένων, etc. (as in 6, 11, 18, 32 (*c*) and (*e*)) seems to denote that the winner was the leader of a band of boys.[3] Each band elected its own leader, and the leader kept the title through life so that βοαγός often appears in conjunction with the higher offices.[4] It seems likely however that in this class of inscription the use of βοαγός had a more definite meaning, and that the bands of boys, not the leaders, were

[1] The Greeks to-day have a pruning-knife very like these votive sickles, some of the latter even have a 'shoulder' on the reverse side, showing that they, like the modern tool, may have been two-edged. In Hesiod, *Shield* l. 292, a δρεπάνη is used by vintagers.

[2] This rests on the well-known gloss on Herodotus, quoted by all the editors. Παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁ παῖς ῥωβίδας καλεῖται, τῷ δευτέρῳ προμικιζόμενος (MS. προκομιζόμενος), τῷ τρίτῳ μικιζόμενος, τῷ τετάρτῳ πρόπαις, τῷ πέμπτῳ παῖς, τῷ ἕκτῳ μελείρην. (Λέξεις Ἡροδότου. *Ed.* Stein, ii. 465.)

[3] Hesych. βουαγόρ· ἀγελάρχης, ὁ τῆς ἀγέλης ἄρχων παῖς.

[4] Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 20, who gives what seems the only reasonable explanation. The point is discussed in Boeckh, *C.I.G.* i. p. 612.

the real competitors.[1] In support of this it need only be remembered that choral singing was specially fostered at Sparta, and further, that in the Ball-match the winners were teams of *σφαιρεῖς*.[2] How is it then that, while the whole team of winning *σφαιρεῖς* seem to have been mentioned individually,[3] in the present case the leaders kept the honour to themselves? The reason may be that the *βουαγοί* under the empire seem to have been chosen mainly through family influence, and therefore the wealthy fathers of winning *βουαγοί* set up the stones at their own cost merely to record a family success, and so were not likely to care about the obscurer members of the team.

It is clear to anyone looking at the lists of Spartan magistrates that high offices tended to run in certain families, and the fact that a *βουαγός* very often held high office later, suggests that he was chosen rather by influence than for merit or strength. At the same time the matter is still a little uncertain.

The contests were not however confined to the boys of ten. In 4 a boy wins *τὸ παιδικὸν μώιαι* in two different years, and in 40 another boy wins the *μῶα* in one year, and in a later year the *κελέα*. In 15 Onasiclidas wins the Boys' Hunt and afterwards the *κελοῖα* among the *εἴρενες*.[4] The *εἴρενες* were grouped in bands as the younger boys were, but as to the details of contests which a boy could take between his tenth year (*μικιζόμενος*) and his twentieth (*εἴρην*) our knowledge is too scanty to allow of definite statement.

It is not uncommon to find certain other distinctions mentioned in these inscriptions besides that of *βουαγός*. They are *συνέφηβος*, *κάσις* (or *κάσεν*) and some form like *πρατοπάμπαις*.

Συνέφηβος. This is seen in 12 *τῶ Ἀριστοτέληρ συνέφηβορ*, and 38 - - *συνέ*[*φηβος*]; 44 is doubtful. The word is supposed to have two meanings: (1) literally, a fellow-ephebe or playmate;[5] (2) technically, a lad chosen by an Eponymus as his 'orderly.' The grounds for taking the word in the latter sense are given by Boeckh.[6] We often find it among a man's

[1] So Preger, *l.c.* p. 338.

[2] Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 16 and *B.S.A.* x. 63 ff.

[3] *S.M.C.* 400 and 721.

[4] In 41 the reading is too uncertain for any argument to be based on it.

[5] This sense is clear in Le Bas-Foucart, 167.

[6] *C.I.G.* i. p. 612. Boeckh gives four examples of *συνέφηβος*, and in each case the name connected with it is an Eponymus. Cf. Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 16.

distinctions that he had been so-and-so's *συνέφηβος*, and this, it is thought, must refer to some formal office: for *jam vero alicujus qui multo post patronomus creatus sit hos et illos synephebos tum fuisse quum ille ipse ephebus esset, annotari non poterat nisi ab hominibus absurdis.* This however does not really settle the question, for *synephebus* would not be merely an ephebe in the same year as another youth, but rather one in the same band, and it would suit the vanity of the later Greeks only too well to record the fact of having been the school-fellow of some famous man. The new instances do not in any way clear up the uncertainty. In 12, if the reading there given be right, it seems impossible to take *συνέφηβος* except in the literal sense, for though the youth might perhaps have been boy-orderly to the Eponymus, the Eponymus would not have been *συνέφηβος* to his own orderly. There would seem to be a contradiction in the use of *συνέφηβος* in conjunction with *μιχιχιδόμενορ* in 12, and with *παιδικόν* in 38, for a boy of ten could hardly be a *συνέφηβος*[1] in any sense. This might be explained away by saying that the stone was set up some time after the victory, so that later distinctions could be added; or if, in spite of 12, Boeckh's view be kept, it can only be said that *συνέφηβος* has become so thoroughly technical, that it could be used of a boy who so far from being a *fellow*-ephebe of the Eponymus was still three years short of being an ephebe himself. A possible way out of the difficulty is suggested below.

Κάσεν, etc. 10 *Ἰάμου κάσεν*; 20 [*κ*]*άσεν*; 26 (*κ*)*άσεν μικι*[*χιδδόμενος*]; 31 *Ἐνυμαντιάδᾳ κάσεν*; 47 (Δ)*ηιλόχοι κάσεν*; 40 *Μενεκλεῖ κάσεν* (twice). Though the actual form *κάσεν* was not known before, the same stem seems to occur in many places. The forms Κ |< Κ' Κ̄ ΚΣΤ ΚΑΣ ΚΣΕΝ ΚΑΣΝΓΑΙΟΥ[2] are given by Boeckh (*C.I.G.* i. p. 613). *Κάσις* seems to occur (in the plural *κάσεις*) in Le Bas-Foucart, 168 g (*S.M.C.* 411). The name to which *κάσεν* is added appears as a rule in the dative (as probably in 47 and in 40). But in *S.M.C.* 411, l. 15, and in 10 (above) it seems to take the genitive; 31 might be either.

It is likely that all the forms given above are connected with the same root which is found in *κάσις* and in *κασίγνητος* and is explained by a note

[1] Compare the end of the Herodotus gloss already quoted, *ἐφηβεύει τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ιδ' μέχρι καὶ κ'.*

[2] It is clear from Boeckh's text (*C.I.G.* 1249 col. II. l. 7) that the third element in this word is a monogram of Σ and Ε. We need therefore have no hesitation in reading *κάσεν*. *Γά(ϊος) Ἰού(λιος) Φίλιππος κτλ.*

of Hesychius, Κάσις· *οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγέλης, ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί.* Boeckh had gathered from this that the *κάσις* was a kind of *πάρεδρος* or assessor to the Eponymus and was chosen by him from those who had been in the same band with himself. It also appears that an Eponymus might have more than one *κάσις* or one man might be *κάσις* of two magistrates.[1] From 40 it further appears that a man could either be *κάσεν* twice to a man who was no longer Eponymus, or having been *κάσεν* once, kept the title. Now the occurrence of the word *κάσεν* on inscriptions such as we are discussing raises a difficulty very much like that raised by *συνέφηβος*; are we to look for an office held when the victory was won or to an honour gained in later life? Several explanations are possible but none quite satisfactory. (1) If *κάσεν* in the new inscriptions means the same as *κάσις* and the other forms, then it must be believed that the present inscriptions were set up long after the victories recorded, so that honours won in manhood could be added. (2) This assumption need not be made in case *κάσις* points merely to the honour of having been in the same *ἀγέλη* with a boy belonging to a notable family. (3) It can hardly be believed that *κάσις* was (as is suggested for *συνέφηβος*) a kind of boy-'orderly' of the Eponymus, for in *C.I.G.* 1248 the *κάσις* is a senator, in *C.I.G.* 1242 a *νομοφύλαξ*, and in *C.I.G.* 1249 an ephor. Again the gloss of Hesychius shows that the *κάσεις* were of the same standing one as the other.

On the whole the new inscriptions have strengthened the case for taking both *συνέφηβος* and *κάσεν* in the literal sense, that is, of 'class-mates' in the same *ἀγέλη*. Neither word seems to be used with *βοαγός*, and it may be that ordinary members of winning teams, if they wished to record their success, might have set up dedications adding the name of the principal boy in the band, perhaps the *βοαγός* himself.[2] Thus in 40 the meaning would be, 'In the year of Sosinicus, Primus son of Nereus and a member of Menecles' team, having won the *μῶα*, etc.' In the second half of the inscription he remained in the same team. In this way it is easy to see how a man could, by passing from one team to another, have been *κάσεν* to more than one person and how a man could have had more than one *κάσεν*. With regard to the use of *κάσις* applied to grown-up men, it may simply mean a past distinction like *βοαγός* and *συνέφηβος*, and if so

[1] Boeckh, *l.c.*; Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 20.

[2] This is Prof. Bosanquet's suggestion.

it would be an accident that the *κάσις* seems always to be joined to the name of an Eponymus. Otherwise *κάσις* and *κάσεν* must be taken in different senses, the latter referring to comradeship in youth, the former to office in manhood.

If *συνέφηβος* is to be taken literally there remains the difficulty of reconciling it with the use of *παιδικόν* and *μικιχιζόμενος* on the same stone, for, as already mentioned, an ephebe was between fourteen and twenty years old, and a *μικιχιζόμενος* a lad of ten. It may be that such words were not always used in their strictest technical sense, and that the contest was sometimes called *τὸ παιδικόν* and the competitors *μικιχιζόμενοι* even when the age limit of fourteen had been passed. This after all seems the simplest explanation.

The form of *κάσεν* is not easy to explain. It is undoubtedly used for the nominative case and may either be an abbreviation, or perhaps a form like *εἶρην* the *ε* being due to mistaken archaism in copying from some old inscription, though the form occurs equally in inscriptions in Common Greek.

πρατοπαμπαιδ . . . etc. The following forms are found. 10. ΠΡΑΤΟΠΑΜΠΑΙΣ; 15. ΠΡΑΤΟΠΑΜΠΑΙΔΩΝ; 47. ΠΡΑΤ | ΠΑΙΣ.

These strange words do not seem to be known from any earlier inscriptions, and it is not easy to fix their exact meaning; *πρατοπαμπαίδων* would seem to be a shortened form of *πρῶτος πάντων παίδων*, while in 47 *πρατόπαις* seems to be the reading. In the latter case the boy won some distinction as *κάσεν* and *μικιχιδδόμενος*, while *πρατόπαις* may have been added later. Perhaps these words have to do with the technical sense of *παῖς*, that is, a boy in his twelfth year, and *πρατόπαις* might answer to *βοαγὸς μικιχιζομένων*, meaning the leader of a band of such boys. Whether *πρατοπαμπαίδων* refers to the same, or to an even higher distinction, such as being the foremost of all twelve-year-old boys, is quite uncertain; from 15, where indeed there is some doubt as to the reading, it would almost appear that a boy could take the *κασσηρατόριν* when he was *πρατοπαμπαίδων*; and this may strengthen the belief that this contest was not confined to boys of ten, but went on until the competitor reached manhood.

It will now be worth while to give in a few words the outcome of the discussion in the foregoing pages as to the meaning of the technical and obscure words.

βουαγός or *βοαγός*: a boy who was leader of his own band or *ἀγέλη*,

and therefore the official dedicator if his band won a competition. The word is specially used of a leader of boys in their tenth year, but may have had a wider use. The title lasted for life.

πρατόπαις, etc. : the leader of a band of boys in their twelfth year.

συνέφηβος = fellow-ephebe : a boy in the same *ἀγέλη* with another, properly applied to lads over thirteen.

κάσεν : the same, but properly applied to boys under thirteen.

τὸ παιδικόν : general name for the boys' matches in honour of Artemis Orthia.

μῶα : singing contest—warlike music with accompaniment probably on the flute.

κελῆα : singing contest—sacred music.

καθθηρατόριν : 'Hunt'—some rough game played by bands of boys.

NOTE 4.—FORMS OF DEDICATION.

Besides the usual form with *ἀνέθηκε*, the following variants are found :

1. *Simple dative*, *ἀνέθηκε* dropped, (*f*), 3, 4, 11, 13, 16, 20, 31, 32.
2. Some word meaning 'Thank-Offering.' *χάριν* 14, *νίκαθρον* 35.
3. *Poetical Forms* for *ἀνέθηκε*. *ἔθετο* 5, *ἀνέθηκα* (?) 17, *ἄν]θετο* 44.
4. *Dedication-form left out altogether*, 12, 15.

The Names applied to the Goddess occur as following (not reckoning doubtful cases) : Artemis Orthia 15 times, Orthia alone 8 times, Artemis alone, no certain case.[1] *Παρθένος*[2] in metrical part of 5. *Μάκαιρα* in 44 (metrical).

The Opening Words ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ, etc. are found in (*b*) (prob.), (*c*), 24, 25, 37.

[1] These figures strengthen the belief that Orthia was the usual name of the goddess, Artemis being part of her official title.

[2] Cf. the archaic inscription published above (No. 1, p. 353).

NOTE 5.—DIALECT.

The inscriptions fall into three classes.[1]

1: *Inscriptions in Common Greek—κοινή.* (*a*) (where indeed Ὀρθείῃ is conventional Ionic as suited to elegiac verse), (*h*), 1, 6, 10 (where νεικείσας is used). 44 is another example of conventional Ionic in verse (ἱρεύς = ἱερεύς, σεῖο = σοῦ).

2. *Inscriptions in ordinary Doric.* The chief signs of dialect in this class are νικάσας for νικήσας, παιδιχόν for παιδικόν, and Ἀρτέμιτι for Ἀρτέμιδι. The change of η to α is regular (Ahrens, *De Dialecto Dorica*, 126 ff.), but χ for κ is unusual. Probably this and the use of τ for δ occurred in popular forms and were not strictly ancient.

3. *Inscriptions in Archaistic Doric.* The degree to which archaism is carried varies from one inscription to another.

(*a*) *Vowel-changes.* ᾱ for η: regular in old Doric. Only in (*b*) the common form is kept in ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ε for η: in archaic inscriptions. ω for ου: confined to genitive singular of second declension, Γοργίππω (*b*), ἐπὶ πατρονόμω (*c*), etc., regular, also found in Crete and Magna Graecia. ω for αυ, as ὠτῶ = αὐτοῦ (*c*): not common in old Doric—ὦλαξ for αὖλαξ is given in *E.M.*—but more usual in old Ionic (Smyth, *Gk. Dialects: Ionic* § 205). Possibly the writer of the inscriptions was not clear as to the distinction. ω for ο, Βωρθέᾳ (*c*), 11, etc. and on tile-stamps (p. 345 ff.): apparently unique. An explanation is suggested by Kretschmer, *Vaseninschr*, 42 *n.*

(*b*) *Consonant-Changes.* β *for* F, Βορσέᾳ (*b*), Βωρθέᾳ (*c*), 11, Βο[ρθέᾳ] 34: common in Hesychius and other late writers (many examples in Ahrens *op. cit.* 44). Apparently this change did not begin until about the fourth century B.C.[2] F *in use*, Ϝορθέᾳ 32: a still more learned archaism, the archaic relief has Ϝορθα (pp. 334, 353, above). Digamma was in regular use in the archaic age (*I.G.A.* 68, l. 4 Ϝέτη; 69 B, l. 6 Ϝ(ί)κατι; 72 ἀϜαί and elsewhere). σ *for* θ, Βορσέᾳ (*b*), 9 (inscriptions of the same year); ἀνέσηκε 21; common in the literary remains of old Spartan, in Alcman, the *Lysistrata*,

[1] The technical words peculiar to Sparta are naturally in a class by themselves, little affected by the dialect of the inscriptions where they happen to stand, and the same may be said of proper names, such as Pratolas, Sidectas, etc.

[2] Cf. Meister, *Dorer u. Achäer.* 38 ff. With his general theory, controverted by Niese in *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1906, 137, 2, we are not here concerned.

and elsewhere.[1] On inscriptions θ is kept until the third century B.C. This peculiarity is thus explained by Meister[2]: the Spartans pronounced θ spirantially, but for the sake of uniformity kept the same sign that the rest of Greece used for the 'aspirated' θ, although their own pronunciation was nearer to that of σ; the more phonetic spelling was first applied to Spartan proper names and technical words of the government or religion; these, being peculiar to Sparta, did not cause any clashing with the standard orthography. In the Tsakonian dialect θ is to-day pronounced like σ. *s dropped between vowels*, νεικάας (*c*), νικάας 14, νικάαντερ 32: the σ had become *h* about the fifth century B.C., and later the sign for the aspirate was left out; the archaism is therefore right (Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 264). The aspirate Ⲏ is used in the Damonon inscription; an example of dropped *h* is σαάμων = σησάμων (*C.I.G.* 1464); others in the *Lysistrata* and in the grammarians. The rule does not go back to Alcman.[3] *ρ for final* ς, Φίλητορ (*b*), φιλοκαίσαρορ 2, συνέφηβορ 12, Κλέανδρορ ὁ καὶ Μῆνιρ 21, Ἀριστείδαρ and νεικάαντερ 32, ἱερέωρ δίρ 36, βοαγόρ 37, and many more; not found in archaic Laconian inscriptions nor in Alcman; it is however found once in the *Lysistrata*, and in many words given by Hesychius, which show that the change was made without regard to the origin of any particular final ς (Ahrens, *op. cit.* 71 ff.). In inscriptions of Elis final ς is often changed to ρ.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

[1] Ahrens, *op. cit.* 66 ff.; Meister, *op. cit.* 26 ff., 33.
[2] Meister, *op. cit.* 25. It might however be possible to account for the phenomenon otherwise.
[3] *Ib.* 10–15; Ahrens, *op. cit.* 74.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA. 1906.

§ 10.—THE THEATRE.

(PLATE VII.)

THE narratives of the travellers, who have visited the theatre at Sparta, are for the most part too short and too vague to prove of much real service to the excavator. Leroy,[1] who visited Sparta in 1770, mentions the seats of greyish-white marble and the retaining-walls of fine rusticated stone, and shows in his illustration the Byzantine fortress-wall, which runs southwards from the theatre, with two columns standing outside it. The plans and drawings of the French[2] Expedition sixty years later show the same wall and columns without any trace of the stage-buildings mentioned by Leake[3] (1805) and Dodwell[4] (1819) among previous visitors, and by Curtius[5] in 1852. Neither Clark,[6] nor Wyse,[7] nor Bursian[8] saw remains of a *proscenium*, so that it appears likely that Curtius at any rate, if not his predecessors, mistook the Byzantine remains in front of the theatre for Roman stage-buildings. It was principally on the evidence of these remains that Leake, Dodwell, and Bory de St. Vincent[9] based their supposition that the theatre was of Roman date.

[1] Leroy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, Paris, 1770, p. 33, Pl. XIII.
[2] *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, Paris, 1831, ii. Pl. 47.
[3] Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. pp. 154–6.
[4] Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, ii. p. 403.
[5] Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. p. 220.
[6] W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 161.
[7] Sir T. Wyse, *Excursion in the Peloponnese*, i. p. 91.
[8] Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. p. 121.
[9] *Expéd. scient. de Morée, Relation de Bory de Saint-Vincent*, Paris, 1836, p. 420.

It is worth while to quote Gell's[1] account, since he gives much fuller details of the appearance of the site. 'If it be very ancient, which I much doubt, it has been restored at a late period, but it must have been intended for the amusement of a very great population, as the radius of the orchestra is 70 feet, and the diameter of the whole 418 feet. The scene seems only to have been 28 feet deep, and the seats were divided into three cinctions, of which the breadths ascending were 20 feet for the lowest, 23 feet for the next, and 40 for the highest. Above this was a space only 13 feet wide, and behind that, the last, which might have been a portico, was 32 feet deep.'

As the orchestra was completely covered in Gell's time, he had no means of measuring it, and so his estimate of a radius of 70 feet is quite erroneous. His total diameter must be measured between two points on the retaining-walls, and not from the semicircle of large *poros* blocks on the summit of the hill, which was probably the limit of the ancient auditorium. This line probably corresponds with the front of his portico, and gives the true diameter of the auditorium as 104 metres or 342 feet.

The principal references to the Spartan theatre in ancient authorities are in Pausanias III. xiv. 1, Athenaeus iv. 139 e, Herod. vi. 67, and Lucian *Anach.* 38. Pausanias says that it was built of white marble, and the other three mention various festivals held in it:—the *gymnopaidiai*, the boys' ball-game, and a procession which formed part of the Hyacinthia.

From these passages it would appear that dramatic representations were not among the most important spectacles shewn in the theatre, and that in consequence we might expect to find no permanent stage-buildings. It is difficult to see how either the ball-game, or the procession described in Athenaeus could possibly have taken place in a circumscribed Greek orchestra.

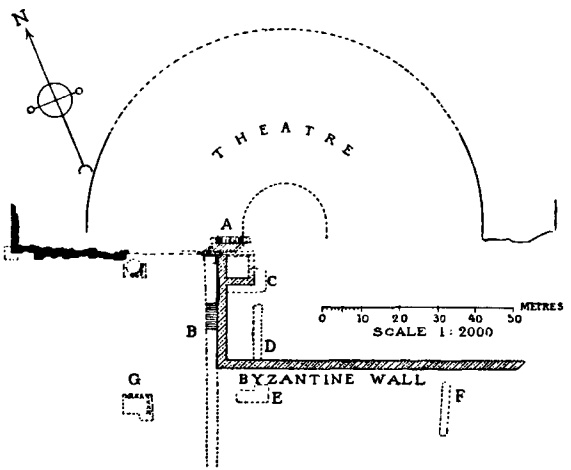
We started work therefore without much expectation of discovering a *proscenium*, or indeed, many remains of the auditorium seats, since all recent travellers from Leake's time onwards, have deplored the rapid disappearance of stone blocks from the theatre-area at the hands of the masons of Mistra.

The greater part of the work in the theatre-region was carried out between March 27 and April 20, but only for the first ten days was any

[1] Sir W. Gell, *Narrative*, p. 328.

large number of men employed on the site. The objects of our trial-trenches were to trace the course of the Byzantine fortification wall, and to ascertain the depth of the orchestra and the dimensions of the theatre, with a view to reporting on the value of future excavation. A plan of the trial-trenches is shewn in Fig. 1.

The longest trench, B, was dug along the base of the Byzantine fortification wall (hatched in the plan) in order to discover its relation with the theatre-buildings, and to extract any inscriptions or marble fragments that might be built into it. In this last respect we were fortunate, as we began at once to discover a great quantity of architectural, sculptured, and



TRIAL-PITS(A-G) NEAR THEATRE

FIG. 1.

inscribed marbles. Of the inscriptions found, many were copied by the Abbé Fourmont during his tour in the Peloponnese in 1729–30.

After digging through three metres of miscellaneous fragments we came upon the foundations of the Byzantine wall. In the northern part of the trench, these consist for a length of 9 metres, of two stepped courses of a rough *poros* stone. Each step is ·30 m. high; no mortar was found between the blocks. They seem to be the remains of a classical building previous to the Byzantine wall, since no other part of it to our knowledge has a similar stepped foundation, and it is difficult otherwise to explain a careful uniform piece of construction extending for so short a

distance. In several other parts of the circuit we find use made of pre-existing buildings, and the direction of the wall adapted to suit them. Moreover it is ·20 m. higher than the adjoining piece on the south. Had it been of the same date we should not have this abrupt transition. It is clumsily mended in one place with a block of different material, which was presumably added to fill a gap at the time of the Byzantine fortification.

At present there stand upon this foundation, built into the Byzantine wall, seven [1] blocks of white marble of different length but uniform width

FIG. 2.—MARBLE BLOCK ADORNED WITH BUCRANIA AND FESTOONS.

and height, moulded at top and bottom, and adorned with *bucrania*, festoons, and bosses. These slabs are shewn on the plan in Fig. 1 by a thickened outline, and an illustration is given of them in Fig. 2: of the seven, the three on the left belong together, but the other four cannot be

[1] Total length 6·26 m., the single blocks from the left measuring ·68 m., 1·53 m., ·68 m., ·60 m., ·59 m., 1·09 m., 1·09 m. Height 1·27m. The design of the left three blocks taken together is a scheme of three bull's heads, with festoons between, and bosses above the semicircles of the festoons. Only half the outside *bucranium* is preserved, as the rest has been chiselled away. Nos. 6 and 7 may belong together, in which case they come from a different scheme of design, as the swing of the festoons is much shorter. Nos. 4 and 5 may be similar blocks cut down. Traces of a bull's head are also visible on the outside corner of No. 7, which is also, therefore, a corner block.

in their original relation to each other, since the festoons and mouldings do not fit. Nor can the first three be *in situ* on the *poros* foundation, as they form in themselves the complete side of a monument or building under three metres in length. This is shewn by the *bucrania* at the outside corners, which originally were continued round on to the short side of the slabs, but were chiselled off when the line of marble slabs was put together. Their erection on the *poros* foundations, therefore, must be due to the Byzantine builders, who, as we shall see, were fond of decorating the lower courses of their wall with fine marble blocks.[1] Both blocks and foundations belong to buildings earlier than the wall.

The marble blocks may be remains of a Roman stage. Their height, 1·27m., is suitable, and the decoration a frequent Roman scheme. Whatever was the case in Hellenic times, it is clear that a permanent stage was needed for Roman dramatic performances, and it was natural for the Byzantine builders to make use of any remains that survived until their day. All the blocks of one of the short sides, presumably the western, were made use of, and a few of the front slabs, whose pattern differed slightly in detail.

The date of the *poros* foundations is probably much later, for, 0·20 m. below them, extending for 6·80 m. in a southerly direction, are remains of what seems to be a road, consisting of rounded stones set in a rough plaster, and supported by a foundation of large blocks set at haphazard.[2]

This road is shewn in the plan in Fig. 1. Under it, at a depth of 1·50m., we come to virgin soil. It is clearly older than the Byzantine wall, under the foundations of which it passes, and it must also be earlier than the *poros* foundations, since there are twenty centimetres of rubble material between the two levels. No traces of this road-surface were found to the north of the southern edge of the marble blocks, and a supporting wall running east and west terminates it on the south. It would seem, therefore, to have run east and west, and water-pipes running in the same direction were found on each side of it. These pipes pass through the rubble under the *poros* foundation. Above the road, and so belonging to a later date, were a great number of water-pipes. They were probably connected with some Roman baths, remains of which exist just south-west of the theatre.

[1] P. 434.

[2] The road found outside the Stoa on the east of the Byzantine wall shows a similar construction; cf. p. 432. Also the road near the so-called tomb of Leonidas; cf. p. 435.

At the northern end of trench B, the arm of the Byzantine wall running south to north joins another wall of the same period running east

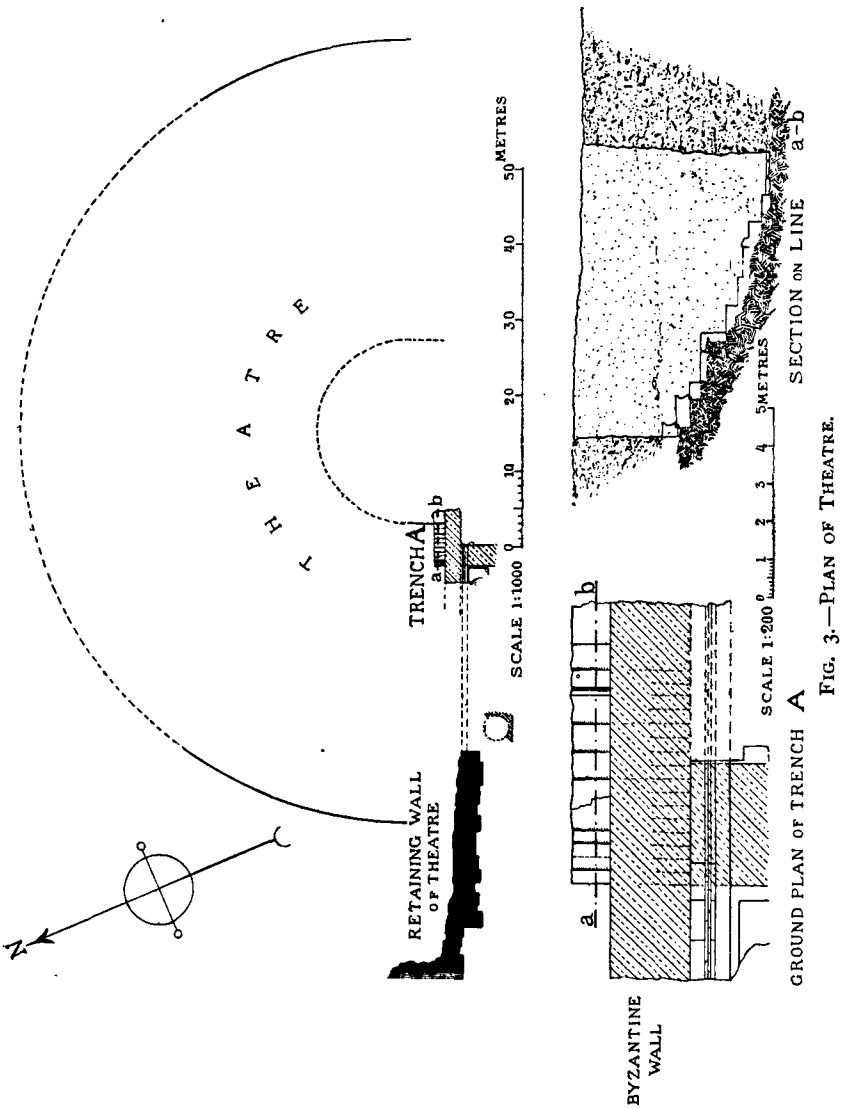


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF THEATRE.

to west, which is built above the retaining-wall of the west wing of the theatre. The substructure of the retaining-wall, consisting of five steps of

irregular size, has remained intact. The upper four are built of carefully dressed, rusticated limestone blocks, and were clearly intended to be visible. The lowest step was probably below the ground-level, and opposite it lie *poros* blocks which may have been the foundation of the western *parodos* or theatre entrance. The upper and lower steps are ·40 m. wide, the intervening three, ·10 m. wide. The summit of the upper step is ·40 m. higher than the road-surface further to the south, and the summit of the lower step, presumably the original ground-level, is ·50 m. lower.

A comparison of these levels suggests four periods of construction in this area :—

1. Building of the theatre, represented by the level of the lower step of the retaining-wall.

2. A later Roman period, represented by the road-surface ·50 m. higher.

3. A still later Roman level, represented by the *poros* foundations ·20 m. higher.

4. Building of the Byzantine fortification-wall.

It is with the second of these periods that it seems most suitable to connect the remains of architraves, columns, and Corinthian capitals that we found in trench B. One of the architrave blocks bears a dedicatory inscription of Vespasian.[1] The building to which the fragments belong must have been a colonnade, since the architrave is decorated on both sides and below, and probably formed part of the Roman stage-buildings. The position in which the fragments were found shews that they must have been arranged symmetrically in the Byzantine wall. Two of the columns were observed still standing in front of the Byzantine wall by Leroy and the French Expedition.[2] The colonnade may have formed a western entrance to the theatre. It must have belonged to the second and not the third period, since the latter was subsequent to, or contemporary with, Christian [3] graves. For the second period, therefore, we may suggest the end of the 1st century A.D.

The building which stood on the *poros* foundations may have belonged

[1] P. 457.

[2] Cf. *Expéd. scient.* ii. Pl. 47 ; Leroy, *op. cit.* Pl. 13.

[3] Skeletons facing east under tiles were found (1) between the levels of the *poros* foundations and the road-surface, (2) opposite the third step of the retaining-wall.

to the period of the Antonine Caesars, at which time Sparta underwent much adornment.

In the Byzantine wall built on the retaining-wall of the west wing of the theatre the ends of the steps of the outermost stairway of the auditorium are to be seen. Trench A was accordingly dug to discover the seat-rows of the auditorium, and the depth of the orchestra. A plan and section of this trench is given in Fig. 3. The level of the orchestra was discovered at a depth of 5 m. below the present surface. It is paved with thin slabs of a greenish marble. Immediately adjoining it is a bench of white marble fitted with a back, and a hollowed seat, and with a platform for the feet raised a few centimetres above the orchestra. Behind this bench are three steps averaging ·70 m. in width, the lowest ·40 m. above the foot-platform of the bench, and the upper two rising respectively ·15 m. and ·30 m. Raised ·70 m. above the upper step is another 1·25 m. wide, which is cracked across the middle. This was clearly a passage-way or *diazoma*. Above it rise the regular rows, with a foot-space for the lowest row ·30 m. above the *diazoma*. The blocks composing these rows have the seat in front hollowed to accommodate the body, while a space is provided behind for the feet of the spectators in the row above.

Two parts of benches found in the theatre are not *in situ*, and have had the backs chiselled away, but the north wall of the Acropolis contains some complete examples.

The seats that stood on the rows between the backed bench in front, and the *diazoma*, must have been different. The two upper steps probably contained benches consisting only of the seat fixed against the back of the step, leaving space for the feet in front, and the lower step, just behind the front bench, was probably another smaller *diazoma*, giving easier access to the best seats of all.

The steps, which are visible under the Byzantine wall in the ground-plan of trench A in Fig. 3, are of white marble like the seats. They are each ·35 m. wide, and ·15 m. high.

At the lower end of trench B was found a single theatre-seat with legs in the shape of lion's paws in relief. It was inscribed

ΔΑΜΟΣΘΕΝΕΙΑΣΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΤΟΠΟΣ.

This shows that there were single seats in front (as at Athens) as well as benches (as at Megalopolis).

When the trench was cleared, it became evident that marble-plundering had been carried on even down to the orchestra level. Large portions of the seats were missing, and others were mutilated, and removed from their original places. The back of the front bench was broken, and all seats removed from the three rows behind it.

With regard to the shape and dimensions of the theatre, our excavations have not been sufficient to give more than approximate measurements.

Prolonging the semicircular line of blocks which appears on the summit of the hill, and which probably indicates the boundary of the auditorium, we get a half circle with a diameter of 104 metres, as compared with 117 m. at Epidaurus, and 128 m. at Megalopolis. On the summit of the hill are remains of walls, which seem to break the arc of the semicircle. These do not belong to the original building, but date from some later reconstruction. The great retaining walls are built of large blocks of a reddish soft stone, and rest on a three-stepped foundation. They must once have been faced with better material. Measurements between the outer sides of these retaining-walls give a total diameter to the whole building of 143 m. or about 470 feet.

The southern extremities of these retaining walls would meet, if produced, in a straight line. The seat-rows are set at a right-angle to this line, and shew no curve in the small piece which we have already excavated. We may infer from this that the boundary-line of the orchestra was produced by a tangent[1] beyond the semicircle, and not by a curve, *i.e.* it resembles the shape of the orchestra at Athens rather than that at Epidaurus. We can estimate the diameter of the orchestra to be 24·5 m. as compared with 25 m. at Epidaurus, and 30·5 m. at Megalopolis, but, until some portion of the arc of its semicircle is discovered, we cannot be sure of the exact position of its central point.

The only evidence for the date of the theatre at present available, is the forms of the letters which serve for masons' marks on many of the blocks of the retaining wall, and general considerations of its shape and character. Mr. Tod, to whom I sent copies, has had the kindness to inform me that

[1] Examples of the tangent extension exist in the theatres of Athens, the Piraeus, Eretria, Assos, Segesta, Priene, and the larger theatre at Pompeii. The curved extension is found at Sikyon, Epidaurus, Megalopolis, Delos, Magnesia, Mantineia, and in most of the Greek theatres of Asia Minor.

the letters, facsimiles of which are given in Fig. 4, can hardly be earlier than 200 B.C., and may be much later. Thus we find Ε for Ε, Π for Γ, and Ξ for Ξ. *S.M.C.* No. 145, which may be dated 225 B.C., still preserves Ε and Γ. The Ι is probably Η turned on its side. The general appearance of the theatre also suggests a late date of construction. That a theatre existed at the time of the Persian wars we know from Herodotus,[1]

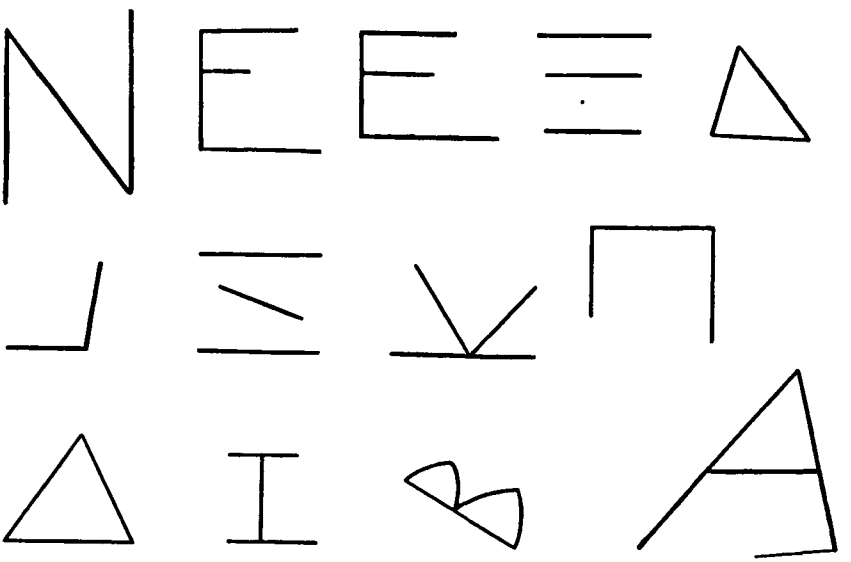


FIG. 4.—MASONS' MARKS ON BLOCKS OF RETAINING-WALL.

but the present building can hardly be earlier than the first or second century B.C. The extremities of the retaining-walls in the earlier[2] Greek theatres that are visible to-day, are usually set at an angle to one another, and pointing towards the centre of the orchestra, but at Sparta, if produced, they would meet in a straight line. The theatres[3] which shew this feature, universal in Roman times, are not earlier than the Hellenistic period. The theatre does not conform to the ordinary Roman

[1] vi. 67.

[2] This feature appears in the theatres of the Piraeus, Oropos, Eretria, Sikyon, Epidaurus, Megalopolis, Delos, Assos, Magnesia, Priene, and the larger theatre at Pompeii.

[3] *E.g.* Mantineia, Pergamon, Adria, Gabala, Bostra, Aspendus, the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, Rhiniassa, Dramyssos, and all the theatres of Sicily and the West with the exception of Pompeii.

plan, since it has not the typical Roman *parodos*, and since it has an orchestra whose size is greater than a semicircle. The orchestra is paved with marble slabs, instead of being beaten earth. This is the rule in Roman theatres, but is unusual in Greek times.

A large number of bricks[1] stamped ΣΚΑΝΟΘΗΚΑΣ, and frequently with a magistrate's name added, *e.g.* ΕΠΙΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ, and the name of the manufacturer, ΕΡΓΩΝΑ ΝΙΚΑΣΙΩΝΟΣ, were found in the long trench B. These imply the existence of a Skanotheka or property-room, as at Megalopolis. No trace of such a building was, however, discovered. They may also help in deciding the date of the theatre, as we know of a magistrate Kallikrates[2] in the first century, B.C.

It is necessary to summarise the results of the other trials made in the theatre-region. Trench C was dug to follow the course of a wall abutting on to the Byzantine fortification wall, and was then carried northward in the hope of hitting on part of the stage buildings. No trace of them was found. The walls discovered belong to a Byzantine house, apparently of two stories, adjoining the fortification wall. Ancient marbles were built into it, and fragments of glazed pottery were found around it. The threshold is 3 m. above the level of the orchestra, and admits to the upper story; 1·50 m. lower, a square drain extends southward from the direction of the theatre, but this is at too high a level to be connected with the orchestra. The upper part of the trench was full of marble débris, but no traces of ancient foundations were discovered.

Trench D was sunk in the plateau inside the Byzantine wall to find the continuation of the road discovered in Trench B. In this, however, it was unsuccessful. We found the continuation of the square drain from C, and of the water-pipes which run parallel with the road in B, but no evidence for the road itself, except a low wall which might be part of its foundations. It is possible that all stones found here were used in the

[1] Cf. *S.M.C.* (Tod and Wace) p. 26 and nos. 76, 535, 535[A], and 712. The presence of a *Skanotheka* in Sparta goes a long way to show that the original stage-buildings, at any rate, were only temporary. The parallel instance is Megalopolis, where the *Skanotheka* was undoubtedly intended as a receptacle for the temporary wooden constructions used as stage (or background). We may infer that the Spartan building was used in the same way. When the theatre was required for the Gymnopaidia or other festivals, the space in front of it would be left free; when there were dramatic representations, the temporary building would be brought out and erected. At Megalopolis, had the *Skene* been permanent, the entry to the Thersileion would have been blocked. When the later *Skene* was erected, the Thersileion had ceased to be important.

[2] Cf. *S.M.C.* No. 205.

construction of the Byzantine wall. With the exception of three stamped bricks from the Skanotheka, all the remains found were Byzantine.

The field to the south of the Byzantine wall lies 1·50 m. lower than the plateau inside it, and slopes gradually to the south. Various trials here revealed plentiful traces of Roman occupation, but none of Greek, except in trench E, where at a depth of 2 metres, four large square blocks were discovered built into a wall of miscellaneous materials bonded with mortar, which acted as a supporting-wall for a Roman house. These blocks are mortised for the reception of *stelae*. The *stelae* were carefully run in with lead, and the lower part of one of them is still in position. The size of the holes varies, the width and depth being about ·25 m. and ·09 m., the length from ·35 m. to ·91 m. In the same line further east were found two large marble blocks containing a long inscription [1] on the subject of the games performed at the tomb of Leonidas.

Pausanias (III. xiv. 1) remarks that 'opposite the theatre is the tomb of Pausanias who commanded at Plataea: the other tomb is that of Leonidas. Every year speeches are spoken over the graves, and games are held in which none but Spartans may compete . . . there is also a tablet with the names of the men who looked the Persians in the face at Thermopylae.' It would be too much to assume that we have in one of these stones the remains of the actual *stele* of the Spartan warriors, but doubtless *stelae* were erected in connexion with the games, and in these stones and the inscribed blocks we are justified in seeing remains of the cenotaphs of the two Spartan heroes. Pausanias' phrase 'opposite the theatre' must mean, on the other side of the road which ran westwards from the market-place. Thus the remains in trench B suit admirably with what we might expect to be the position of that road.

One further find of great interest was made in this region. About 100 m. west of trench E was found the trunk of a great stone lion of archaic workmanship. We learn from Herodotus (vii. 225) that a lion was erected at Thermopylae in memory of Leonidas. Nothing would be more natural than to erect another on his cenotaph in Sparta.

The whole area between trench G and the theatre was excavated in search of traces of roads or ancient buildings; but here, as in all the theatre-area (**K**), we found little that was definitely Hellenic, though there

[1] Pp. 445 ff.

are many traces of the Roman bathing establishment (**K**), of which the French Expedition saw considerable remains. The Roman level lies about one metre below the surface in all the pits we made. Virgin soil occurs about three metres down without any traces of Hellenic occupation. The ground to the south for 100 metres from the Byzantine wall was tested with similar results.

It thus appears unlikely that many Hellenic remains will be found in this area outside the theatre itself, and we have every reason to fear that the theatre itself has suffered considerably from mediaeval and modern quarrying.

GUY DICKINS.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 11.—The Roman Baths. (Arapissa.)

On the road from new Sparta to Magoula the most noticeable remains of the ancient city are the extensive brick ruins called 'Arapissa,' from the localization here of a legend common in all parts of Greece of a negress or a negro guarding buried treasure. Since so large a building, if it existed in the time of Pausanias, is not likely to have been omitted by him in his description of the city, it was decided to test this site to determine its nature and date. Accordingly from April 20th to the 30th twenty-five men were employed digging round the walls visible above the surface, and sinking trial-pits in other parts to obtain some idea of the plan. Owing to the apparent want of symmetry and to the loose nature of the soil, which was full of rubble, the work proved more difficult and dangerous than had been anticipated.

The building as a whole covered a large area, in all about 155 by 135 metres (General Plan **G. II.** (Pl. VII.)). The construction of the walls is that usual in the Imperial period. The body is of concrete, of rubble and cement, and faced with triangular bricks which are made by breaking oblong tiles in four. These tiles, which were elsewhere used for floors, are marked with diagonal lines to facilitate breaking them into triangles. In places, at corners and the like, there are traces of a stone facing. The walls were as a rule veneered inside with thin marble slabs. The best preserved portion is to the north, and from that side the following description begins.

At the extreme north is a small room (A [1]) at the end of what seems

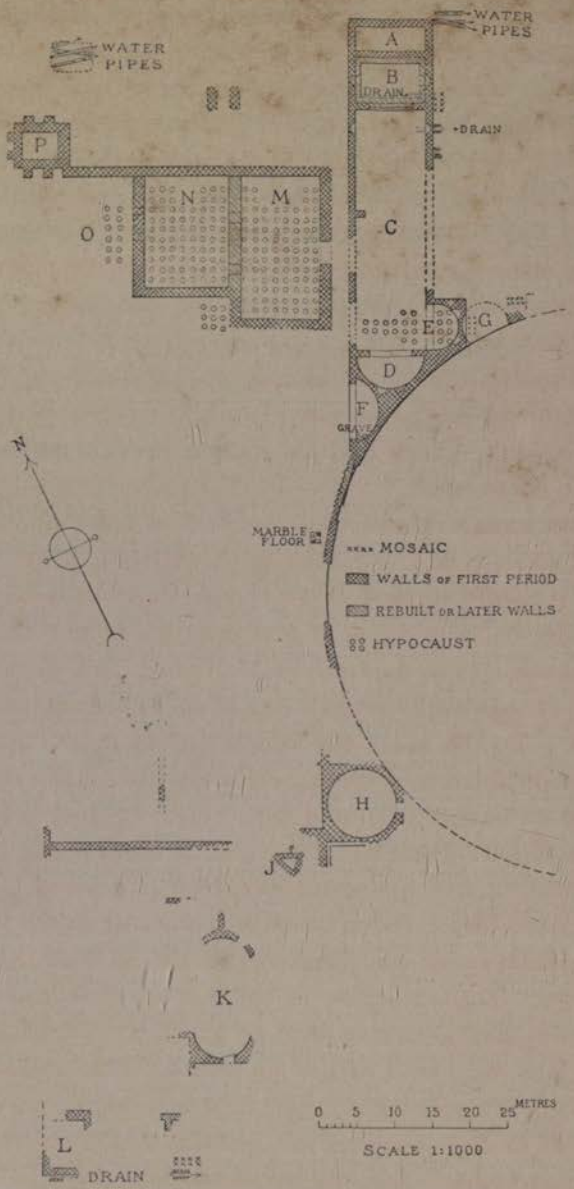


FIG. 1.—THE ROMAN BATHS (ARAPISSA), W. PORTION.

to be either a corridor or a series of small chambers. The adjoining

[1] The letters refer to the Plan, Fig. 1.

chamber (B) on the south is the best preserved, owing to re-construction. The existing walls stand 3·50 m. above the level of the ground, and as the floor was found at 3·00 m., the height of the roof to the top of the vault was 6·50 metres. This was a plain barrel-vault running east and west at right angles to the short side walls. Within the original walls others were built later inside, thus doubling the thickness. In this process the niches in the east and west walls, and the door to the south, were partly blocked up. What the chamber was before, it is impossible to say, but in its later state it seems to have been a bath. At 1·35 m. and 1·60 m. below the ground-level were found inside the door, two steps descending into a kind of tank whose floor was 1·40 m. below the lowest step. As the corners of the tank are rounded, and as an oval drain (·19 by ·17 m.) runs out at its south-east angle, we may assume it to be a plunge-bath. The floor was paved with marble and the walls were incrusted with variegated marbles about ·03 m. thick.

In the next room to the south a marble floor was found at 2·10 m., and the walls had incrustation. In each short wall is a niche. Beyond this the building is badly destroyed, as it has been used as a quarry by peasants seeking building material, and even where the wall survives, its brick facing has been torn away to build ovens. This gives some idea of the difficulties encountered: often a line of half-filled pits is the only trace left of a wall. To the south the corridor ends in a small semicircular chamber (D), which has one niche, or perhaps originally two, in its wall. The floor and wall were decorated with marble. Just before this semicircle is reached, is another (E) on the east of the corridor. This has two niches in its wall, and a hypocaust, of which considerable remains were found. This resembles in construction a hypocaust in the last part of the corridor (C), and a more complete one to the west of it, which will be described below. The semicircle at the end of the corridor backs on to another (F); this had a marble floor, on which was found at ·60 m. below the surface a late grave built of broken bricks. The head of the skeleton lay to the east; the only object with it was a coarse jug of late fabric. The purpose of these semicircles was perhaps to form a transition from a square to a round plan. Directly to the south of them is the curved line of a large, apparently semicircular, room, which seems to have formed the centre of the whole building. Its extent and shape are not exactly known. By the three small semicircles its line is certain; here the wall is of the

usual construction, and was probably faced with thin marble slabs. To the east of semicircle E, some alteration seems to have taken place. Apparently there was originally a round niche (G) opening into the big hemicycle. Later it seems that the greater part of this niche was broken through to form an entrance into a room to the east of the corridor. The rest of this and one niche of semicircle E were bricked up, and the passage-way was paved with mosaic. An attempt to follow the line of the big hemicycle eastwards proved fruitless, since even the foundations of the wall have been torn up by greedy searchers for building material. But a row of half-filled pits almost certainly marks the line of the wall bounding the hemicycle to the east. To the south, however, the wall was followed for some distance. Shortly before the middle the construction changes from brick to marble; and not long after, all trace of it was lost. It is, of course, impossible to say how high this marble portion[1] was; but since to its west a marble pavement was found, it is possible that it formed a step in a grand entrance from the hemicycle to a hall beyond. To the south of the hemicycle, in an almost corresponding position to the three small semicircles, is a circular chamber (H). Against this was found part of a vaulted bath-room lined with marble and with two steps; the vaulting begins at a height of 3·40 m. from the floor. Further to the south-west is an unintelligible complex of ruins cumbered with masses of fallen masonry. Here we cleared a very peculiar triangular room (J), whose floor lies at a depth of 3·50 metres. This asymmetrical room is built into the masonry without either entrance or window. Its existence is probably due to the contractor's desire to save material. Beyond is an oval room (K) which seems to have had two stories. To its south-west is an angle (L) built of large squared limestone blocks. Since the walls on either side of the angle are constructed as usual, we may assume this angle to have been important, and perhaps the south-west corner of the whole building. This conclusion is strengthened by the thickness of the wall (2·50 m.) and the fact that just outside it, at a depth of 1·30 m., is a square brick-built drain (·48 m. wide). The same drain was found again to the east near a mosaic pavement. If we may recognize the south-west angle at this point, we may place the south-east angle where a mass of masonry rises above the ground some distance to the east. A well-

[1] Here there is a small piece of later wall built on the earlier foundations.

built wall was here followed for some way either side of an angle, on the south side of which was apparently an entrance. The assumption that this is the south-east corner rests on the similarity of the masonry, and its relative position to the rest of the ruins.

We have yet to describe the parts to the north-east and north-west of the corridor (C). To the north-east little was found ; trial-pits revealed traces of mosaic and marble flooring, and waterpipes. Further to the east a foundation of a wall was found almost in a line with the south-east angle : this perhaps gives us the eastern limit of the whole building. Directly against the east side of the corridor wall a pit was sunk below the foundations to see if any earlier building had stood on the site. The foundations stopped at 1·30 m. below the surface, and virgin soil was reached at 1·50 m. The conclusion that no earlier building stood here was confirmed by similar results elsewhere, wherever pits were sunk below the foundations.

More important results were obtained on the west side of the corridor, whose west wall is apparently double towards the south end. A deep pit sunk to the west of the second wall, shewed that a large block of limestone on the top of it was probably the lintel of a door. This seems to have led into a large room over a hypocaust (M). At 2·80 m. was found a cement floor probably once paved with marble, and one metre below this, the floor of the hypocaust. The construction of this is typical of the other hypocausts found elsewhere. The floor of the room above is supported on columns built of ten round bricks with one square brick at the bottom. Above the round bricks are two more square ones, of which the top one is slightly larger than the other. Then comes the solid flooring of bricks and cement.

The wall that bounded this room to the west was thoroughly examined, since we were told that the owner had here found some statues. Our excavation revealed a very thick wall as much as 3·00 m. wide, with doors leading from the room mentioned, to another on the west, and bearing remains of marble incrustation. This wall is made of large rough-hewn marble blocks, broken sculpture, and architectural members carefully built up with bricks in a manner that recalls the Byzantine walls of the Acropolis.[1] We pulled it to pieces in the hope of inscriptions, and found

[1] *v.* p. 422.

eight fragments of architectural sculpture, Heracles herms. Two herms can be completely restored from five fragments, while of a third two fragments survive. The best head, here illustrated (Fig. 2), had, when found, plentiful traces of colouring, especially on the lips and nostrils, which were bright red. The hair seems to have been painted brown, and the lion's skin red-brown. The face and cheeks seem to have been toned. There is a red line round the iris of the eyes, and the pupil appears to have been some dark colour. As the square pilasters against which

FIG. 2.—UPPER PART OF HERACLES HERM.

the herms are engaged were apparently not painted, the bright colouring would have been better seen.[1] These herms are similar to two in the Sparta Museum (442a Fig. 55 and 442b), and two heads from Sparta now at Dhimitzana.[2] Those in the Museum are from Arapissa, so probably all four are from this wall. From their style they do not seem

[1] For an architrave supported by herms compare the stucco reliefs from the Farnesina, Helbig,[2] ii. p. 236, 1120.

[2] *v. S.M.C.*, p. 129, Fig. 25.

to be older than the Antonine age. The architectural fragments include a Corinthian capital, three blocks of coffered cornice, like two in the Museum (186 and 187), and three pieces of an architrave with mouldings. All these seem alike in style. Their original purpose is hard to determine. Since from its construction the wall in which they were found is later than the rest of the building, it is possible to believe that they once formed part of the decoration of the baths, and then on reconstruction, rendered necessary by fire or earthquake, were used as building material. Several of the blocks split on removal, shewing that they had been exposed to heat. In the room to the west, lying just against the thick wall, we found our only inscription, a fragment of an architrave block bearing two letters which may be read NH or HN,[1] since there is nothing to indicate its original position. The lettering is thin and seems late. Since this block did not form part of the wall, it probably belonged to the last reconstruction of the baths. This room (N) also had a hypocaust, and seems to have been a large hall. To the west of the hypocaust is a wall with two pigeon-hole openings just large enough for a man to crawl through into the other hypocaust (O). To the south is another large chamber, also with a hypocaust. In it are two large, rough-hewn marble blocks that have fallen through the floor. They seem to have formed part of the superstructure, and at the destruction of the baths to have crashed through the floor.

What seems to be the north-west angle is formed by a small tower-like room with buttressed walls (P). From the calcareous deposit on the walls it is possible that it was a water-tower, and that the buttresses were needed to support the weight of the water. Outside, to the north of the building, four water-mains were found.

Having completed our rough survey of the whole building, we may briefly consider its purpose, plan, and date. To judge by the numerous hypocausts, bath rooms, water-mains, and drains, we can decide with some probability that the whole building was a bath.[2] The area covered (135 by 155 metres) does not make against this theory. But the irregular plan is contrary to custom, if we are to judge baths of the imperial period in Greece by the standard prevailing in Rome. The baths of Titus, of Trajan, of Caracalla, of Diocletian, and of Constantine are all remarkable

[1] Inv. No. 2196.

[2] It is so called in the *Expédition de Morée*, ii. p. 65, Pl. 46, C, D.

for their symmetry;[1] and in these there are circular, semicircular, and oval chambers.[2] The asymmetry may perhaps be due to reconstruction. The centre of the whole building seems to have been the large semicircle, which was perhaps a palaestra or open court. The circular chamber (H) to the south-west of this and the three small semicircles (F, D, E) to the north-west seem to correspond more or less. Here all symmetry ends.

As regards date we are even more at a loss. Three periods of construction can be distinguished: 1. The original walls, 2. The filling of the plunge-bath (B), and the breaking of the niche in the big hemicycle (G), 3. The thick wall between N and M in which the herms were found. If we apply the usual test of date for Roman brickwork, we find that in the first period, the proportion of brick to mortar is as three to two, and in the second about the same. In the Stoa on the Acropolis[3] the proportion is as four to one. Thus, if the Stoa is of the early Imperial period, these baths would be of the later second century. This can be confirmed by the assumption that the herms, which may be dated to the Antonine age, belong to the first period of the building. Of the reconstructions, which were caused probably by earthquake or fire, the first, since its brickwork is so like the original work, is most likely of the late second century. The second re-building (*i.e.*, period 3) must be, at the earliest, of the late third century, and is possibly of still later date; but in default of inscriptions there is no chance of solving these puzzles. Besides the inscription mentioned we found only two fragments of brick-stamps reading $\frac{\text{IC}}{\Delta\text{OYC}}$ and OYC[4]; these possibly give the end of the contractor's name in the genitive.

Thus if Arapissa is of the Antonine age, there is no reason to identify it with any building mentioned by Pausanias. Even if it existed in his day it would have been new, and he does not usually describe new monuments, especially baths.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

[1] Cf. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, Pl. 17; Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. pp. 154, 178, 185.

[2] The baths at Pompeii are not symmetrical, *v.* Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, Figs. 81, 86.

[3] *v.* page 415.

[4] Inv. Nos. 2197, 2257.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 12.—The Roman Stoa and the Later Fortifications.

(Plate VIII. 3.)

In plan the walls surrounding the Acropolis of Sparta form an irregular oblong, terminated to the east and west by two small hills which formed citadels or outlook points. Though no single complete part remains, and in many places the walls are levelled to the ground, the lines can still be traced fairly completely. (Plate VIII. 3.)

The Roman Stoa.

At the south eastern corner are the ruins of a Roman Stoa of the Imperial period (A).[1] They shew a series of small compartments (Fig. 1), covered with barrel vaults, ten on either side of three larger central rooms, which are roofed with crossgroined vaults and large semicircular niches at the back. The ground on the north side is as high as the vaults and originally must have formed a terrace overlooking the street on to which the Stoa opened on its south side. The walls are faced with triangular bricks, set with thick mortar joints; the vaults are built of square

[1] The letters refer to the Enlarged Plan (Pl. VIII. 3).

bricks ·27 × ·27 × ·03 m.; these bricks were made with a diagonal cross impressed on one side which, when they were used entire, served as a 'frog' or key to give a hold to the mortar. When used in facing they were easily broken along the diagonals, and four triangular facing bricks, each with one good facing side, were obtained from each.

The springing of the central cross vaults is of interest. The groin and arches are carried up in horizontal courses to a height of about 1·20 m. above the springing and then, still in horizontal courses, are set back so as

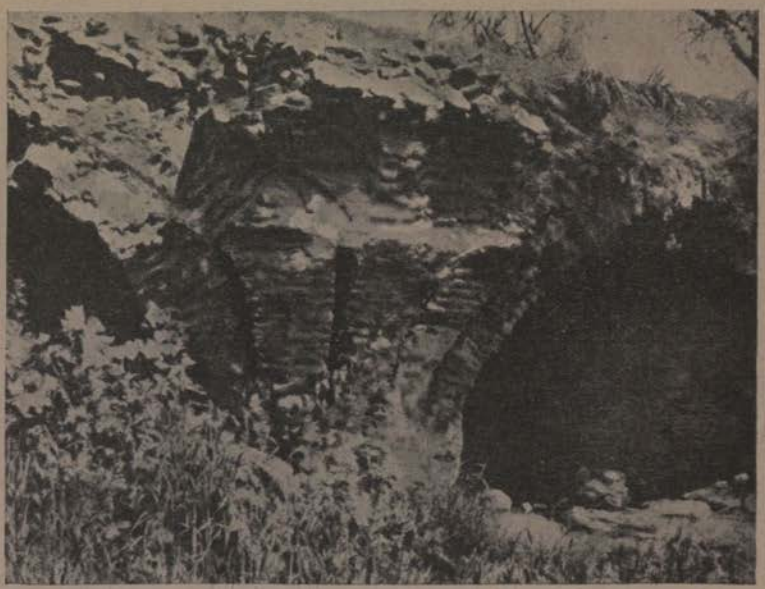


FIG. 1.—THE SPRINGING OF THE VAULTS IN ONE OF THE CENTRE COMPARTMENTS OF THE STOA.

to give a true radiating bed to the vaults and voussoirs (Fig. 2). The form is analogous to that used in Gothic vaulting. The keys to the niches are large and formed of a number of bricks penetrating some ten or twelve courses back into the vault (Fig. 3). The interior of the walls is of rough concrete.

On excavating in one of the side rooms, the floor was found at a depth of 2·73 m. from the surface and 3·27 m. from the springing of the vaults.

It is of red tiles ·31 m. square, with a small brick skirting ·06 × ·06 m. at the angle between floor and walls.

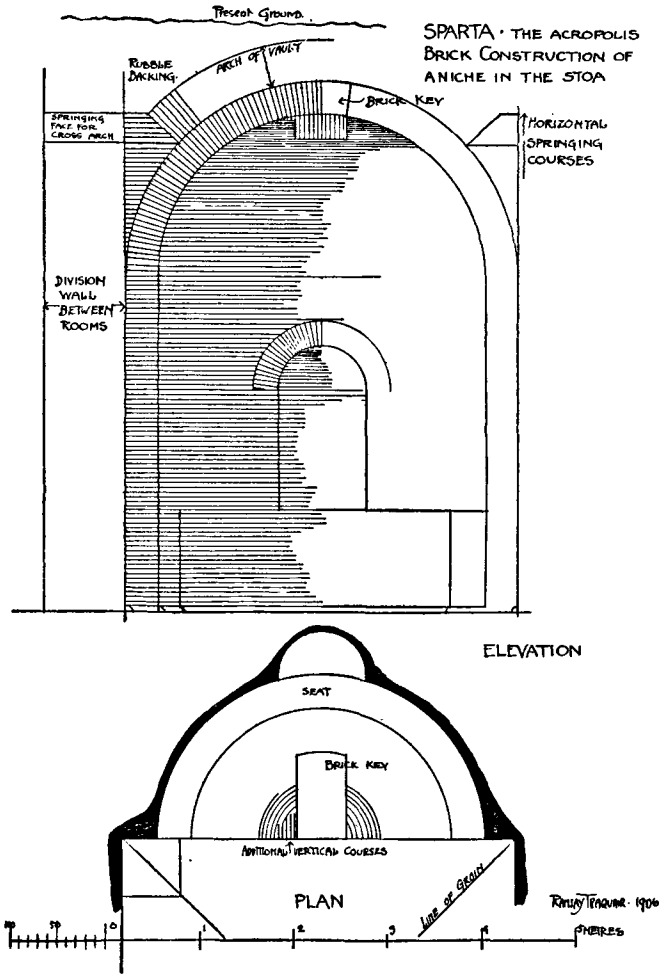


FIG. 2.—BRICK-CONSTRUCTION OF ONE OF THE CROSS VAULTS IN THE STOA.

FORTIFICATION IN FRONT OF THE STOA.

In front of the Stoa and symmetrical with it is the fortification wall, flanked by four square towers in groups of two, opposite each end of the Stoa. The extremely close setting of these pairs of towers is noticeable; here it largely obviates the great defect of a square tower in fortification,

by enabling each tower to flank almost completely the front line of its neighbour. In this way the large dead angle usual with square towers is avoided, but a great number of men must have been required to defend such a system, and the Stoa was evidently regarded as a point of special importance.

On the eastern side, the end of the Stoa has been incorporated in

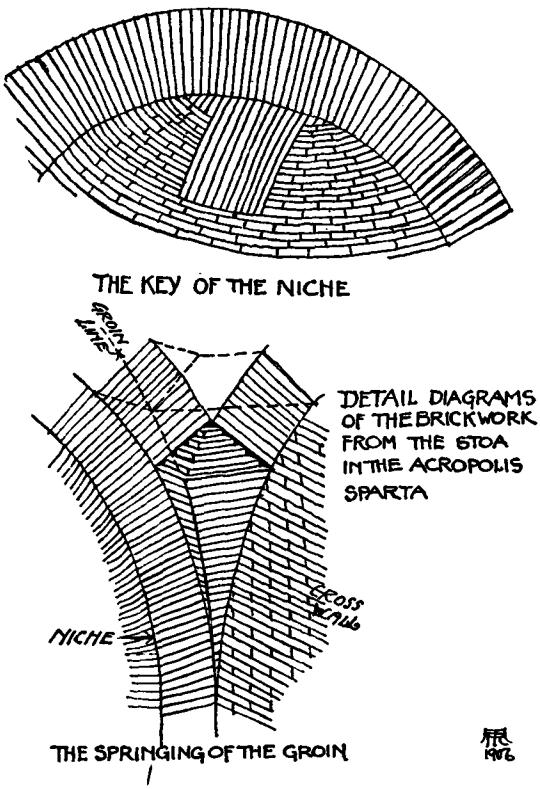

THE KEY OF THE NICHE
GROIN LINE
DETAIL DIAGRAMS OF THE BRICKWORK FROM THE STOA IN THE ACROPOLIS SPARTA
CROSS WALL
NICHE
THE SPRINGING OF THE GROIN

FIG. 3.—DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION OF A NICHE IN THE STOA.

the fortifications, forming a square tower (B): it consists of two vaulted chambers of unequal size set at right angles to the line of the Stoa, and opening to the east with two large arches, both built up[1] (*Fig.* 4). One of these arches was excavated to its foundations, and the threshold was found 3·25 m. below

[1] The set-back at the springing is not uncommon in Roman work, and served to support the wooden centering for the arch.

the springing; it was broken across, evidently by the weight of the subsequent infilling.

At the northern side of the north arch is the beginning of a cross wall, behind which, and built into it, is a small surface water-drain. The

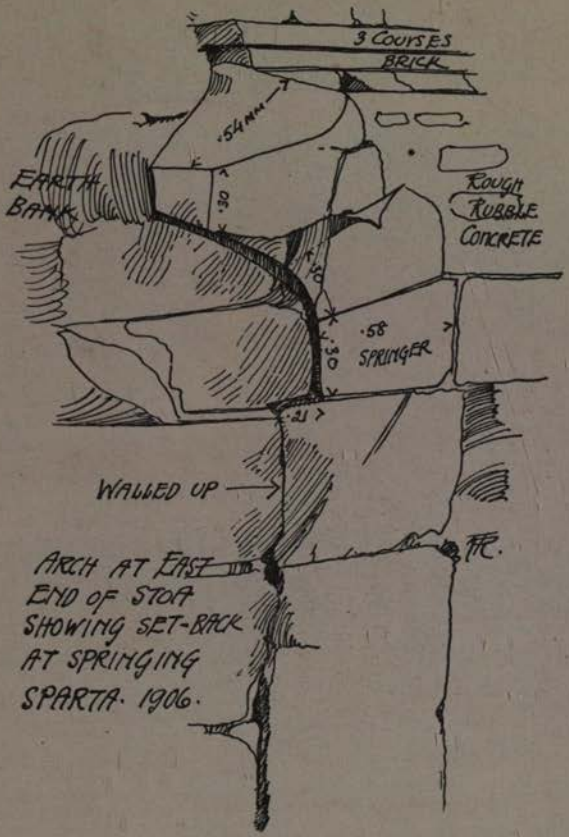


FIG. 4.—SET-BACK OF THE SPRINGING OF THE ARCH.

cross wall is of the same date as the Stoa, and is evidently the retaining wall to the higher ground on the north side of an old entrance.

The end of the Stoa is faced with large squared stones up to the springing of the arches, above that, with triangular bricks; to the front the stone-facing has been carried up the whole height of the wall, a storey higher than the existing remains of the Stoa. Between this and the south-

east angle is an opening leading into the street in front of the Stoa, flanked to the south by a square tower, now built up.

The fortification walls are of rubble concrete 3·80 m. thick, faced in the lower part with large squared stones evidently taken from earlier buildings, as dowel-marks are visible in some; most of the blocks are of poros stone, but there are a few marble blocks and architectural fragments. In the upper part the facing is of rubble with tile creasing courses; there is no sharp line between the two kinds of facing, the large heavy stones having been used in the lower part as being of greater value there, or as being too heavy to lift to any height.

The towers are entered by doors through the wall, which is carried through behind them; one of these doors has been excavated, and is lintelled with columns and large architectural beams. Column shafts are also used to bond in the tower walls with the thicker main wall, and in other parts of the fortifications as bonding stones in the walls. This use of columns is also found in the Byzantine walls of Constantinople; it was a simple and practical method of strengthening a thick wall or an angle, when old materials were to hand.

Immediately to the west of this wall and in the same line, excavations under the present road showed an old gate with wheel-ruts and sockets for the door pivots (Figs. 5, 6). This gate was flanked to the east by the end tower in front of the Stoa, and to the west by a square tower projecting from the angle on three sides; of this tower the two front angles were found. The wall to the back was too far gone to be accurately traced.

LATER EXTENSION OF THE FORTRESS.

This flanking tower disturbs the symmetry of the wall in front of the Stoa, which now shows two towers at one end and three at the other, with the gate between the two outermost at the western end. It is also of inferior workmanship; the facing is not of large blocks as in the others, but of rubble: for these reasons we are probably right in supposing that it was built later than the part in front of the Stoa. An additional proof exists in the walled-in opening already described at the east end of the Stoa; while a gate existed here, the flanking towers on each side were necessary to defend it; when once it was walled up and the gate placed at the west end, they were uselessly close together, but an additional western tower was necessary to flank the new gate.

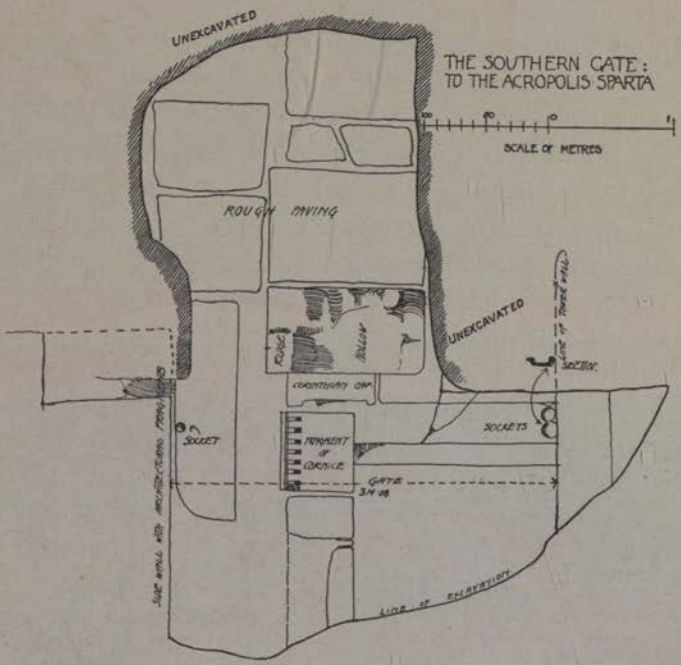


FIG. 5.

FIGS. 5 AND 6.—SOUTH GATE OF ROMAN FORTRESS: PLAN AND VIEW.

Westwards from the gate the wall breaks back about half the width of the space between Stoa and wall, and continues in a line almost parallel with the Stoa. The line from here to the Theatre has evidently been laid out so as to suit existing buildings and so as to include suitable existing walls as far as possible. Immediately to the west is a short length still standing to some height, somewhat thinner than the other walls but of similar construction; in this are fragments of some Hellenic building in white marble.

Further westwards, where the wall again begins to show above ground

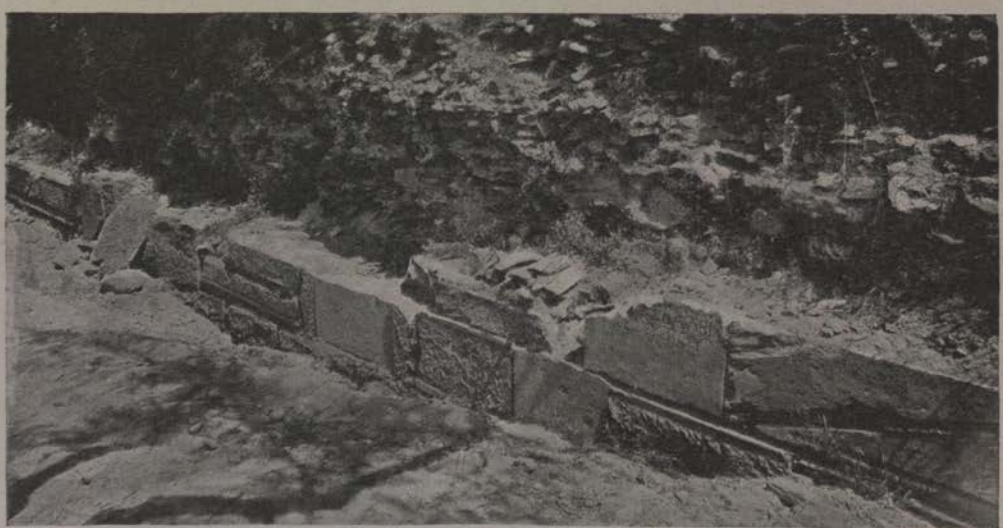


FIG. 7.—PART OF SOUTH WALL FACED WITH INSCRIBED AND MOULDED MARBLES.

(D), two piers and the angle of some earlier building were found, which had been built into the later walls. A small gate may once have existed here, though now built up, between the two piers, which are of exactly the same width and character. The building is very confused, and several walls have been raised from the same foundations.

From this point to the Theatre, the wall is full of architectural fragments and inscriptions; particularly beyond the second tower the wall is almost entirely faced with inscribed or moulded blocks from which the mouldings have been dressed off where they projected beyond the face of the wall (Fig. 7).

The amount and variety of thin marble slabs built into the walls is also noticeable; from here and from the Theatre some thirteen different kinds of marble were obtained, many of great beauty; they included cipollino, pavonazzo, verde antico, purple, a red breccia marble and a fine white and purple marble from Taygetus. Along with them a considerable amount of a small marble frame moulding was found, with which and the marbles the walls of the Roman buildings were panelled.

The second tower from the gate (E) projects at an obtuse angle from the wall face and shows the springing of a brick-lined Roman vault. Here again an existing Stoa or other building has been utilised in the defence; the later walls are built under the vaulting of the Roman building which showed above them. On excavating out from the wall no traces of further foundations were found.

To the west of this tower the wall again breaks back and continues to the Theatre with one tower only. A short distance from the tower are two piers from an older building (F) taken into the wall, and opposite the east end of the Theatre is a small opening; both were probably gates, but have been built up. Opposite the Theatre the wall is in great part destroyed.

A large built drain was found under the wall to the east of the first tower, running towards the west end of the circular building on the Acropolis. Under the gate itself were five small circular earthenware drains ·14 m. in diameter and in lengths of about ·55 m.; they were carefully jointed, with sockets set in a white cement, and were evidently surface water-drains from streets in the interior of the Acropolis. A similar built drain and similar pipes (Fig. 8) were found at the foot of the western extension of the Stoa wall.

After passing in front of the Theatre, the wall turns and follows the side line of the Roman stage building. Here it is entirely built, so far as now remains, of architectural fragments on an older foundation, probably that of the Roman stage; a number of large blocks with a frieze decoration of ox-skulls and festoons have been built in here, which may have formed the front and sides of the stage; the space between the Parodos wall and the stage has been built up, and the Parodos wall, of which the Hellenic foundations were found, has been strengthened and raised to form the outer wall. The Hellenic portion is of ashlar masonry set without mortar and with a small 'V' rustication.

The Theatre forms the south-western angle of the fortifications and, as it was heightened by an additional wall on the top, must have been a formidable tower; it is of large blocks, ·38 cm. to ·40 cm. high and 1·40 m. to 2 m. long, laid without mortar with dovetail cramps. Many of the stones show building knobs to the outside and there are numerous alphabetic masons' marks on the inner faces (cf. p. 403 above).

As the ground is much more level to this side than to the north, the ditch would have been a prominent feature had one existed. No indications were found, and a comparison of the levels between the

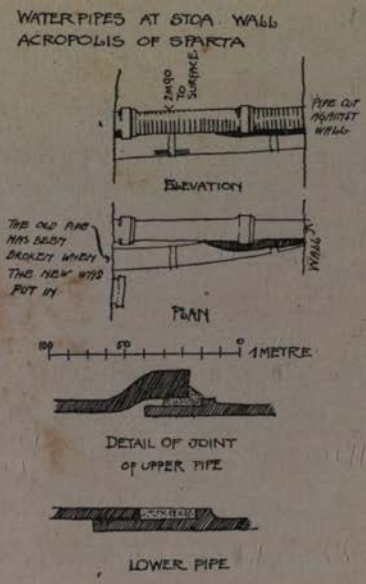


FIG. 8.—WATERPIPES AT STOA WALL.

FIG. 9.—FOUNDATIONS OF S. WALL.

threshold of the gate and the foundations of the wall to the west of it showed that none could ever have been intended; the foundation level of the wall is only ·90 cm. below the threshold, and further west is actually above it; the gate could hardly have entered from the bottom of the ditch. The foundations, wherever excavated, are well formed of large blocks in two courses with a small projection from the wall face (Fig. 9), but, as we have seen, were at no great depth at the south-eastern angle, where they are deeper down; the original ground level was lower than at present, and the apparent depth is caused by a later accumulation of earth.

At the Theatre the south-western angle was found considerably to the south of the existing remains, and from here the curving wall forms the fortification line for some distance. To the north, the wall encircles a small steep hill; it is at first polygonal in plan with one semicircular (G) and one square tower (H) on the angles; between these two towers the aqueduct entered the Acropolis. To the north of the square tower the wall curves round rapidly to the east with an additional semicircular tower (I) on the angle. Beyond this, from the north side of the hill, it continues at right angles to the curve beginning the northern line of circumvallation.

In its present form this eastern end is a very well planned fort; the towers are so arranged as to flank the walls completely, and an additional flanking is obtained to the south by the Theatre and to the north by the right-angled projection of the wall (K). Search was made for a gate in this projection, but the wall was found to run through without opening; there are no signs of this end having formed anything in the nature of a true detached citadel or keep, separated from the city.

The towers are later in date than the main wall, as is shown by the very imperfect bonding of their walls with it, and as indeed their semicircular form would lead us to expect. The outer wall of the square tower is still standing to almost its entire original height; originally the tower has been in three storeys, with wooden floors and a barrel-vaulted roof supporting a flat platform. The point above this, where the wall is thinned to form the rampart, can just be seen; the construction is similar to that of the southern walls. No inscriptions were found and but few architectural fragments. The circular towers have carefully cut dressings, rounded to the plan, which therefore must have been recut if taken from an older building.

Of the northern walls only a few fragments are now left, the greater part being level with the ground; the large piece near the western end is the only part showing the original facing and is similar to the southern walls, but with fewer large facing blocks. In this wall are a great number of columns used as bonding-stones through the thickness of the wall; many of the facing blocks in the lower part have been torn out, and the upper part is now largely supported by these columns, acting as brackets. This explains the very ruinous state of even the foundations on the northern side. The road from Tripolis to Magoula or Mistra passes close to the walls and the large blocks have been torn from their lower parts as building material; the upper part has then fallen in, completely covering in places every trace

of the foundation, to reach which it would be necessary to dig through masses of shattered concrete.

The western half of the northern line is laid out in a great right-angled salient without towers or openings, beyond which the wall continues in a straight line flanked by four towers, to the small hill forming the eastern citadel. Of these towers two were excavated, that at the western angle (L) and the large central tower (M); the latter was almost completely built of architrave, frieze, and cornice fragments of some small late Roman building of the Corinthian order. Between these the French plan shows a third, now completely vanished, and masses of fallen masonry show the position of the fourth close to the eastern hill. From here stones were very evidently being plundered up to the moment when excavations were begun to trace the lost line.

Between the hill and the tower the threshold of the northern gate was found, with traces of the paved road outside it, flanked to the west by the tower and to the east by the hill, here very steep.

The walls of the eastern citadel (N) are very much destroyed, but the line can just be traced; the front line of the tower at the north-eastern angle was found, but owing to the depth of earth and the masses of fallen masonry we did not trace its southern junction with the wall. On the southern side of this eastern height is a square tower (O), of which the back wall with its door and the foundations of the front are still visible; the construction is of rubble, here pierced both long- and crossways with circular holes; the markings on the mortar in these holes show that rough wood beams, small tree stems, have been built in originally; both the form and the markings indicate pine, which may have been brought from Taygetus. This use of wood beams to strengthen a wall against the attack of the battering-ram or balista is very characteristic of early mediaeval fortification, and here probably indicates that the stock of columns was used up when this tower was built.

To the west of the southern tower, and beginning at the point where the line of the eastern wall would intersect it if continued, the face of the wall changes from cut masonry to irregular rubble, in a line gradually sloping up from below. Search was made for the foundations of the eastern wall near this point, and between it and the existing large fragment; it was found at one place at a depth of two metres, but is evidently quite lost elsewhere.

The French plan shows a broad opening here, and this, in conjunction with the sloping line of rough walling, would indicate a gradually rising road leading to the higher ground of the hill, with a gate (P). (Fig. 10.)

The large fragment of the eastern wall (R) between this point and the mound is the most remarkable piece still standing. It is 2·60 m. thick—1·20 m. thinner than the wall in front of the Stoa ; the lower part is faced with large blocks ·45 cm. to ·60 cm. thick taken from older buildings, and through its whole height is built of old stones laid with thick mortar joints and wedged up with small flat stones. Care has been taken to

FIG. 10.—FRAGMENT OF EAST WALL.

arrange these stones in a decorative manner; at the bottom are three courses of large white marble blocks, then three of brown poros stone; above this a narrow band of white marble and a broad one of brown stone; then come three courses of marble with an occasional poros block, and one of poros with an occasional marble intruder. Above this is an evident attempt to get the effect of a Doric frieze with alternate blocks of poros or marble, and column drums; the courses at the top are more irregular, but still show an attempt to form a pattern. South of this wall is a large tower, now covered by a mound, and a short distance to the south again is the Stoa tower.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.—DATE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS.

The most noticeable point in the plan is the alignment of the southern wall. The face of the Theatre at the extreme western end is practically parallel with the line of the Stoa at the eastern end, and this line has been traced from the Stoa to the circular building in the centre; the fortifications run parallel to this line. From this it is clear that a great street ran from the Theatre to the Stoa, with its entrance from without, at the built-up eastern gate, and that the walls have been built to include it. The part in front of the Stoa is evidently earlier than the rest: at first the entrance was at the eastern end between the two towers and leading to the principal street; at this date the Stoa must still have been an important centre, but later the eastern gate was built up and the gate with its flanking tower placed at the western end. To this later period the main part of the walls probably belongs. Comparatively few architectural members are found in the Stoa fortifications, which suggests that the buildings of the city were still standing; but the adjoining strips of fortress-wall are full of fragments from older buildings which must have been ruined when these walls were constructed. The lack of architectural remains in the eastern and northern walls is due to the position of the official Roman town to the south of the Acropolis. Evidently elaborate buildings were rare on the northern side.

The very small number of gates shows that at a later period the Acropolis became a castle, rather than a walled town, held by a Byzantine garrison, but with no large civil population; and that as the civil population grew less, the numerous gates which had been necessary for them were built up. At a later period the towers were added to the western citadel; the southern tower of the eastern citadel is probably even later. The strengthening by wood beams is not found elsewhere.

In 267 A.D. the Heruli invaded Greece and laid in ruins Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos, and the cities of Achaia. This date corresponds with that which the architectural fragments would lead us to expect, and we may well imagine that the fear of a second inroad would lead to the immediate fortification of the central part, largely with the fragments of the ruined town; the original laying out of the town would still be preserved,

and some attempt made at a dignified appearance. To this period we may assign the portion in front of the Stoa.[1]

In 396 A.D. the city was sacked by Alaric. After this blow the energy of the citizens and their ancient pride would be lessened, and we might expect the more careless work of the main walls; no ancient buildings would now be undamaged, and the walls would be built of every fragment which could be found; the fresh and unweathered state of these pieces shows that they cannot have lain for long before being used. To about 400 A.D. belongs the main line of the *enceinte*, so far as we can judge; at this time, too, a zone would be cleared round the walls for obvious reasons of defence, and to this we owe it that no traces of buildings are found near the walls. Subsequently, as the Greek population grew weaker and the Acropolis became more and more a fortress or garrison town, the gate to the east end of the disused Stoa was built up, and a more convenient gate with its flanking tower was placed at the western end; soon the open gates became less necessary and more dangerous, and were walled up, leaving only the three existing openings to the north, south and east; later the towers were added to the eastern end, and lastly, the tower flanking the east gate.

After the Frankish conquest of 1205 the court of Lacedaemon was famous for its brilliance, and Villehardouin lived here at least until Mistra was built in 1248. The Franks probably made few alterations; the intention of fortifying Mistra must have existed from the beginning and would prevent them from making any additions to Sparta. The complete absence of any Byzantine architectural fragments in the walls also goes to show that no additions had been made for many years before the Frankish period; the latest work might be placed at say 700–800 A.D. At the Frankish conquest the buildings and walls must have been sufficiently well preserved to accommodate the court of the Prince of Achaia, but their subsequent history is that of slowly mouldering walls, a quarry at first for Mistra and later, for every passer by.

[1] The walls of Gortyna in Crete, as described by Mr. A. Taramelli (*American Journal of Archaeology*, vi. 101), are strikingly like these Spartan walls in construction and thickness, and evidently belong to the same period. He assigns them to a date posterior to the death of Alexander Severus in 235 A.D.

THE BUILDING CALLED VASILOPOULA.

About 150 metres to the south of the Theatre are the remains of two buildings now collectively known as ἡ Βασιλοπούλα 'The Princess.'

The northern ruin consists of a building square in plan outside and circular inside, originally covered with a brick dome and now filled up to about the springing with rubbish (**J. 12**). This is surrounded on three sides by a building divided into irregular rooms, which still shows traces of windows on the west side. The masonry is rough rubble with tile bonding courses, and the walls are 1 m. to 1·50 m. thick; there are no ancient remains.

The building to the south consists of a large courtyard, about 90 by 60 metres, with a tower or house in several storeys at the northern end and remains of other buildings to the south (**J. 13**). The French Plan of 1833 shows slightly more than now exists. The walls are of rubble about 1·50 m. thick, partly faced with large blocks, of which a few are ancient. In the eastern wall is a square pilaster capital, and on the ground to the north of the tower, a circular capital of late Roman work; they are Corinthian without volutes, of the 'Tower of the Winds' type, similar to fragments found at the Theatre and 'Tomb of Leonidas.' In the tower wall is a small fragment of Byzantine carving—a cross and part of a frieze. The buildings are evidently late in date, and were probably a roughly fortified farmsteading and house. Excavation in the dome of the northern building would probably settle the date; they may be either late Frankish or Turkish.

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 13.—Topographical Conclusions.

It is not intended in the present preliminary report to discuss controversial questions of Spartan[1] topography. The solution of some of these will be provided, it is to be hoped, by our future excavations on the site. It is permissible, however, to dwell for a short time on the position of the Acropolis and the Agora, since the information of Pausanias and the results of last year's work are sufficient, in my opinion, to establish their identity.

That the whole surface of the Palaeocastro hill should have been called the Acropolis is unlikely. A passage in Thucydides[2] renders its position on the theatre-hill, or western summit, almost certain. From this passage we learn that Pausanias, the king of Sparta during the Persian wars, was buried *ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι*, or, as the Scholiast explains *ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προαστείῳ*. The *Hieron* referred to is the temple of Athena Chalkioikos on the Acropolis, and we know that the tomb of Pausanias was opposite the theatre. We may thus legitimately infer that the temple of Athena stood on the theatre-hill.

The only ruins on the hill at present are of mediaeval date, a large oblong, perhaps part of a palace in the city of Lacedaemonia. On the

[1] The most recent writers on Spartan topography are Nestorides, *Τοπογραφία τῆς Ἀρχαίας Σπάρτης* (Athens, 1892); Heinrich Stein, *Topographie des alten Sparta* (Glatz, 1890); and N. E. Crosby, 'The Topography of Sparta,' *Am. Journ. Arch.* vol. viii. No. 3, 1893.

[2] Thuc. i. 134 (Hitzig and Blümner, i.[2] p. 783.)

eastern slope can be traced the outline of a large Byzantine church[1] with three apses, into which several ancient marbles have been built. Proceeding further eastwards along the plateau we come to the round building, dug by the American school[2] in 1894, and beyond that, to the large Roman Stoa, which stretches to the eastern limit of the hill (pp. 415 f. above).

A second Byzantine church exists close to the round building, a third, known as Haghios Nikon or Haghios Sotéra, stood on a mound between the round building and the Stoa, and a fourth was discovered in our excavations on the central summit. Between the round building and the central summit are some further traces of mediaeval buildings, which are shown on the plan. For the rest there are various remains of columns and ancient blocks on the plateau, but no other traces of a considerable building. The back wall of the Stoa is prolonged until within 12 m. of the round building in the centre of the south slope of the Acropolis, but the continuation is built of stone not of brick, and clearly comes from a later period. The brick wall which runs to the east of the round building is of the same width as the Stoa, including the vaulted passage at the back, and must have been built in connexion with it. The wall which continues the line of the Stoa does not stop naturally, but has been broken through, apparently by a roadway running north. The brick wall itself rests upon a foundation covered with plaster, which extends to the lower edge of the 'Round Building.' Presumably therefore there has been a general remodelling of this area in late Roman times. We found in the trenches to the east of the round building a Corinthian capital, column, and base which perhaps belong to a decoration of the round building itself.

A roadway[3] which was discovered at the south-east angle of the fortifications appeared to be turning in through the blocked-up gate in front of the Roman Stoa, and accordingly a trench was dug right across, from the Stoa to the fortification wall, in hopes of finding the road surface inside. This, however, we were unable to find. There is a network of drain-pipes and of beaten earth surface at various levels down to virgin soil at 4·70 m. but we found no paving.

With the fixing of the Acropolis, the position of the Agora on the flat land to the south of the Palaeocastro hill becomes indubitable.

[1] General Plan, junction of **K** and **L**, **12** and **13**.
[2] *Am. Journ. Arch.* viii. No. 3, 1893, pp. 410–428.
[3] General Plan, **L 14**.

We know that the Agora was on a low level, and not, as Leake supposed,[1] on the Palaeocastro plateau, since Plutarch [2] uses the phrase *καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν* on several occasions; that it was to the east of the theatre, since Pausanias [3] remarks that the road from Agora to theatre runs westwards; and that it was of considerable proportions. Only two positions then are possible, the flat land south of the Acropolis, or the flat land to the east, between the Acropolis and the river.

The latter position cannot be reconciled with the topography of Pausanias.

(1) He only observed one monument of importance between the Agora and the theatre. From this we must infer that they were no great distance apart; but to get to the theatre from the river-bank, we have to make a circuit of the Palaeocastro hill.

(2) Between the Agora and the temple of Artemis Orthia he describes a large number of monuments. But the temple of Artemis immediately adjoins the flat land in question.

(3) It is on the outside of the town instead of in the centre, and no conceivable arrangement of roads leading from it will conform with the results described by Pausanias.

Three further arguments seem conclusive for the position south of Palaeocastro.

(1) Among our first finds on the site of Sparta were the four [4] large inscription blocks with lists of *ἱεροθύται* and other officers connected with the *νομοφύλακες*, whose office was in the Agora. These blocks are too large to be easily portable, and they were found in the south-east corner of the Byzantine wall of fortification round the Palaeocastro hill.

(2) Along the base of the southern fortification wall, just to the west of the round building, we found a large number of fine honorary inscriptions built in, which presumably came from public buildings in the Agora. A view of this piece of the wall is given in Fig. 1.

(3) The fine Roman Stoa, already mentioned, is most naturally accounted for in the Agora. Its several divisions must clearly have been used as shops. It is possible that in it we have a late restoration or renewal of the great Στοὰ Περσική mentioned by Pausanias.[5]

We may therefore regard the position of the Acropolis and the Agora

[1] *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 170. [2] Plut. *Ages.* 29, *Lyc.* 25, *Agis.* 12.
[3] Paus. III. xiv. 1. [4] P. 467, Nos. 22, 23, 26, 27. [5] Paus. III. xi. 3

of Sparta as practically certain, and further we thus obtain evidence for the direction of two of the routes taken from it by Pausanias: a western route to the theatre, and an eastern route to the Limnaeum and the temple of Artemis Orthia.

It is noticeable that the back-wall of the Roman Stoa is parallel with the axis of the theatre, and in the same straight line. Taken in connexion

FIG. 1.—LATE ROMAN WALL WITH INSCRIPTIONS BUILT IN.

with the traces of road found in front of the theatre, this suggests that the road mentioned by Pausanias, as leading westwards from the Agora to the theatre, ran in a straight line from the south front of the Stoa to the south front of the theatre, past the round building, which is probably included among the buildings in the Agora.

The flat ground that extends south and west from the Acropolis to the

Magoula river is studded with small fragments of ancient remains, mostly in single blocks or broken columns. Only two buildings, with the modern names of Vasilopoula and Arapissa, are on a more considerable scale. Neither, so far as we can tell, contains any relics of the Hellenic period. Vasilopoula[1] and the domed building adjacent to it were found by Mr. Traquair to belong to a late Roman period. Arapissa[2] was excavated by Mr. Wace and proved to be part of a large Roman bath. There was another bathing-establishment[3] close to the theatre, and excavations near the so-called tomb of Leonidas revealed traces of a third.[4] The latter appears to have been of quatre-foil shape, and we found in it traces of a hypocaust and of carefully plastered walls. Traces of a road led in a northerly direction towards the theatre. Remains of two statues were found on the floor of this building:—the round base and feet of a female figure inscribed

ΚΛΑΥ . . ΑΠ . . . | ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝΕΙΚΗ . . . | ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ[5]

and the upper part of a statue of the youthful Asclepios,[6] of which an illustration is given in Fig. 2. The god is beardless and stands in a traditional attitude, leaning his left shoulder on a stick up which a snake is coiled, and resting the right hand on his hip. The hair is bound by a taenia, of which one end falls over the right shoulder. The free use of the drill in hair and drapery, and the poor execution, point to a late copy of the second century, A.D., but the expression preserves some of the force of the original. A few other small objects were found in the neighbourhood, but no trace of Hellenic remains. Trial-pits were dug in several parts of this area where the absence of crops made it possible, but no traces of Greek buildings were unearthed. The surface blocks, and indeed all the pottery and glass fragments found in the various excavations, seem to date clearly from the Roman era. It is probably to a period not earlier than the second century A.D. that the various Roman buildings should be attributed, so that we would seem to have evidence in this quarter, which agrees with that from the theatre and from the temple of Artemis Orthia, that there was a considerable revival of prosperity in Sparta under the Antonine and Aurelian emperors.

Perhaps the most important topographical work done last season was

[1] **J 13.** [2] Cf. p. 407. [3] **K 12.** [4] **I 15.**
[5] P. 467, No. 21. [6] Cf. Tod and Wace, *S.M.C.* Nos. 580 and 710.

the tracing of the city wall of Sparta for a considerable portion of its circuit. Traces of the wall, confirmed by the discovery of tiles inscribed τείχεων, have been found along the river-bank, from the Artemisium up to the remains of the ancient bridge just above the modern iron bridge over the Eurotas. Its course is marked on the general plan, starting in **O 16** and ending in **O 11**.

Further traces of it have been found, however, in the ravine north of

FIG. 2.—STATUE OF ASCLEPIOS.

the Acropolis, and on the *col* to the north-west, while tile-stamps with the inscription τείχεων have been found much further to the north-west. From Polybius we know that the circuit of the walls of Sparta was about 48 stades. 2000 metres or between 11 and 12 stades are accounted for by our discoveries between the temple of Artemis and the *col* north-west of the Acropolis hill, up to which point our knowledge of its course is fairly certain; 18 more stades are added if we carry the wall southwards from

the Artemisium along the cliffs of the Eurotas, and viâ the hills of Kolospyrou to the cliffs of the Magoula as far as the Cathedral hill in **F 16**. The remaining 18 stades of wall probably traversed the flat land in the bend of the Magoula and included part of the north-western hills.

The ancient bridge[1] over the Eurotas, just above the modern iron bridge, is illustrated in plate 49 of the 2nd volume of the *Expédition de Morée* by a plan and an elevation of one of the arches. From these we learn that there were two side piers measuring 11·50 m. by 3·75 m., and two side arches measuring 13·78 m. in span. Between the two arches is a span of 29 m. Whether this was one large buttress against the stream, whose strength here is very great in flood-time, or two piers and a central arch, is not certain, but the latter is certainly more probable.

At the present day the only remains are part of the central piers, and a few blocks of the southern pier in the bed of the stream. The piers were faced with squared blocks, and filled with small stones. The workmanship is poor, and the bridge can hardly be earlier than the late imperial period. In all probability it is contemporary with the early Byzantine fortification on the Acropolis.

At the same time it is probable that this marks the site of the earlier bridge which Epameinondas was afraid to cross in 370 B.C.[2] The French saw traces of an ancient roadway coming down to the bank on the opposite side of the river, and trial-pits discovered some traces of a road approaching the bridge-head on the southern bank. There is a modern ford of the river just at this spot, which is undoubtedly the most natural place for the road from Mistra to cross the river.

Livy[3] mentions that one of the gates of Sparta was in the direction of Mount Barbosthenes, north of the Menelaum, and Pausanias[4] also mentions a gate not far from the Limnaeum or temple of Artemis. No other bridge is known of until we come to Amyclae. Thus we can put one of the gates and roads out of Sparta with considerable certainty at this spot.

Just below the remains of the old bridge on the right bank there is a facing-wall (Fig. 3) of similar material and construction to the bridge. It starts 29 m. from the bridge-head, and continues for 36 m. down stream, following the line of the bank. It is ·65 m. broad, and is strengthened with cross-walls at intervals, the interspaces being filled with earth and

[1] General Plan, **O 11**.
[2] Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 27 foll.
[3] Livy xxxv. 27 and 30.
[4] Paus. III. xvi. 4.

gravel. It must have been intended as a breakwater against the stream, to protect the city wall of which we have traces on the bank above.

Trial-pits on the bank revealed traces of the roadway mentioned, and of a late Roman house. Some vase-fragments of earlier date and a terra-cotta plaque of a horseman were found near it, and two tiles from the walls. Two blocks of the city wall appear *in situ* in the bed of the millstream, which here runs parallel with the stream of the Eurotas; and above them is a large platform 7 metres in length which had perhaps some connexion with the wall. Another block, which may also belong to the city wall, is

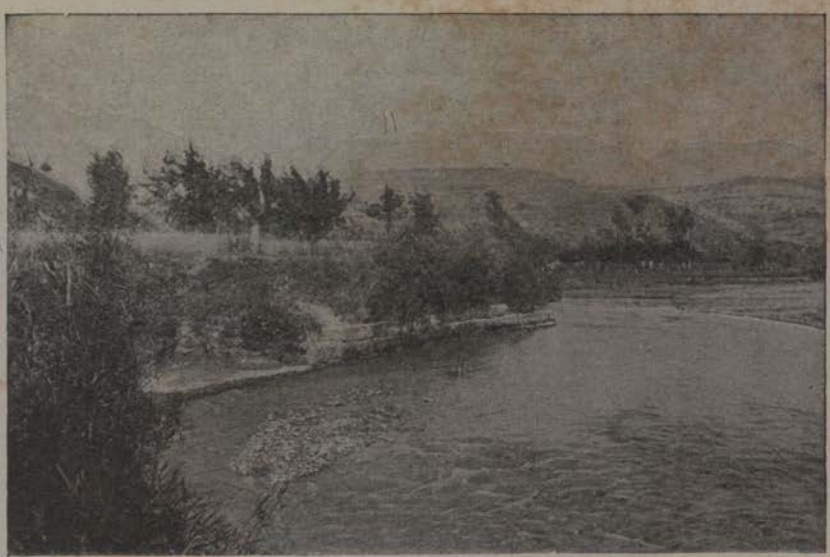


FIG. 3.—FACING-WALL NEAR SITE OF ANCIENT BRIDGE.

shown in the general plan **O 11**. The bank here makes a sharp turn inland, with flat marshy land to the north-west, and it is highly probable that the wall made a similar right-angled bend. The platform therefore may have formed part of some additional means of defence.

Below the iron bridge, and just above the great altar, is another piece of city wall 36 metres in length. At its eastern extremity it is 2·40 m. thick. There are some traces of its continuation on the other side of the mill-stream, which interrupts it at the western end. The construction here is different from that of the fragments found by Mr. Wace further south.

Instead of carefully joined blocks of limestone, we find a rougher layer of large blocks of a more sandy material. This points to a later restoration, a cause for which is suggested in the description of the altar. Beneath the wall three large unpainted jars and some diamond-shaped tiles were found, which seem to point to a Roman origin.

We have now therefore the following fixed points for studying the topography of Sparta :—

(1) The Acropolis.

(2) The Agora.

(3) Pausanias' route westwards to the Theatre.

(4) Pausanias' route eastwards to the gates and the Limnaeum.

(5) The city wall from the Temple of Artemis to the old bridge.

(6) Traces of the north-east road out of Sparta towards Tegea and Argos.

On such a basis it is to be hoped that subsequent excavations will provide material for a considerable reconstruction of the plan of the town.

GUY DICKINS.

N.B.—Excavations conducted this spring (1907) have confirmed the supposition that the Temple of Athena Chalkioikos stood upon the theatre-hill. The 'Round Building' on the Acropolis, partially excavated by Dr. Waldstein, proves to be a semicircular retaining-wall built round a small projecting hill, embanked so as to form a platform. This core of hill is virgin soil. Part of the circuit has been restored in Roman times, but the greater portion seems to be good Hellenic work constructed without mortar.

G. D.

LACONIA.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1906.

§ 14.—Inscriptions from the Altar, the Acropolis, and other Sites.

Inscriptions from the Great Altar beside the Eurotas.

(*Compare* § 4, *p.* 299 *above.*)

1.

White marble: 0·09 m. × 0·07 m. × 0·08 m.; letters 0·015 m. No *apices*.

The writing is neat, and the forms suggest the third century B.C. as a possible date. The sense is doubtful.

2.

Blue marble: top of ornamental slab: 0·26 m. × 0·18 m. × 0·05 m.; letters 0·015 m. Archaic lettering.

3. ΠΙΚΕ
ΔΝΒ
ΥD
ΠΟΝ
ΑΝC
ΑΙΤΟ
ΟΣΙΟ
ΣΙΓΑ

Grey marble: 0·23 m. × 0·07 m. × 0·05 m.; letters 0·015 m. Archaic lettering. This appears to belong to the same inscription as 2. Stone and letters are similar. The first letter in l. 2 must be an α as the form D for δ occurs in l. 3. This and the use of Β suggest the early fifth century as a possible date.

4. ΕΝΛΕΙ
ΣΚΑΓΑ
ΑΔΙΚΑ
ΜΕΓΙΣ
Λ

White marble: 0·11 m. × 0·09 m. (back defective); letters 0·025 to 0·035 m. *Apices.*

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ACROPOLIS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SPARTAN DECREE.

1. (2276). Found covering a Byzantine grave opposite the west end of the Theatre. Gable-topped marble slab with corner ornaments and tenon below, measuring (without tenon) h. 1·05, w. ·49 at top, ·52 below, thickness ·13. Letters ·015: most of the letters have *apices*: the Λ is sometimes slightly smaller than the rest.

ΘΟΔΟΝΓΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΙΓΛΑΝΟΡΟΣΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΥΟΓΛΣΔΙΑΛΕ
ΧΘ. ΙΤΛΙΔΑΜΛΙΓΕΡΙΤΛΝΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΛΓΛΝ
ΚΑΙΓΕΡΙΓΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΣΕΓΕΙΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣΑΙΓΛ
ΝΟΡΟΣΓΟΘΟΔΟΝΓΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΕΛΕΓΗΓΕΡ
ΤΛΝΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΛΓΛΝΚΑΙΓΕΡΙΓΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΣΕΔΟΞ
ΤΛΙΔΑΜΛΙΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΝΑΙΓΛΑΝΟΡΟΣΚΥΡΑΝΑ
ΟΝΓΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΕΙΜΕΝΤΑΣΓΟΛΕΟΣΑΥ
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣΥΓΑΡΧΕΙΝΔΕΑΥΤ
ΑΙΤΑΤΙΜΙΑΟΣΑΓΕΓΡΑΓΤΑΙΕΝΤΟΙΣΝΟ
ΙΣΤΟΙΣΓΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣΤΟΝΔΕΕΚ
ΤΗΡΑΕΚΔΟΜΕΝΜΕΘΛΝΟΝΟΜΟΣΚΕ
ΛΕΥΕΙΣΤΑΛΑΝΛΙΘΙΝΑΝΕΙΣΑΝΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΕΝ
ΤΑΤΑΔΕΔΟΓΜΕΝΑΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΕΙΣ Ι
ΕΡΟΝΤΑΣΑΘΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΧΑΛΚΙΟΙΚΟΥΕΙΣΟ
ΟΓ ΝΟΝΟΜΟΣΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙΚΕΛΕΥΕΙΚΑΤΑ
ΣΥ . . . Α . ΑΝΑΝΚΑΓΡΑΨΕΙΟΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΛΝΤΟΔΕΑ
ΝΑ/ . . . ΔΟΜΕΝΤΟΝΕΓΙΔΑΜΙΟΡΓΟΝ

πό]θοδον ποιησαμένου Καρνεάδου τοῦ
Αἰγλάνορος Κυραναίου, ὅπως διαλε-
χθ[ῆ]ι τῶι δάμωι περὶ τῶν φιλανθρώπων
καὶ περὶ προξενίας· ἐπεὶ Καρνεάδης Αἰγλ[ά-
νορος πόθοδον ποιησάμενος διελέγη περ[ὶ
τῶν φιλανθρώπων καὶ περὶ προξενίας, ἔδοξ[ε
τῶι δάμωι Καρνεάδην Αἰγλάνορος Κυρανα[ῖ-
ον πρόξενον εἶμεν τᾶς πόλεος αὐ-
τὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτ[ῶι
κ]αὶ τὰ τίμια ὅσα γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς νό-
μο]ις τοῖς προξένοις, τὸν δὲ ἐκ-
δο]τῆρα ἐκδόμεν μεθ' ὧν ὁ νόμος κε-
λεύει στάλαν λιθίναν εἰς ἃν ἀναγραφέ(ν)-
τα τὰ δεδογμένα ἀνατεθήσεται εἰς (τ)[ὸ
ἰ]ερὸν τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς χαλκιοίκου εἰς ὃ[ν
τ]όπ[ο]ν ὁ νόμος ἵστασθαι κελεύει κατὰ·
συ[νγρ]α[φ]ὰν ἄν κα γράψει ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων, τὸ δὲ ἀ-
(ν)ά(λ)[ωμα] δόμεν τὸν ἐπιδαμιοργόν.

Petitione facta a Carneada
Aeglanoris f., Cyrenaeo, agendi
cum populo de juribus (publicis)
et de proxenia: quoniam Carneades Aegla-
noris f., petitione facta, egit (*i.e.* rogationem tulit) de
juribus (publicis) et de proxenia, placuit
populo Carneadem Aeglanoris f., Cyrenae-
um, proxenum (*s.* patronum) esse civitatis, ip-
sum et posteros, et tribui ei
quaecumque jura (*s.* privilegia) in legibus scripta sunt
proxenis (obtinenda). Loca-
torem autem locare cum eis (*sc.* magistratibus), quos lex ju-
beat, cippum marmoreum, in quo inscrip-
ta haec rogatio dedicetur (*s.* offeratur) in
templo Minervae Chalcioeci in eo
loco, in quo lex eam poni jubeat, secundum
designationem quamcumque scribat architectus: sump-
tus autem dare epidemiurgum.

Line 1. Πόθοδος (Attic πρόσοδος), a request for a hearing. It seems that Carneades not only petitioned for a hearing, but had himself to address the people. This rule, perhaps purely Laconian, may very well be a token of the bluntness of Spartan manners. In other states some friendly citizen moved the vote of thanks; at Sparta the candidate for the proxeny was forced to sue in person.

The name of Carneades must have been common at Cyrene; the famous founder of the New Academy was a Cyrenian. Others of the name are found in Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 127, and *C.I.G.* 5143, 5160, 5309, 5314. Of Aeglanor I can find no other example at Cyrene, but the kindred name of Aeglator occurs there (Pape-Bens. *s.v.*).

3. φιλάνθρωπα, the privileges sought by Carneades. The same sense is found in *S.M.C.* 217 A. 22[1]; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 221. 20; 257. 17; 259. 31; 349. 9. The opposite sense, of 'services rendered,' is found in Collitz-Bechtel 4516. 12; 4531. 6.

11–12. The director of contracts (ἐκδοτήρ) is ordered to give out a contract (ἐκδόμεν) for the setting-up of the stone. He is to act in concert with certain other magistrates prescribed by law, but not otherwise defined. Cf. Demosth. xviii. 122, Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 540. 6 (building-inscription from Lebadea), and Pauly-Wiss. *s.v.* ἔκδοσις (3).

13 ff. The order to write the decree on a stone slab is given here in much the same words as in 217 B: there, as here, the slab is to be set up in the sanctuary of Athena, but our inscription alone gives the name of Athena Chalkioikos. For the position of this sanctuary see p. 439 above.

17. The architect occurs in the same connexion in 217 B. συνγραφά, a specification drawn up by him and agreed to by the contractor: cf. Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 588. 216 (Delos). The architect as a public official is found in *S.M.C.* 203. 17.

This decree, conferring the honorary proxeny upon Carneades of Cyrene, may be compared with the one other complete Spartan decree now extant, *S.M.C.* 217 B,[2] and with the fragments published in the Corpus.

[1] (l. 19). καὶ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλειαγ καὶ ἀσυλίαγ . . . καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τίμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις . . . ὑπάρχει.

[2] Cf. also Collitz-Bechtel 4430, Le Bas-Foucart, 194 *a*. Other Laconian honorary decrees are *C.I.G.* 1334 (Geronthrae), 1335 (Κοινὸν τῶν Λ., Taenarum), *B.C.H.* ix. 517, No. 9 (the Hyperteleatic Sanctuary). The latter belongs to the same age as our decree. Cf. also *I.G.* iv. 940.

Of these, *C.I.G.* 1331, although it speaks of a Roman proxenus, may belong to the same age as our inscription. *C.I.G.* 1332, 1333 are too fragmentary to be of much value, but seem from the lettering to be rather later.

It is clear from the classes of magistrates mentioned in our inscription and in 217 B, that they belong to a time when the normal constitution of Sparta was in abeyance. Nothing is said about ephors or senate, the ordinary executive authorities of the state. In 217 B the *συναρχίαι* are the magistrates first approached by Damion the Ambraciote to grant him a hearing; these therefore must have been the highest executive body. In our inscription (l. 18) the *ἐπιδαμιοργός* is ordered to find the money for the stone slab. It seems on the whole most likely that this suspension of the Spartan constitution was due to her forced adherence to the Achaean League in 188 B.C. This view, proposed by Swoboda,[1] is supported by two facts: (1) when Sparta joined the League, she was obliged to give up the Lycurgan system, and to take a form of government based on the Achaean[2]: (2) the magistrates found in our decree and in 217 B are such as would be expected in a state belonging to the Achaean League.

That *συναρχίαι* did exist in other states in the Achaean League has been proved for Dyme, Megara, and Aegosthena, although their powers were not always the same, and they did not in all cases supersede the senate. In the Achaean League itself the *συναρχίαι* were the nearest advisers of the General, and they were also called *ἄρχοντες* and *δαμιουργοί*.[3] In the last line of our inscription an *ἐπιδαμιοργός* occurs, who may have been the head of the *συναρχίαι*, answering in Sparta to the General of the League. Again the office of *ἐκδοτήρ* seems to be unknown at Sparta outside these two inscriptions, which makes it the more likely that they belong to a time when the ordinary constitution was suspended. Sparta is supposed to have remained in the Achaean League until about 184/3, so that the date of the inscription would be fixed within narrow limits. It would help to account for the small number of such decrees at Sparta, if it could be

[1] Swoboda, *Gr. Volksbeschlüsse*, 108, 136–142.

[2] Livy xxxviii. 34 *imperatum uti . . . Lycurgi leges moresque abrogarent, Achaeorum adsuescerent legibus institutisque.*

[3] All these questions are discussed by Swoboda, *l.c.* It would take up too much space to give all his arguments, which seem quite convincing.

shewn that during her membership of the Achaean League she followed the common practice, but when her ancient constitution was given back she resumed her policy of exclusion, and was unwilling to bestow favours upon outsiders. If this view be right, then our decree and No. 217 B both belong to the period 188–183. Ours appears in any case to be slightly the later of the two, for the following reasons:—

(1) The writing has *apices*, while in No. 217 B there are none. (2) The form has been much shortened.[1] In 217 B Damion first approached the *συναρχίαι*, and was *then* allowed to address the people, but in our decree nothing is said of the magistrates, by whose mediation Carneades gained his hearing. This cannot mean that he was allowed to speak in the assembly unintroduced: probably the procedure had become fixed, and some details were left out of the inscription for the sake of brevity. Again in 217 B the privileges of the proxenus are given at length: here they are merely referred to, as already fixed by law. (3) The law, which is mentioned again in lines 12, 16, is in itself a proof that a number of such decrees had already been passed, so that it had been thought worth while to regulate the procedure.[2]

LAW REGARDING THE LEONIDEA.

[Two square blocks, capital and base respectively, found in Trench E in front of the Theatre (cf. p. 405 and the plan on p. 396). They formed, I think, the upper and lower members of a monument, the main portion of which has yet to be discovered. It was probably a plain square shaft and may have borne an honorary inscription. The text of the Law covers the moulded surface of the front and one side in either case; probably it extended also down one side, at any rate, of the missing shaft.—R. C. B.]

2. (2148). Large base of bluish marble, lettered on two sides ·95 × 1·5 × ·35. Letters c. ·02 h. with fair-sized *apices*. The surface of the inscription is cracked and badly weathered in several places.

[1] The nearest parallel to the opening formula is in Collitz-Bechtel 4531.

[2] Swoboda's view is not fully proved, and, should he be mistaken, the reasoning just given would fall to the ground. Foucart connected the establishment of the *συναρχίαι* with the reforms of Cleomenes III, and would thus put the decree in 221/0 B.C. (Le Bas-Foucart, 194 *a*). *Συναρχία* in that case would refer to the whole college of patronomi, the junior members of which were called *σύναρχοι* (cf. *S.M.C.* 777). But it is not likely that Cleomenes would have given his new magistracy a name that savoured of Achaean institutions, and there is no evidence for any early use of *συναρχία* applied to the patronomi. (In 17 below it is uncertain to what board of magistrates the term *πρέσβυς συναρχίας* applies; it may refer to the patronomi, but even so the inscription is too late to afford a parallel to our decree. *Σύναρχοι* were junior members of various boards: cf. *S.M.C.* 214 agoranomi.—216 *ἐπιμεληταί*.—784 agoranomi.) The explanation first given seems therefore the most likely.

A.

ΚΑΙΟΙΓΕΡΟΝΤΕ
ΠΑΣΗΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΣΕΠΙΝΟΙΑΙΝΑΤ
ΝΥ ΕΔΟΧΕΤΟ Υ ΠΕΡ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΧΑΡΙΞΕΝΟ
ΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥΜΚΑΙΦ ΩΝΜΕΓ ΟΙ
ΓΕΤΑΓΜΕΝ ΑΤΑΤΟΥΣΙΕΡΟΥΣΝΟΜΟΥΣΚΑΙΤ
ΗΝΑΜΕΙΠΤΙΚΗΣΤΡΑΠΕΖΗΣΙΝΕΧΗΔΙΑΙΩΝΟΣΗΠΟ
ΗΚΟΕ ΟΣΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΣΕΚΤΕΤΩΝΤΟΚΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΝ
ΙΙΙΑΑΣΙΑΣΟΕΝΤΑΕΠΑΘΑ ΩΝΛΕΩΝΙΔΕΙΩΝΔΙΑΤΑΣΤΩΝΑΓΩΝΙ
ΙΙΟΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΩΝΤΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΩΝΤΩΝΑΡΧΕΙΩΝΕΝΑΝΑΝΤΙΙ Α
ΙΩΝΑΣ ΟΕ ΩΝΕΧΟΝΤΩΝΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΥΝΤΑΣΟΥΣΑΙΙΚΑΤΑΣΤΗ
ΓΡΟΦΟΡΟΥΣΜΗΕΛΑΣΣΟΝΑΣΕΚΑΙΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡΟΦΥ
ΝΑΛΕΓΕΣΘΑΙΑΠΟΤΩΝΑΠΟ ΡΑΜΕΝΩΝΗΤ
ΤΟ Β ΙΟΝ ΖΛ ΟΣ ΕΥΣΑΝ

B.

ΟΙΙΕΠΟΣ
ΙΟ ΙΖΟΙΙ
ΗΣΕΤΑΙΜΕΧΡΙΖΦΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΟΙΤΩΝΖΗΜΙΩΘΕΝΤΩΝΚΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΝΟΜΟΣΑΝΤΕ
ΩΟΙΠΕΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΜΗΚΟΤΕΣΤΗΣΤΡΙΤΗΣΗΜΕΡΑΣΚΑΙΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΘΕΝΤΑΠΡΑ
ΝΟΙΤΗΝΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΝΗΑΛΛΟΣΟΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΜΕΤΑΥ
ΟΛΙΟΥΟΕΣΤΑΙΤΟΥΠΡΑΞΑΝΤΟΣΤΑΔΕΠΡΟΣΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΕΙΕΙΣΑΑΝΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΛΗΣΗΚΑΙΟΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣΚΡΕΙΝΩΣΙΤΗΣΔΕΕΣΟΜΕΝΗΣΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΕΩΣΑΠΟ
ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥΙΣΜΕΧΡΙΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥΕΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΙΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ
ΚΑΙΟΙΑΘΛΟΘΕΤΑΙΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΔΙΑΓΝΩΣΟΝΤΑΙΠΕΡΙΤΩΝΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΤΙΣΙΝΕΝΤΗΠΑ
ΝΗΓΥΡΕΙΖΗΤΗΣΕΩΝΑΣΕΙΝΑΙΕΚΕΧΕΙΡΙΑΣΠΑΣΙΠΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΕΚΥΡΩΣΕΝΟ
ΔΗΜΟΣΤΩΝΕΙΣΑΓΟΝΤΩΝΤΙΕΝΑΙΣΤΗΣΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΕΩΣΗΜΕΡΑΙΣΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ
ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΤΗΣΤΕΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΜΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΑΤΙΚΗΣΕΙΣΔΕΤΟΔΙΑΙΩΝΟΣΜΕΝΕΙΝ
ΤΗΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΔΟΞΑΜΕΣΟΝΤΑΙΑΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΙΤΩΝΤΡΙΣΜΥΡΙΩΝΔΗΝΑΡΙΩΝΑ
ΠΟΤΩΝ ΤΩΝΤΗΝΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΝΚΑΙΑΠΟΤΩΝΔΑΝΕΙΖΟΜΕΝΩΝΔΙΑΔΗΜΟΣ
ΤΑΙ ΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΚΑΤΑΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΠΕΡΙΤΗΣΤΡΑΠΕΖΗΣ

A.

καὶ οἱ γέροντ(ε)[ς] - - -
- - πάσῃ χρώμενος ἐπινοίᾳ ἵνα τ - - -
- ν ὑ[π]έ(σ)χετο ὑπὲρ Φλαβίου Χαριξένο[υ - -]
- - [τ]οῦ δήμου κεφαλαίου μ(υριὰς) ά (?) καὶ φ'· ὧν με(γ)[ίστ]οι[ς - - ?]
- - (τ)εταγμέν[α κ]ατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους καὶ τ[ὰ] ψ(η)[φ]-
[ίσματα - - - - τ]ῆ(ς) ἀμειπτικῆς τραπέζης ἵν' ἔχῃ δι' αἰῶνος ἡ πό[λις - - ?]
- - (ἡ) κ(αθ)' ἔ[τ]ος γεινομένη πρόσοδος ἔκ τε τῶν τόκων καὶ τ(ῶν)
[? - - δ]ι(π)λασιασ(θ)έντα ἔπαθλ[α τ]ῶν Λεωνιδείων διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀγων(ι)-
[ζο] -
[μένων ?- - ἀ](π)οκαθημένων τῶν πρέσβεων τῶν (ἀ)ρχείων ἔναν<αν>τι - -
- - (τ)ῶν ἀ(θ)[λο](θ)ε[τ]ῶν ἐχόντων ὑπηρετοῦντας οὓς ἂ(ν) καταστή[σωσι]
[- - - - - - - ἱ](ε)ροφόρους μὴ ἐλάσσονας ε' καὶ παλαιστροφύ[λακας - -]
[? - - - ἀ](να)λέγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο[γρα](ψ)αμένων η - -
non liquet.

B.

- -
- - ζημιωθ]ήσεται μέχρι ✱φ.' εἰ δέ τις ἀντιλέγοι τῶν ζημιωθέντων κρινοῦσιν ὀμόσαντε|[ς - - - -]ῳ οἱ πεπατρονομηκότες τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας, καὶ τὸν κατακριθέντα πρά[ξ]||[ουσιν οἱ - - - -]νοι (some participle) *τὴν διοίκησιν, ἢ ἄλλος ὁ βουλόμενος τῶν πολειτῶν μετ' αὐ|[τῶν ἡμ]ιολίου ὃ ἔσται τοῦ πράξαντος, τὰ δὲ προσγεινόμενα χωρήσει εἰς ἃ ἂν ὁ δῆμος|[θ]ελήσῃ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες κρεινῶσι· τῆς δὲ ἐσομένης κατ' ἔτος πανηγύρεως ἀπὸ| (Ἀ)γριανίου ιϝ' μέχρι Ὑακινθίου εἱσταμένου ἐπιμελήσονται οἱ νομοφύλακες | [κ]αὶ οἱ ἀθλοθέται, οἵτινες διαγνώσονται περὶ τῶν γεινομένων τισὶν ἐν τῇ πα||νηγύρει ζητήσεων, ἃς εἶναι ἐκεχειρίας πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας ἐκύρωσεν ὁ | δῆμος, τῶν εἰσαγόντων τι ἐν ταῖς τῆς πανηγύρεως ἡμέραις ἐχόντων | ἀτέλειαν τῆς τε εἰσαγωγίμου καὶ πρατικῆς· εἰς δὲ τὸ δι' αἰῶνος μένειν | τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξα(ν), ἔσονται αἱ ἀσφάλειαι τῶν τρισμυρίων δηναρίων ἀ|πὸ τῶν [ἐχόν]των τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δανειζομένων διὰ δημοσ||[ι - - - γ]εινομένων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης.*

(*Latus B. Latine*)

Versus I, II non liquent.

. . . multetur usque ad denarios D. Si quis autem multatorum contra dicat, judicent tertio die jurejurando accepto ei qui patronomorum munere functi sunt, atque a damnato (reo) exigant ei qui aerarium (administrandum) curant, aut quicumque vult civium cum eis, sescuplam multam, quae pecunia exactori tradatur; fructus autem eis rebus adhibeantur quibus populo placeat atque archontes censeant. Futuram autem quotannis panegyrem (mercatum) a die XVI mensis Agrianii usque ad kalendas mensis Hyacinthii curent nomophylaces atque athlothetae (certaminum curatores), qui judicent de controversiis in quibus nonnulli in panegyri versentur, quas ab omnibus partibus indutias esse placuit populo, importantibus quidlibet per panegyris dies immunitate concessa importandi et vendendi. Ut autem in aeternum constet civitatis gloria, capiantur pignora pro denariorum XXX millibus ab eis qui mensam obtinent, eisque qui pecuniam mutuantur causa publicorum . . . ? secundum decretum de mensa (latum).

On side *A* about twenty letters have been lost at the beginning of each line, and four or five at the end. In line 5 the surviving text almost reaches the edge of the stone. Lines 2—end are cut on the curved moulding of the capital, line 1 on the flat band above this. In many places the lettering is very faint, and of some lines little sense can be made. Of side *B* about six to eight letters are missing at the beginning of lines 3–7 and one letter at the beginning of most of the other lines. At the end most of the lines are complete, in some cases a letter is missing. At the top of *B* one line is lost and two (= 1, 2) are very faint; in places the *apices* of the letters have run together owing to the wearing of the stone; this makes the writing very indistinct.

The inscription contains a series of enactments of which only part are at all clear. The opening sentence of the law seems to be given at the beginning of side *A*:—The resolution had been adopted by the γερουσία (l. 1). In line 3 Flavius Charixenus may be the man mentioned below (12, p. 460) in connexion with the ἀριστοπολειτείας ἀγών—what action he had taken here is uncertain. From lines 4–6 it seems that the present enactment implied the revival of certain laws and decrees which may have

lapsed.[1] In line 7 is a financial provision as to the proceeds of loans from a bank. This bank occurs again below, and may have been connected with the funds of some sacred organisation. It is well known that temple priesthoods sometimes undertook banking business, not only accepting deposits, but also making loans to cities or to private borrowers.[2] It seems more reasonable to suppose that such a bank is meant than to assume that it was one directly under state control; the management seems to have been committed to some private financiers (*B* l. 13), perhaps for a fixed sum of money. Such a course can be paralleled elsewhere.[3]

Lines 8 ff. contain some rules for the contest of the Leonidea, or games held in honour of Leonidas. This festival is mentioned by Pausanias,[4] who connects it with the Tomb of Leonidas, which, he says, was not far from the Theatre, and this suits the finding-place of the stone. Pausanias adds that the match was open to Spartans alone, it included a wrestling match and the pancratium;[5] the control was in the hands of *ἀγωνοθέται*,[6] to whom there is possibly an allusion in *A* l. 10; the office may have been hereditary.

In line 10 begins a provision for the minor officials of the contest, among whom seem to be *ἱεροφόροι* and *παλαιστροφύλακες*: the latter office is familiar,[7] the former, which related to the bearing in procession of sacred objects, usually appears in the form *ἱεραφόρος*.[8] In the present case at least five of these are to be employed.

[1] For the meaning of the symbol in line 4 see Reinach, *Traité d'Ép. gr.* p. 225.

[2] On such temple-banks v. B. Büchsenschütz, *Besitz u. Erwerb im gr. Altert.* 506–508: *C.I.G.* 158 = *I.G.* II. pt. ii. 814 (Delos): Ross *Inscrr. Ined.* II. n. 145 (Myconos).

[3] Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 940. 17 ff. [4] Paus. iii. 14. 1.

[5] *C.I.G.* 1421. Cf. S. Wide, *Lak. Kulte* 358.

[6] *S.M.C.* 544, 12, 13. . . . *καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην δ[ι|ὰ γέ]νους τῶν μεγάλων | [Λε]ωνειδίων.* This last phrase suggests that there may have been a greater and a lesser contest in memory of Leonidas. In *C.I.G.* 1417 the match seems to be called the *ἐπιτάφιος* (sc. *ἀγών*) of Leonidas. *Τὰ Λεωνίδεια* occurs Le Bas-Foucart 194 *c*. That inscription contains other regulations for this same contest, and may be a companion stone to ours. For the office of *ἀγωνοθέτης* cf. *S.M.C.* Introd. § 22.

[7] Cf. L. and S. *s.v.* [8] Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 754.

Side B.

The first few lines lay down the procedure in case of certain offences of which the definition is lost: the penalty is a fine of 500 denarii, and seemingly an appeal is allowed to the ex-patronomi. In case the appeal be dismissed, the fine is raised by one half,[1] and a reward is provided in case a voluntary prosecutor comes forward. It would seem at first sight as if the whole fine passed into his pocket, but perhaps the use of *ἡμιόλιον* implies that the extra 50 per cent was paid over as a reward, while the capital sum was included in the following term *προσγεινόμενα*, which were to be devoted to state ends.

7 ff. Rules for a yearly festival. The date is first fixed, and there seems to be a mention of two Spartan months. An Agrianius is known at Rhodes (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 623) but not at Sparta; Hyacinthius is found at Rhodes, Thera and elsewhere (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 744, 630, 614, 869), but not at Sparta, unless Hyacinthius = Hecatombeus, the month in which the Hyacinthia fell. Probably both are new, as several Spartan months were hitherto unknown.[2] The expression *Ὑακινθίου ἱσταμένου* would seem to mean the beginning of the first decade of the month (*μὴν ἱστάμενος*): *i.e.* the 1st. Provisions follow for settling certain disputes during the festival, a task entrusted to the *νομοφύλακες* and the *ἀθλοθέται*. Both these offices are already known at Sparta; the *νομοφύλακες* seem to have acted as police magistrates,[3] while the *ἀθλοθέται* instituted the contest and made provision for the prizes.[4] It is next laid down that during the festival the ordinary law-suits are to be suspended, and freedom for import and sale of goods is to be allowed; finally there is a financial measure dealing with security to be given by those in charge of the bank for the sum of 30,000 denarii, and by certain borrowers. As the stone is damaged in this place, the exact nature of the provision is uncertain: some of the money may have been borrowed for works in connexion with the festival.

[1] Almost the same procedure is found in Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 688 (Epidaurus), where a man is fined by an *ἀγωνοθέτης* and the *Ἑλλανοδίκαι*. This is confirmed on an appeal to the senate, and the fine is increased owing to a default of payment.

[2] Cf. Smith, *Dict. Ant. s.v.* Calendarium.

[3] *S.M.C.* Introd. § 15.

[4] *Ib.* § 22. The *ἀθλοθέται* and *ἀγωνοθέται* are distinguished in *C.I.G.* 1424, with Boeckh's note.

3. Large base of bluish marble, h. ·35, at top ·95 × ·83, at bottom 1·105 × ·925. Letters ·013 h. deeply cut with fair-sized *apices*.

A (·95 long).

ΓΩΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΩΝΚΑΘΕΔΟΥΝΤΑΙΕΝΩΑΝΟΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΤΟΥΑΓΩΝΟΣΚΕΛΕΥΣΩΣΙΤΟΠΩ
ΔΕΜΗΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΣΕΚΤΕΙΣΕΙ ⊣Ε:ΕΣΤΑΙΔΕΟΓΥΜΝΙΚΟΣΑΓΩΝΚΑΤΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΡΗ
ΤΡΑΝΤΗΚΖΤΟΥΣΔΕΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΟΥΣΙΝΟΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΣΕΝΤΩΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΩΚΑΙΕΙΣΤΟ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΠΑΡΑΔΩΣΟΥΣΙΝΕΙΔΕΠΙΤΙΑΘΗΜΑΕΙΣΑΠΟΓΡΑΨΑΙΤΟΗΕΝΚΡΙΘΕΙΗΚΡΕ
ΝΑΣΗΣΤΗΣΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑΣΟΥΠΛΕΟΝΑΗΜΨΕΤΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΡΟΥΣΟΔΕΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΣΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟ
ΜΟΝΑΛΕΙΨΙΝΠΑΡΕΞΕΙΤΟΙΣΑΠΟΓΡΑΨΑΜΕΝΟΙΣΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΥΣΕΚΑΣΤΗΣΗΜΕΡΑΣΚΥΑΘΟΥΣΔ
ΑΓΕΝΕΙΟΙΣΓΠΑΙΣΙΒΚΑΙΕΝΤΩΣΤ ΘΗΣΕΙΤΟΕΛΑΙΟΝΟΣΕΞΕΙΚΑΙΤΗΝΤΟΥΞΥΣΤΑΡ
ΧΟΥΤΕΙΜΗΝΠΛΗΡΩΝΤΑΕΙΘΙΣΜΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΟΛΑΧΩΝΤΩΝΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ

B (·83 long).

ΕΥΑΜΕΡΟΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΩΝΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΣΩΚΛΕΙΔΑΣΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥ
ΧΑΛΕΙΝΟΣΞ ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟΣΧΡΥΣΕΡΩΤΟΣΠΑΡΔΑΛΑΣΘΕΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣΣΩΣΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΛΕΩΝΞΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΞΤΡΥΦΕΡΟΣΕΠΑΦΡ
ΔΕΙΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΕΙΚΙΔΑΣΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΝΥΜΦΟΔΟΤΟΣΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΘΟΑΣΞ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΞ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΒΟΥΛΑΣ ΤΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΝΕΟΛΑΟΣ
ΕΦΟΡΩΝ
Τ·ΤΡΕΒΕΛΛΗΝΟΣΑΡΕΥΣΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΞ ΚΛΕΩΝΣΩΣΙΚΡΑ
ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΥΚΛΗΤΟΣΜΕΛΗΣΙΠΠΟΥ
ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ
ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣΣΩΚΛΕΙΔΑ ΤΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΑΤΕΙΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΔΑΜΟΝΕΙΚΗΣ
ΠΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΣΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ

A.

ἀ]γωνιζομένων καθεδοῦνται ἐν ᾧ
ἂν οἱ ἐπιμελούμενοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος
κελεύσωσι τόπῳ, | [ὁ]
δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἐκτείσει ✳ ε'.
ἔσται δὲ ὁ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν
κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν ῥή|τραν
τὴ[ν] κζ'. τοὺς δὲ νεικήσαντας
ἀναγράψουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐν
τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ |
γραμματοφυλάκιον παραδώ-
σουσιν· εἰ δ' ἐπί τι
ἄθλημα εἰσαπογράψαιτο ἢ
5 *ἐνκριθείη κρε[ι]‖νάσης τῆς*
συναρχίας, οὐ πλέον λήμψε-
ται τοῦ μέρους. ὁ δὲ γυμνασ-
ίαρχος κατὰ τὸν νό|μον ἄλειψιν
παρέξει τοῖς ἀπογραψαμένοις,
ἀνδρὶ δοὺς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας
κυάθους δ', | ἀγενείοις γ',
παισὶ β'. καὶ ἐν τῷ στ[αδίῳ]
θήσει τὸ ἔλαιον ὃς ἕξει καὶ τὴν
τοῦ ξυστάρ|χου τειμήν, πληρῶν
τὰ εἰθισμέν[α. κρειν]εῖ δὲ ὁ
λαχὼν τῶν ἀρχόντων.

... certantium sedeant in quocumque eos curatores certaminis (sedere) jubent loco. Quicumque autem non paret, solvat denarios V. Fiat autem certamen gymnicum quotannis secundum legem vicesimam septimam.

Victores autem proscribant scribae in gymnasio atque (nomina eorum) in tabularium deferant.

Si (quis) autem ad quodlibet certamen (nomen suum) conscribat, sive admittatur judicante synarchia, ne plus (justa) parte accipiat.

Gymnasiarchus autem e lege unctionem praebeat conscriptis (certantibus), viro dans quotidie cyathos IV, imberbibus III, pueris II. Atque in stadium ponat oleum is, qui xystarchae quoque honorem obtineat, solvens consueta (munera). Judicet autem archontum is qui (eum honorem) sortitus sit.

In line 3 the letters H N K seem to have been ligatured, but the cross-stroke is now lost. Or we may read *τῇ κζ'*, *i.e.* 'die vicesimo septimo', the month having been previously referred to by name.

B.

1 Εὐάμερος Ἀρίωνος. Ἐπιτυνχάνφν Κλεωνύμου. Σωκλείδας Κλεωνύμου.
2 Χαλεῖνος (Χαλείνου). Ὀνησιφόρος Χρυσέρωτος. Παρδαλᾶς Θεοκλέους. Μνασέας.
3 Ἀγαθοκλῆς Σωσιδάμου. Νείκιππος. Κλέων (Κλέωνος). Ἱεροκλῆ(ς) (Ἱεροκλέους). Τρύφερος Ἐπαφρ[ο]-
4 δείτου. Ἀριστονεικίδας Μουσαίου. Νυμφόδοτος Ξενοφῶντος. Θόας (Θόαντος).
5 Μένανδρος (Μενάνδρου). Γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς Τ. Κλαύδιος Νεόλαος.
6 Ἐφόρων
7 Τ. Τρεβελληνὸς Ἀρεὺς Πολεμάρχου. Ἀριστοκράτης (Ἀριστοκράτους)· Κλέων Σωσικρά-
8 τους. Ἀριστοκλῆς Λυσίππου. Εὔκλητος Μελησίππου.
9 Νομοφυλάκων
10 Εὔδαμος Σωκλείδα. Τ. Κλαύδιος Ἀτείματος. Τ. Κλαύδιος Δαμονείκης.
11 Πρατόνεικος Εὐδάμου.

Side A.

This inscription contains provisions for an athletic contest and for the training connected with it. The *γραμματοφυλάκιον*, or public archives, was under the charge of a *γραμματοφύλαξ*, an officer mentioned several times in Spartan inscriptions, and associated with the *νομοφύλακες*.[1]

In ll. 4–5 the sense is rather doubtful. It may mean that those competitors who put down their own names were to be on exactly the same footing as those who were officially entered by the authorities. Synarchia in the Roman age seems to have been applied to any college of magistrates.

In ll. 5 ff. the gymnasiarch is ordered to supply oil daily to the athletes in training: the office of gymnasiarch is known from other Spartan inscriptions.[2] The *cyathus* was one of the smaller fluid measures and is reckoned by Hultsch[3] at ·0456 litre, about $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pint.

[1] *S.M.C.* 204 ii. Introd. § 15, *C.I.G.* 1239, 1240. A [δημόσι]ον γραμματοφυλά[κιον] occurs in *C.I.G.* 4094 (Pessinus).

[2] *S.M.C.* 246 = *C.I.G.* 1365, whence it appears that a man could be gymnasiarch more than once, besides being a 'perpetual' gymnasiarch. Boeckh holds that the ordinary gymnasiarchy was a 'liturgy' or public burden (p. 611), the perpetual gymnasiarchy must have been an honorary post; perhaps here the gymnasiarch was obliged to pay for the oil himself.

[3] *Gr. u. röm. Metrol.* 104, 105, and table 703.

Ll. 7–8. The xystarch was an official in charge of the covered portico (xystus) where the athletes took exercise in bad weather: the office is already known at Sparta, and was sometimes held for life.[1] The phrase *πληρῶν τὰ εἰθισμένα* most likely means 'discharging the usual offices' expected of the xystarch: it can hardly be 'filling the usual vessels' with the oil. A similar phrase would be *C.I.G.* 2336, *πληρώσαντα πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ λ[ε]ιτουργίαν*

L. 8. The letters supplied do not quite fill the gap, but it is possible that at the end of the sentence after *εἰθισμένα*, either a mark of punctuation was put in or else a small space was left blank; otherwise a compound of *κρείνω* might be read. The reference is perhaps to the post of chief referee at the contest.

Side B.

This gives the signatories of the law, who consist of (1) sixteen magistrates, whose office is unspecified: (2) the *γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς*: (3) the five ephors: (4) four *νομοφύλακες*.

Who are the first sixteen? The only officials likely to have signed before the ephors would be either the *πατρονόμοι*, the *γέροντες*, or a special body directly responsible for the law. As there were only twelve *πατρονόμοι* they are out of the question here;[2] the number of *γέροντες* is uncertain but exceeded sixteen;[3] it is possible that some of them disagreed with the law and refused to sign, or were prevented by absence: the mention of the *γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς*, who is usually considered to be the same as the *γραμματεὺς γερουσίας*,[4] suggests that the foregoing list may be that of *γέροντες*.

Thirdly, several of the names occur elsewhere as those of *γέροντες*: Chalinus, Soclidas, and Hierocles (with the fathers' names as here) are *γέροντες* in *S.M.C.* 210. If the reference is to a special body, the names may be those of *ἀγωνοθέται*,[5] an unusually large number having been chosen *ad hoc*. Between these alternatives it is not easy to decide.

It may be noted further:

L. 2 The name Παρδαλᾶς is new, but Πάρδος[6] and Παρδαλίς[7] are already known.

[1] *C.I.G.* 1428. [2] *S.M.C.* Introd. § 13. [3] *Ib.* § 17. [4] *Ib.*

[5] So far, not more than three *ἀγωνοθέται* are known to have been chosen together. *Ib.* § 22, *C.I.G.* 1424.

[6] Ross, *Inscr. Inéd.* 49 *b*. [7] *B.C.H.* iii. 197.

L. 3. Cleon, son of Cleon, is found in *C.I.G.* 1282 with Νικίας Τεταρτίωνος, who occurs in the list of γέροντες already mentioned (*S.M.C.* 210). It is possible that *C.I.G.* 1282 may also be a list of γέροντες of a different year, and Cleon a senator here as there.

The rare name Nicippus occurs also in Le Bas-Foucart 173 *b*.

One Hierocles, son of Hierocles, is found in *S.M.C.* 205. 37.

L. 5. Menander, son of Menander, may be a descendant of Menander in *S.M.C.* 206. 22; and T. Cl. Neolaus of the Neolas, son of Callicratides, *ib.* 33.

L. 7. To reach the normal number of five ephors we must take T. Trebellenus Areus, son of Polemarchus, as one man's name; this is quite possible as the words are written near together.

Cleon, son of Sosicrates, occurs in *C.I.G.* 1417.

L. 8. Aristocles, son of Lysippus, is a νομοφύλαξ in *C.I.G.* 1237.

L. 9. The νομοφύλακες given here are four. The usual number of the college was five, but it then seems to have included the γραμματοφύλαξ, who may have been omitted here.[1]

L. 10. A T. Cl. Damonices occurs in *C.I.G.* 1373, probably the same man. For the form of the name cf. *B.S.A.* xi. 132. The rest of the names call for no special remark.

Two questions remain to be discussed: (1) Do this inscription and No. 2 belong together? (2) Their date.

(1) The two stones have a very strong likeness at first sight; the size, shape and material are nearly the same. The lettering does not differ more than would be natural if one order were entrusted to two workmen in the same shop: further both relate to athletic contests, and neither seems to be complete in itself. In 2 *A* l. 8 there is a mention of the Leonidea, and it appears from *C.I.G.* 1417, that Cleon, son of Sosicrates, the ephor mentioned in 3 *B*, l. 7, won this very contest. This suggests that he may afterwards have tried to reform the rules of the feast by the present law. Again, both stones were found near together in the neighbourhood where the Tomb of Leonidas must have stood. What could be more natural than to refer the contents of no. 3 to the games of the Leonidea? The γέροντες are mentioned at the beginning of 2 *A*, and this would account for the

[1] *S.M.C.* Introd. § 15.

omission of the name on 3 *B*, if both formed part of the same document.[1] I believe, therefore, that the two stones belong together.

(2) The date. The best indication is afforded by the Roman names in use. In 2 *A* Flavius occurs, but no others. In 3 *B* Tiberius Claudius occurs three times, and Tiberius Trebellenus once: the proportion of Roman names is small.[2] Three of our supposed *γέροντες*, are also *γέροντες* in *S.M.C.* 210, while Aristocles, son of Lysippus, who is here an ephor, appears as a *νομοφύλαξ* in *C.I.G.* 1237. Both these inscriptions (210 and 1237) belong to the year of C. Julius Philoclidas, who is among the earlier known patronomi, and is placed by Boeckh before Nerva's reign. As Aristocles had risen to be ephor from a *νομοφύλαξ*, we must date our inscription a year or two later than the other two. In *C.I.G.* 1424 Flavius Charixenus is an *ἀθλοθέτης* of the games in honour of Nerva (*Οὐρανείων Σεβαστείων Νερουανιδείων*). These must have been instituted after Nerva's death, about 97 A.D. Our inscription therefore may very well belong to Nerva's reign. The Roman names in the other two inscriptions are of the same nature as those before us. If it were necessary to separate 2 from 3, then the former could not well be earlier than Vespasian's reign, while the latter might be placed in the Julio-Claudian age; but there would probably be few years' difference between them in any case.

The style of writing does not give much help towards fixing the date. The letters have no extravagant forms, the *apices* are moderate in size and there is a trace of antiquity in the Ξ: few contractions if any are used. These points suit the date already put forward.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM OTHER SITES.

HONORARY INSCRIPTIONS.

(1) *Roman Emperors.*

4. House of *Παναγιώτης Φαμενίτης*, by threshold of store-room. Bluish marble, ·55 × ·45 × ·085. Letters ·11 h.

)PIKAIΣ	*Αὐτοκράτ*](*ο*)*ρι Καίσ*[*αρι - - -*]
ΙΣΠΑΤ	*- - ς πατ*[*ρὶ πατρίδος - - vel similia*]

[1] No patronomus occurs in our text, but if his name occurred before *γέροντες*, this would explain its omission from the list of names.

[2] The following is another indication of date; in *S.M.C.* 210 Aristocles son of Callicrates is a senator. In *C.I.G.* 1265 one Callicrates son of Aristocles is a colleague of Lysippus, who in *C.I.G.* 1348 appears as gymnasiarch at the time of Hadrian's second visit. The grandson of Aristocles appears as eponymus in the Antonine age, *C.I.G.* 1249. These facts point to the time about Nerva as a date for our inscription.

The inscription no doubt refers to a Roman Emperor, and, from the style of writing, to one of the earlier emperors, possibly Vespasian. He is mentioned on the large inscription *C.I.G.* 1305. This stone was rediscovered this year in two large fragments in the trench along the side-wall of the stage-buildings of the Theatre: it is not unlikely that Vespasian was a benefactor of Sparta.

5. (821). From house of Γιάννης Πουλάκος, now in Museum. Altar or base for small statue. Blue marble, ·53 × ·27 × ·21. Letters ·04.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ	Αὐτοκράτο-
ΡΟΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ	ρος Ἀδριανο(ῦ)
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ	Καίσαρος
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	Σωτῆρος.

6. School-House, Aphesou, near Sparta: in the wall. Blue marble ·39 × ·25. Letters ·03 h. A small wreath and leaves carved on the stone.

Corona	
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ	Αὐτοκράτο-
ΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ	ρι Καίσαρι
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ////	Σεβαστ(ῷ)
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΑ	Τραϊανῷ Ἀ-
ΔΡΙΑΝΩΣΩ	δριανῷ Σω-
ΤΗΡΙ ϕ	τῆρι.

Inscriptions in honour of Hadrian have been found in considerable numbers at Sparta; in the Museum eleven examples were already known, and there are four or five more in Boeckh (*C.I.G.* 1307 ff.). The formulae of the present inscriptions are the usual ones: cf. (for 5) *S.M.C.* 237, and (for 6) *ib.* 676, but without Τραϊανῷ. The words αὐτοκράτωρ and σωτήρ are in some form in every inscription in honour of Hadrian. The Emperor paid two visits to Sparta (probably in 126 and 129 A.D.), and accepted the title of Eponymus for a year.[1] Variety of lettering is a special feature of this group of inscriptions, which are sometimes marked, as in the present case, by poorly-worked ornaments of wreaths and palm-branches.

[1] *C.I.G.* 1241 and Le Bas-Foucart 286 *b*. Cf. J. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 59 f. and *S.M.C.* p. 24, n. 1.

7. Θεόδωρος Νεαύτης, East of Magoula. (From copy.)

	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ	Αὐτοκράτ[ορος
	ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚ	Ἁδριανοῦ Κ-
	ΑΙCΑΡΟCCΩΤΙ	αίσαρος σωτ(ῆ)-
	ΡΟCΓΑΙΕΥΕΙΙ	ρος (κ)αὶ εὐε(ργ)[έ-
5	ΤΟΥΤΗCΛΑΚΕ	του τῆς Λακε-
	ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟC	δαίμονος.

The title εὐεργέτης is not elsewhere used of Hadrian at Sparta, though he is called σωτὴρ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος in *S.M.C.* 381, 507, and ὁ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος σωτὴρ καὶ κτίστης (*Ath. Mitt.* ii. 438, No. 13).

8. (2018). From trench near Stoa-wall. Bluish marble.

	ΝΙΚΗ	
	ΤΑΣΙΩΝΟ	
	ΡΑΤΗΣ‹	- - - ράτης (- - ράτους) - -
	ΙΣΤΟΣΣΩΤΗΡ·	μέγ]ιστος σωτήρ - -
5	ΥΣΗΡΑΚΛ''	Ζε]ὺς Ἡρακλ(ῆ)ς
	ΣΕΠ\	? . . . Σεπ(τ)[ίμιος.

The first three lines seem to be part of a list of names. In line 3 is the sign for noting that father and son had the same name; the last two lines may refer to some Emperor, and Septimius is just possible in line 6. The mark after Π does not look like the beginning of a Τ, but may be an injury to the stone.

9. (2131). From the ruins of the Byzantine wall, S.W. corner of Theatre. Top of broken column of blue marble ·43 h. Letters, badly cut and much worn, ·03 h.

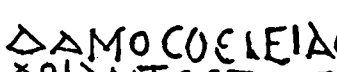
	ΑΥΤΟΚ?Α	Αὐτοκ(ρά)[τορι
	ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ////// ΚΩ	Καίσαρι [Μάρ]κῳ
	ΑΝΝΙC	Ἀννί(ῳ)
	ΦΛΩΡΙΑΝΩ	Φλωρι(αν)ῷ
5	CΕΒΑCΤΩ	Σεβαστ(ῷ).

The Emperor Florian, brother of Tacitus, had a short and ignoble reign. Eutropius ix. 16 merely says '*Florianus, qui Tacito successerat, duobus mensibus et diebus xx in imperio fuit; neque quicquam memoriae dignum egit.*' Vopiscus, in the *Historia Augusta*, remarks that Florian seized the Empire as if it had been an inheritance, and after scarcely two months' reign, was slain by the soldiers at Tarsus. The present inscription must certainly have been set up in the Emperor's lifetime, and would thus belong to the year 276.

The names Marcus Annius which have been restored above occur regularly on Florian's coins (cf. Cohen, *Les Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* (2nd edit.) vi. 241).

(2) *Other Honorary Inscriptions.*

10. (2051). Theatre. Base of blue marble in shape of a seat with lions' feet. Inscription cut on a raised band near the top. Very coarse lettering. Letters ·015 h.



Δαμοσθενείας ἀνδριάν<δριαν>τος τόπος
Damostheniae statuae locus

The letters *δριαν* seem to have been repeated by mistake.[1] Although the block certainly has the shape of a seat, it is impossible to take *τόπος* in that sense here, for although *Ἀνδρίας* is a proper name, it then has *Ἀνδρία* for genitive; it is therefore most likely that a stone seat was afterwards used as a statue-base, or removed to make room for one, and that the present inscription is merely a direction to the mason. This would explain both the unusual form of words and the utter carelessness of the writing. Whether this Damosthenia can be the same as the Claudia Damosthenia of *C.I.G.* 1445, 1446; *S.M.C.* 443, 691, is doubtful. The latter was a distinguished lady and was honoured with several statues, one of which is in the Sparta Museum (443).

11. (2132). From ruined Church on hill, E. of Theatre: the block had been built into the Church wall with very hard mortar and took a whole day to cut out. Blue marble, ·76 × ·56 × ·37. Letters ·035 h., well cut.

[1] The letters NE in line 1 were run together; the cross-stroke is partly worn away.

Ι	[Ἁ πόλις]
ΙΥΜΦ◡∠	(Ν)υμφ(όδ)[οτον Ξε-
ΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣΝ	νοφῶντο(ς κ)[οσμι-
ΟΤΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΠΑΙ∠Ε''	ότατος καὶ παι(δ)ε(ία)[ς
ΕΝΕΚΑΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑ	ἕνεκα προσδεξ(α)-
ΜΕΝΩΝΤΟΑΝΑΛΩΜ	μένων τὸ ἀνάλωμ[α
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣΤ	(Ξ)ενοφῶντος τ[οῦ
ΝΥΜΦΟΔΟΤΟΥ	Νυμφοδότου [καὶ Τι-
ΜΟΥΣΗΣΤΗΣΙ	μούσης τῆς Ἰ[ά-
ΜΟΥΤΩΝΓΟΝΕ	μου τῶν γονέ[ων.

Nymphodotum Xenophontis f. pudicitiae et sedulitatis causa civitas (Lacedaemoniorum P.C.) sumptibus Xenophontis Nymphodoti f. et Timusae, Iami filiae, parentum.

This is a memorial inscription in honour of a boy who died young; hence the merits recorded are somewhat vague, relating rather to early promise than to mature achievement. In *C.I.G.* 1368 *κοσμιότατος καὶ καλοκαγαθίας χάριν* occurs in a similar inscription, also in honour of a boy. *Παιδεία* is illustrated by the words of *C.I.G.* 1376, where a boy is said to have been *ἤθει τε φιλοσόφῳ καὶ παιδ[ε]ίᾳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις διαφέροντα τῶν ἡλίκων*; it clearly refers to progress and good work in education, especially on the intellectual side, while *κοσμιότας* implies moral goodness. *Παιδεία* occurs in the same sense in *C.I.G.* 1375, joined with *σωφροσύνη*. The dictionaries and editors do not notice this sense of the word.

12. (2044). Theatre, built into Byzantine wall. Letters show traces of red paint.

ΑΠΟΛΙΣ	Ἁ πόλις
ΤΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΝΧΑΡ	Τ(ῖτον) Φλάουιον Χαρ[ί]-
ΞΕΝΟΝΠΟΛΕΙϹ	ξενον πολει-
ΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝΚΑ	τευόμενον κ(α)-
ΛΩΣΥΠΟΤΕΤΟΥ	(λ)ῶς ὑπό τε τοῦ
ΔΑΜΟΥΠΡΟΚΡΙΘΕΝΤ	δάμου προκριθέντ[α]
ΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΤΟΑΝΑΝΕΩ	καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀνανε(ω)-
ΟΙΙΝΑΙΤΟΝΤΗΣΑΡΙΣ	(θ)ῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀρισ[το]-
ΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑΣ/ Ι ΩΝΑ	πολειτείας (ἀγ)ῶνα
ΝΕΙΚΙΙΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΠΡΩ	νει(κή)σ(α)ντα καὶ πρῶ-
ΤΟΝΛΑΒΟΝΤΑΤΑΣ	τον λαβόντα τὰς
Ϛ ΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΕΙ	[τῆ](ς ἀριστο)πολει-
ΚΑΤΑ	[τείας τιμὰς] κατὰ
	[τὸν νόμον.]

It is nearly certain that Charixenus here belonged to the house of Iulii Charixeni given on page 359. The services performed by Charixenus and their reward are probably the same as those elsewhere described as *λαβόντα τὰς τῆς ἀριστοπολιτ[εί]ας τειμὰς κατὰ τὸν νόμον* (*C.I.G.* 1346). Probably the *ἀγών* was figurative, the rivalry of rich men in supporting an impoverished city or in winning the favour of their fellow-townsmen by doles or other generosity—and the prize empty words and perhaps a statue, for which a kinsman of the benefactor was expected to pay.[1] The 'renewal' mentioned in line 7 must mean the revival of the *ἀγὼν ἀριστοπολειτείας*, which for some reason had lapsed, and had perhaps been brought back by some groups of loyal and wealthy citizens.

13. (2079). Theatre, above level of stage: (*a*) long frieze block used as door-post of a Byzantine house. ·54 × 1·35 × ·40. Letters ·08. Bad writing. (*b*) Another block of same frieze used as threshold; the two fragments seem to join.

(*a*)	(*b*)
ΙΟΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΩΝΙΕΡΕΩΣΚΑΤΑΓΕΝ[	Σ·ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠ[
- - *Διοσκούρων ἱερέως κατὰ γέν(ο)ς*	*ἀρι(σ)τοπ(ο)[λιτευτοῦ] - - [ἀπο](γόνο)[υ - - ?]*

Hereditary priesthoods were common at Sparta, and in some cases the priests claimed descent from the god they served; an example is seen in *S.M.C.* 544, where Eudamus is *μζ' ἀ[πὸ] Διοσκούρων, ἱερέα καὶ [ἀγ]ωνοθέτην διὰ βίου κ[αὶ διὰ] γένους τῶν τε Δι[οσκούρ]ων καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶν[ος τῶν] μεγάλων Διοσκουρείων*—besides other similar offices. Other cases of the same kind are *C.I.G.* 1374 (*ἱερέα καὶ ἀπόγονον Ποσιδᾶνος*), 1340, 1349. In *B.C.H.* i. 386 such an office is held by an *ἀπόγονος* of Heracles and Perseus, and again in *B.C.H.* xxi. 209 *ἔγγονον Εὐρυκλέους τριακοστὸν καὶ ἕκτον ἀπὸ Διοσκούρων.* Elsewhere such priesthoods are found without any claim of descent from the god: cf. *J.H.S.* xxv. 46.

14. (2015). In south wall. Letters ·08 h.

ΑΣΒΑΛΒΙ	*Ἰουλί]ας Βαλβί[λλης*
ΙΑΣΑΥΤΟΥ	*εὐεργετρ](ί)ας αὐτοῦ* (sc. *τοῦ δήμου*).

[1] There were perhaps some state privileges as well: cf. *S.M.C.* 648, n. Charixenus is no doubt the same as in 2 (p. 446, above).

Balbilla the poetess and friend of the Empress Sabina visited Egypt[1] in Hadrian's train, and may also have been with him at Sparta. This suggests the above as a possible reading, and that Balbilla should have gained from Hadrian some favour for the Spartans is likely enough.

15. (2086). Large base, ·92 × ·51, built into foundations of Byzantine wall, S.E. of Theatre. Letters ·04 h.

	ΠΜΕΜΜΙΟΣ	Π(όπλιος) Μέμμιος
	ΣΙΔΕΚΤΑΣ	Σιδέκτας
	ΚΑΙΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΣΗΝΗ·	καὶ Οὐολουσσήν(η)
	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΣ	Ὀλυμπίς
5	ΠΜΕΜΜΙΟΝ	Πό(πλιον) Μέμμιον
	ΔΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΝ	Δεξίμαχον
	ΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ	τὸν πατέρα.

P. Memmius Sidectas et Volussena Olympis P. Memmium Deximachum patrem, P.C.

The names are familiar: in *C.I.G.* 1250 P. Memmius Pratolaus and P. Memmius Sidectas, son of Deximachus, are *νομοφύλακες* (I have ventured to reject Boeckh's reading).

C.I.G. 1261. P. Memmius Pratolaus, son of Deximachus, is Eponymus.

C.I.G. 1340. Statue to P. Memmius Deximachus, erected by his sons Memmius Mnason and Memmius Pratolaus.

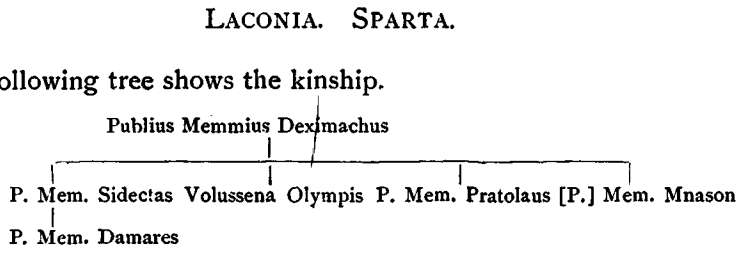
C.I.G. 1352. Statue to P. Memmius Damares, son of P. Memmius Sidectas

C.I.G. 1241. P. Memmius Damares is an ephor about the time of Hadrian's visit.

S.M.C. 254. P. Memmius Pratolaus and Volussena Olympicha make an offering to the Dioscuri. Olympicha must either be a mistake for Olympis or another form of it.

[1] Julia Balbilla was with Hadrian and Sabina in Egypt, when they heard the speaking statue of Memnon, in Nov. 130, *C.I.G.* 4725, 4727, 4729 (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 990, 988). These epigrams were written by Balbilla on the occasion and inscribed on the statue. In *C.I.G.* 4730 (Kaibel, 991) Balbilla speaks of her father, T. Cl. Balbillus, prefect of Egypt under Nero (cf. *C.I.G.* 4699), as a descendant of King Antiochus (probably of Commagene: cf. Kaibel's note *ad loc.*).

The following tree shows the kinship.



16. (2017). In Byzantine wall, S. side; block of blue marble lying face upwards in lowest course, much weathered. Letters ·02 h.

..... ΣΕΜΗ	- - - *σεμη*
Η ΥΑΙΑΝΠΑΝ	- - *η* . . [Ἰο]*υλίαν* Παν-
ΛΑΓΙΔΟΣΘΥ	*τει*](*μ*)[*ίαν*] (Ἅ)*γιδος θυ-*
ΤΡΡ ΤΑΝΙΔΙΑΝ	[*γ*](*ατέρ*)[*α*] *τὰν ἰδίαν*
5 ... ΞΕΒΕΙ	5 - - - [*εὐ*](*σ*)*εβεί-*
ΣΥΑΡΙΝ	[*α*]*ς* (*χά*)*ριν.*

Inscription in honour of Julia Pantimia[1](?), daughter of Agis. *Τὰν ἰδίαν* probably agrees with some following word like *μητέρα*; the writing however is so badly worn that any reading must be uncertain.

17. (2128). Large block built into Byzantine wall, N.E. side. Bluish marble. Letters ·02–·04 h.

ΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΒΟΥΛΑΣΚΕ
ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟ Ι
ΑΣΕΠΙΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΛΟΧΑΓΟΣΕΙ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΟΣΕΠΙ
ΚΑΙΕΙΣΠΑΝΝΟΝΙΑΝΜΕΤΑΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΥΠΑΛΚΑΣΤΟΥ
ΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΥΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣΠΡΟΣΛΟΥΚΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣΕΙΣΡΩΜΗΝΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝΠΕΡΙΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΛΑΚΩΝΑΣΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΩΡΘΩΘΗΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΛΟΧΑΓΟΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣΑΣΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙΠΙΣΤΩΣΛΕΩΝΤΑΣΟΙΝΟ
ΟΟΣ
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΠΕΛΛΑΚΩΝΟΣΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ
ΣΥΝΑΡΧΕΙΑΣΕΠΙΝΕΙΚΙΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣΕΙΣ
ΤΑΡΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΙΣΤΑΙΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΑ////////
ΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΚΑΙΧΡΥΣΟΥΔΙΔΟΜΕ////////
ΟΥΟΥΚΟΛΙΓΟΥΟΥΠΡΟΣΗΚΑΤΟΚΑΘΩ
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΗ

[1] This name occurs *S.M.C.* 203.

γρ]αμματεὺς βουλᾶς κε
Φιλοκράτης Ὀνησιφόρ(ο)[υ γ](ε)[ρο](υ)[σί-
ας ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους, λοχαγὸς ἐ(π)[ὶ
Ἀριστοκλέους, σύνδικος ἐπὶ (vacat)
καὶ εἰς Παννονίαν μετὰ τοῦ φίλου Πο(πλίου) Ἀλκάστου [φι-
λ]οκαίσαρος καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, υ(ἱ)οῦ πόλεως, πρὸς Λούκιον
Καίσαρα, πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον
αὐτοκρᾶ(τορα) Ἀντωνεῖνον περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἐλευθερολάκωνας, καὶ
κατωρθώθη Μητρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου λοχαγός.
(Ἀ)πολλώνιος ὑπηρετήσας καλῶς καὶ πιστῶς, Λεωντᾶς οἰνο-
(χ)όος.
Καλλικράτης Ἀπελλάκωνος πρέσβυς
συναρχείας ἐπὶ Νεικία πρεσβευτὴς εἰς
Τάραντα καὶ τειμηθεὶς ταῖς μεγίστα[ις]
<ταῖς> τειμαῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ διδομέ[νου
οὐκ ὀλίγου οὐ προσήκατο καθὼ(ς)
ἐ]μαρτυρήθη.

Of the Eponymi here mentioned Nicias is holder of that office in *B.C.H.* i. 385, No. 13; Damocles does not appear elsewhere, but Aristocles may be the Πό. Μέμ. Πρατόλαος ὁ καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς in *C.I.G.* 1341. In that honorary inscription, which belongs to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Aristocles is mentioned as Eponymus for the fourth time; it is therefore possible that he had held the office as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius.

This inscription, set up by slaves in honour of their masters, is of a curious and perhaps illiterate nature, and some of the words are not easy to understand. The following is the general sense:—

(Metrodorus Apollonii f.) - - - scriba Senatus - - et Philocrates Onesiphori f.
senator patronomo Damocle, trib. mil. patronomo Aristocle,
syndicus patronomo - - et in Pannoniam (missus) cum amico
P. Alcasto amico Caesarum amico patriae filio urbis ad
Lucium Caesarem, legatus (missus) Romam ad
maximum imperatorem Antoninum
propter (litem) contra Eleutherolaconas (agendam),
quam rem bene gessit Metrodorus Apollonii f.

trib. mil. Apollonius servus bonus et fidelis,
Leontas cellarius. (statuam ponendam curaverunt)
Callicrates Apellaconis f. primus
inter collegium (synarchiam) patronomo Nicia,
legatus Tarentum (missus) honoratusque maxi-
mis honoribus atque auri praebito haud pauco
nihil accepit, sicut testimonio confirmatum est - -

Line 1. The name of the first man here honoured was probably Metrodorus, son of Apollonius; the latter occurs in line 10 without any explanation and must have been mentioned before.

κε, it is uncertain whether this is καί spelt phonetically or a numeral = 25.

5. The embassy to Pannonia was probably intended to pay homage to the Caesar. Alcastus is in all likelihood the Eponymus of *C.I.G.* 1241, and 32 above (p. 372).

6. 'Lucius Caesar' can hardly be the later Emperor Lucius Verus, for he did not receive the title of Caesar in the reign of Antoninus. Probably Hadrian's adopted son L. Ceionius Commodus Verus is meant; he received the title in 136 and died in 138.

8. The dispute with the Free-Laconians is not known elsewhere, but Pausanias says that some of their towns had come under Spartan sway shortly before his own time; the reference may be to some question about boundaries (Paus. iii. 21. 7).

10. The slave's name Leontas is a form of Leonidas: it occurs also *C.I.G.* 1326, *S.M.C.* 208, etc.

12. Here begins what is really a separate inscription. It is uncertain what college of magistrates is meant here by συναρχεία: if it refers to the patronomi, it would follow that the senior patronomus was not necessarily Eponymus. It may denote the magistracies as a united body, of which Callicrates was the senior member.

14. The embassy to Tarentum shows that relations between her and Sparta, her mother-city, were still kept up.

15. The statements here made are not very clear: Callicrates was offered 'no small sum of money,' and did not take it, but by whom the

money was offered, and whether as a bribe or as a reward for public service remains uncertain; the latter perhaps was more likely to have been recorded publicly, but the phrase *καθὼς ἐμαρτυρήθη* suggests some hidden dealings which came out in a court of law.

18. Aphesou, near Sparta, house of Matalas. ·50 × ·77. Letters ·025 h. Two shallow square holes have been cut in the stone.

ΓΙϹ ᵛΛΙΟΝ, ϧ_ΐ̈ΟΔΑΜΟΥ	Γ(*άϊον*) Ἰ(*ούλ*)*ιον* (Α)[*ἰ*](*νετ*)*οδάμου*
ΥΙϹ ΑΡΙΞΕΝΟΝΤ ⁻Σ	*υἱ*(*ὸ*)[*ν* Χ]*αρίξενον* (*π*)[*ρε*]*σ*-
ΒΕ ΑΝΕΙΣΡΩΜ· ⁝	*βε*[*υτ*]*ὰν εἰς* Ῥ*ώμ*(*η*)[*ν τὸ*](*ν*)
ΗΡΩΑ	*ἥρωα.*

The order of names in ll. 2, 3 is entirely Roman; Charixenus is doubtless a kinsman of J. Charixenus, the Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1241.[1] The honouring of a dead man with the title *ἥρως* was rather rare in Laconia, but very common in Boeotia (cf. *S.M.C.* p. 8, note 1 and Nos. 251, 589).

19. (2038). Theatre. Blue marble, ·34 × ·36 × ·09. Letters ·024 h.

_Α////	[- - *νικήσαντα* - -]
ϽΛΥΜΠΙΑΕΙ////	(Ὀ)*λύμπια ἐ*(*π*)[*ὶ* - -
ΟΝΠΥΘΙΑ ϽΑΝ////	· *ον Πύθια . αν* - - - [? *ἀριστοπο*-
ΕΙΤΗΝΤΟΝΑΠϹ////	[*λ*]*είτην τὸν ἀπο* - -
5 ΣΤΟΣΕΛΛΗΝΣ////	5 [*ἄρι*]*στος* Ἑλλήν(*ω*)[*ν* - -
ΟΥΣΘΕΜΑΤΙΚϹ	. . [*τ*](*ο*)*ὺς θεματικ*(*ο*)[*ὺς ἀγῶνας* - -
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΑΙ	[*προσδε*]*ξαμένου τὸ ἀ*(*ν*)[*άλωμα*
ϽΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΤΟΥ	[Ἀ*ριστ*(?)](*ο*)*κρατίδα το*(*ῦ*) - - -

An inscription in honour of an athletic victor. In lines 1–4 the winner's triumphs are recorded; in line 5 some other person seems to be mentioned, and at the end is the usual record of the man who paid for the monument put up. Inscriptions in honour of athletes are common at Sparta: cf. *C.I.G.* 1416 ff. For *ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων* cf. *C.I.G.* 1363, etc. *θεματικοὶ ἀγῶνες* were contests in which a substantial prize was offered, and not merely a wreath (cf. L. and S. *s.v.*).

[1] Cf. 2, 12, above (pp. 446, 460).

20. (2039). From Tower in S. wall. Blue marble, ·26 × ·25 × ·24. Letters ·04 h.

ΙΟΙΜΕ	Πό(πλιον) Μέ(μμιον) - - -
ΚΑΡΥ	
ƎΥΜΟΝ	
ρΛΝ	

The remaining letters seem to be parts of names.

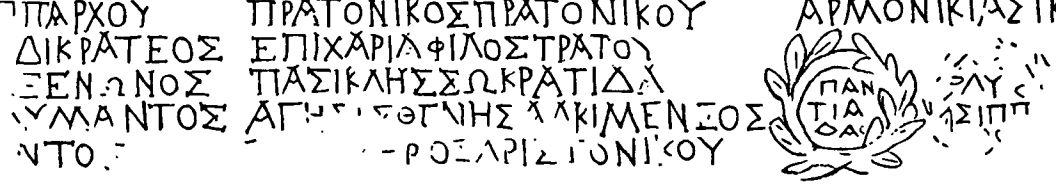
21. (2121). Round base of statue. The feet and part of the drapery remain. Diam. ·42, height of base ·13. Letters ·03–·02. Found near 'Tomb of Leonidas.'

ΚΛΑΥΑΠC	Κλαύ(διος) Ἀπ(ο)[λλώνιος ?	Claudius Apollonius
ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝΕΙΚΗι	Καλλιστονείκη[ν]	Callistonicam
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ	*θυγατέρα.*	filiam P.C.

The usual form would require *τήν* before *θυγατέρα*, but of this there is no trace on the stone.

LISTS OF MAGISTRATES, ETC.

22. (2001). Built into south-east corner of Byzantine wall. Long block of grey marble. Letters ·025 h. Poor lettering.



Ἀρισ]τοδά(μ)[ου	Πα(σικλῆς ?) Εὐκλε[ί]δα	Κριτόδαμ(ο)[ς - -
Σιδέκτας	Ἀρισ[το]φά(νης Ε)ὐτύχου	Ξενοκλῆς Ἀ(ν) - -
- (δ)α	Ἀριστεὺς Ἀριστονίκου	Πασάριον Δα - -
Ἰπ]πάρχου	Πρατόνικος Πρατονίκου	Ἁρμονικία Σι(κ[λείδα]
Δικράτεος	Ἐπιχαρία Φιλοστράτο(υ)	(Παν-τιά-δα(ς)) (Λύ-σιππ-(ος))
Ξένωνος	Πασικλῆς Σωκρατίδα	
Ἐν]ύμαντος	Ἀγ(ησ)[ι](σ)θένης (Ἀλ)κιμένεος	
- ντο(ς)	- - - ρο(ς Ἀ)ρι(στ)ονίκου	

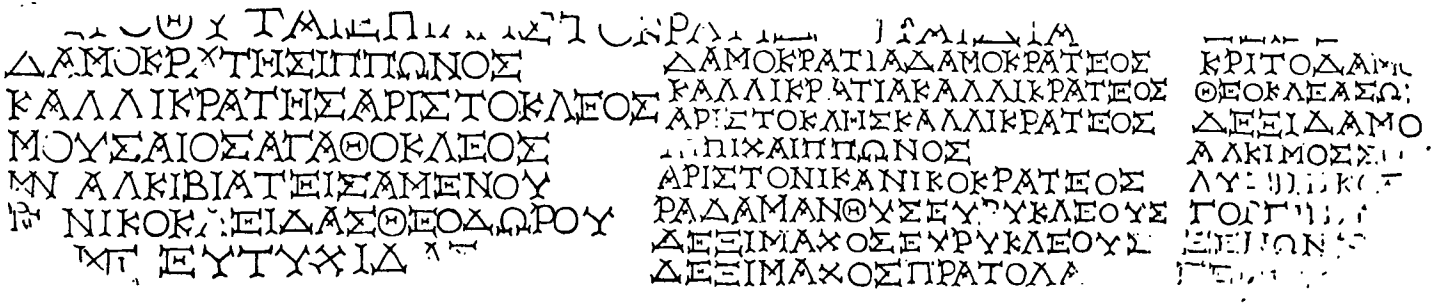
It is not known who these officials were—perhaps *ἱεροθύται*, as in the next inscription. Most likely the names in the carved wreaths are those of two officials crowned for their conduct in office, and the inscription may have been set up by their colleagues. In line 7, col. 1, the name may be *Δύμαντος* or *Ἐνύμαντος*.

Among the names are those of several women, *Ἐπιχαρία* l. 5 col. 2; *Ἁρμονικία* l. 4 col. 3; and *Πασάριον*, l. 3 col. 3. *Ἐπιχαρία* is the feminine of *Ἐπιχάρης*, while *Πασάριον* would be a neuter form used as a woman's name. Such neuters are very common in Plautus and Terence: cf. also *Δαμάριον* Le Bas-Foucart 276 and *B.S.A.* x. 171, Nos. 11 and 12; another example below, No. 35. This inscription contains no Roman names, and may possibly belong to the first century B.C. In that case Sidectas may be the Eponymus of *S.M.C.* 202.

23. (2002). Built into S.E. corner of Byzantine wall. Block of grey marble ·23 × 1·12 × ·40. Broken at the back, clamp marks on each side; a raised edge, ·02 deep, at top and bottom. Letters ·03–·02 h., very ornate. (*See opposite page*).

The office of *ἱεροθύτης* was known at Sparta (cf. *S.M.C.* 213, 217 B), but no list of these officials had been found before; they seem to have celebrated the special public sacrifices decreed by the state and to have entertained those invited to the public meal (cf. Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 16, where a college of Lindian *ἱεροθύται* with similar duties is referred to). In the present list there are at least five women. The *παιδία*, or junior members of the college (if the reading can be trusted), may be those whose names form the third column. Aristocratidas is Eponymus in *S.M.C.* 207, a list of Taenarii belonging almost certainly to the first century B.C. The present inscription has no Roman names, and in spite of the ornate lettering there need be no hesitation in placing it at that age.

Alcibia Tisameni f. (who may be the sister of *Σιχάρης Τεισαμενοῦ*, *S.M.C.* 205 and 206) was honoured with a statue for faithfulness to her husband Damippus, son of Aboletus, *C.I.G.* 1433; cf. 1361. This man has already appeared as Eponymus in No. 3 (page 360), from the Artemisium. Damocratia may be sister of Damocrates, Damocratis f. *S.M.C.* 203, or akin to the Damocrates of *S.M.C.* 205; Callicrates may be the Eponymus of that inscription. The Eurycles here mentioned was the founder of a well-known Spartan family. (Cf. notes on 31, 35, pp. 473, 475.)



[Ἱ](ερο)θύται ἐπὶ (Ἀρι)στοκρα(τίδ)[α]· Πα(ιδ)ία - - -

	Δαμοκράτης Ἵππωνος	Δαμοκρατία Δαμοκράτεος	Κριτόδαμ(ο)[ς] - -
	Καλλικράτης Ἀριστοκλέος	Καλλικρατία Καλλικράτεος	Θεοκλέα Σω-
	Μουσαῖος Ἀγαθοκλέος	Ἀριστοκλῆς Καλλικράτεος	Δεξίδαμο[ς] - -
5	ΜΝ(?)Ἀλκιβία Τεισαμενοῦ	Ἱππίχα Ἵππωνος	Αλκιμος Σ-
	Γρα(μματεὺς)(?) Νικοκλείδας Θεοδώρου	Ἀριστονίκα Νικοκράτεος	Λυ - -
	- - Εὐτυχίδ(ας)	Ῥαδάμανθυς Εὐρυκλέους	Γόργιππ[ος] - -
		Δεξίμαχος Εὐρυκλέους	Ξένων - -
		Δεξίμαχος Πρατολά[ου]	Πε - - -

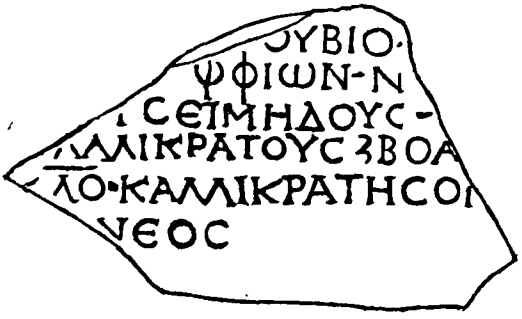
above.) The identification of the other *ἱεροθύται* is a matter of uncertainty, except Deximachus Pratolai f., *S.M.C.* 203.

24. (2202). Stoa. Broken block of bluish marble, lettered back and front.

(*a*)	(*b*)
ΟΣ⁻	ΙΟ
ˋΟΥΣ	ΕΙΣΙΩ
ϽΥ	ΚΛΕΩΝ
ΠΙϹ	Σ<Σˋ
	⅃ΥΜ

This was the only inscribed stone found in the Stoa: the inscriptions on back and front do not seem to belong to each other: (*b*) consists, at least in part, of a list of names, as in line 4 is the sign of the patronymic. We may perhaps see traces in l. 2 of [Ἀφροδ]εισίῳ, l. 3 Κλεώ(ν)[υμος], l. 5 perhaps again [Κλεώ](ν)υμ[ος]. Ἀφροδ(ε)ίσιος is a common name in Laconia (cf. *C.I.G.* 1350, *S.M.C.* 205, l. 13). Κλεώνυμος is also a common Laconian name (cf. *S.M.C.* Index *s.v.*). (*a*) may also be part of a list of names.

25. (2020). Found near Stoa wall. Bluish marble, ·26 × ·15.



- - - (ο)υβίο[υ - - or ς.
- ? Ἀ](φ)φίων Ν - -
- Σειμήδους
Κ](α)λλικράτους βοα[γός
- Λο(ύκιος?) Καλλικράτης ὁ (κ)[αὶ - -?
- (ν)έος.

This must be a list of names, but many of them are doubtful. In l. 1 is part of a Roman name like Βιτρούβιος; in l. 2 the reading may be Ἀφφίων, possibly a form of Ἀπφίων (for which cf. *Ath. Mitt.* ii. 436, No. 9). The next name, Simedes, is clear; this is found in *C.I.G.* 1261 and elsewhere. Callicrates (l. 6) is a common name (cf. *S.M.C.* Index *s.v.*). The mark after it must be ornamental; if it were a patronymic sign, the

grammar would require *τοῦ* before it. In l. 5 the restoration is quite uncertain. Simedes is the Laconian form of Theomedes, other such forms being Sidectas (= Theodectas), Sipompus (= Theopompus), etc.

For the meaning of *βοαγός*, see pp. 390 f. above.

26. (2004). Built into S.E. corner of Byzantine wall. Blue marble Long block with three wreaths in relief separated by raised bars. Bad lettering.

1. Ἐ(π)ὶ [πα]τρον'(μου) [Σ]ωκράτου(ς). | Χαρμο|συνὸς| Αὐγου|στιανοῦ| σπον|τοφό|ρος.

2. (Ἐ)[πὶ - - - - πατρο](ν)όμου. | Αὐρή(λιος) | Αὐγουστι|ανὸς Χαρ|μοσυνο(ῦ) | σπονδο|φόρος.

3. Παιδίου - - - ? - - | Αὐρήλιος | Φιλοξενί|δας Χαρμο|συνοῦ | σπονδο-| φόρος.

The *σπονδοφόροι* were attached to the colleges of ephors and *νομοφύλακες*, and their duties as 'libation-bearers' are clear from their name.[1] In the present case a father and two sons held the office, and were crowned, no doubt for their munificence in the performance of their functions. The Eponymus, Socrates, seems to be new.

The spelling *σποντοφόρος* is curious, and suggests that the confusion of sound between *ντ* and *νδ* (which are nearly always pronounced the same in Modern Greek) was beginning.

[1] See *S.M.C.* p. 14.

27. (2003). In same place. Three carved wreaths, ornate lettering, ·025 h.

Ἐ(πὶ) Πρ(ατ)ολ[άου].
1. Εὐ(δ)αι|μοτέ|λ(ου)ς | τοῦ Εὐαμ(έ)|ρου.
2. - - λασ(ε)[ὐ]ς Εὐ[δ]αιμο|(τέ)λ[ο]υς.
3. Εὐ|δαιμο[τέλους | τοῦ (Εὐδαιμοτέλους).

The Eponymus may be P. Memmius Pratolaus, who appears in *C.I.G* 1261, an inscription of the second century A.D.

Of the men, whose honours are here recorded, it would seem that 2 and 3 were brothers, and sons of 1. What office they held is uncertain, but from the likeness of this inscription to that last given, it could well be believed that they were *σπονδοφόροι*. The somewhat rare name Εὐδαιμοτέλης occurs in *S.M.C.* 207.

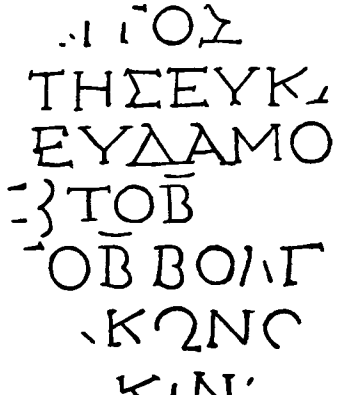
28. (2045). Theatre, in foundations of Byzantine wall. Bluish marble, ·67 × ·59. Letters ·022 h.

	ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣΕΠ	Νομοφύλακες ἐπ[ὶ
	ΩΝΟΣΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ	. . ωνος ὢν πρέσβυς
	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ	Ἀγαθοκλῆς Φιλίππο[υ
	ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣΩΦΕΛΙΟΝ	Ἀντώνιος Ὠφελίον[ος
5	ΖΕΥΞΙΠΠΟΣΤΥΝΔΑΡΟ	Ζεύξιππος Τυνδάρο[υς
	ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΟ	Φιλοκράτης Κλεάνδρο(υ)
	ΜΝΑΣΩΝΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ	Μνάσων Λυσίππου.

Antonius Ophelion (or son of Ophelion) and Zeuxippus, son of Tyndares, occur with other names in a list of *γέροντες* (?) *S.M.C.* 787.

There the name of the Eponymus is lost, here he might be *Δίων*, *C.I.G.* 1254. For the office of *νομοφύλακες* cf. *S.M.C.* p. 10.

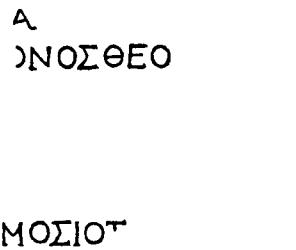
29. (2054). From the gate of Byzantine wall. Blue marble, ·28 × ·22.



- - *βοα*]*γός* ?
- *της* Εὐκ(λ) - -
- - Εὐδάμο[*υ*]
- - - *τὸ β′*
- - *τὸ β′ βοαγ*[*ός*]
- - (*ά*)*κωνο*[*ς*]
- -

This seems to be part of a list of magistrates, but only the name Eudamus and the title *βοαγός* can be read. For the latter, see above pp. 390 f.

30. (2012). From Hagia Soteira Bluish marble, ·27 × ·23. Letters ·02.



- - *a* - -
- - (*o*)*νος* Θεο - -

- - δ](*η*)*μόσιο*(*ς*)

Line 3 may refer to the office of *δημόσιος*, which is found in *S.M.C.* 208, 247, 275 and *C.I.G.* 1239, 1253 (cf. p. 611). The *δημόσιος* was not a kind of receiver and auctioneer like the *Publicus* at Rome, but rather a policeman or crier.

31. (2138). In foundations of Byzantine wall at E. end of Stoa.

Part of small column of purple-veined marble, inscribed face, ·52 × ·30. Letters ·035 ; ornate writing.

ΓΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ	Γέροντες
ΕΠΙΠΜΕΜΜΙΟΥ	ἐπὶ Π(οπλίου) Μεμμίου
ΠΡΑΤΟΛΑΔΕΞΣΤΡΟΥ	Πρατόλα Δέξστρου,
ΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ	ὧν πρέσβυς
ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣΓΑΙΟΥ	Σεκοῦνδος Γαΐου
---ΓΛΟ---	----

The Eponymus here, P. Memmius Pratolas Dexter, may be the same as Πό. Μέμμιος Πρατόλαος Δεξιμάχου in *C.I.G.* 1261. The Roman names borne by Greeks were probably not used in everyday life, and there is some inconsistency in their use in public documents; the identification in the present case is still rather uncertain. For the γέροντες cf. *S.M.C.* pp. 11–12.

GRAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

32. School House, Aphesou. ·35 × ·16. Letters ·02 h.

ΔΕΚΙΟΣΛΕΙΒΙΟΣΞΕΥΞΙΣ	Δέκιος Λείβιος Ξεῦξις.
D·LEIVEI·D·LEIVEI SALVE	D. Leivei, D. Leivei, salve.

This grave-inscription is a curious mixture of Greek and Latin. The form Ξεῦξις for Ζεῦξις is unusual, but may be due to a mistake of the mason. The use of the nominative in Greek, beside the vocative in Latin, is also strange.

33. Kalagonia, near Sparta. ·48 × ·10. Letters c. ·03 h.

Ἀντωνία Δύναμι, χαῖρε
Ἀντώνιε Εὐτράπελε, χαῖρε.

The names Δύναμις and Εὐτράπελος are already known (cf. Pape-Bens. *s.vv.*), but not in Laconia. With Δύναμις may be compared such Laconian names as Ἐρπίς (=Ἐλπίς) (*Annali d. Inst.* 1861, p. 47) and Ἐπίτευξις (Leake, *Morea*, III. No. 41).

34. *Ibidem.* Broken block of white marble. ·21 × ·18. Letters c. ·025 h. The face is marked by two cross-lines. (From copy.)

	⊆ΑΛΗ ΧΑ	(? κ)αλη χα[ῖρε
	ΒΙΩϹΑϹΑ	βιώσασα
	ЄΤΗ ΙϹ	ἔτη ι(ϵ)'
	ΜΗΝΑϹ	μῆνας (*vacat*)
5	ΗΜΕΡΑϹ	ἡμέρας (*vacat*)

- - vale . Vixisti annos XV, menses — , dies —.

In line 3, the second number must be meant for ϵ as σ' = 200 would be absurd; the months and days lived seem to have been left out by mistake. The name might be Φιλοκάλη, or else καλή is an adjective and the name is lost: the reading is not quite certain.

35. House of Θεόδωρος Νεαύτης, E. of Magoula. Gable-topped slab of white marble. ·30 × ·22 × ·20. Letters c. ·03 h. (From copy.)

	ΑΓΑϹΙΟΝ	Ἀγάσιον	Agasium
	ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε·	vale,
	ЄΤΗΒΙ	ἔτη βι-	annos vix-
	ΩϹΑϹΑ	ώσασα	isti XLIV.
5	ΜΔ	μδ'.	

Ἀγάσιον must be a woman's name; for such neuter forms cf. note on page 468 above.

36. *Ibidem.* Bluish marble, ·10 × ·15. Letters ·02 h.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ Α	Ἰουλία Α - - -
ΠΑΡΘΕΝ	παρθέν[ϵ, χαῖρε ?]

Perhaps a grave-inscription.

VARIOUS.

37. (2133). On a long architrave block built into Byzantine wall, E. of Stoa. Length of block 1·30; of inscription ·31. Letters, cut irregularly on the block, ·02 h.

ΑΡΙϹΤΟΤΕΛΟΥϹ Ἀριστοτέλους.

This inscription can hardly have had anything to do with the original building to which the architrave belonged, nor does it seem to be of the date of the Byzantine walls. Its object remains uncertain.

38. (2071). Theatre. On a small column of blue marble. Inscribed face ·35 × ·35. Letters, carefully cut, ·06 h.

Ε Ι Ν Ρ Φ
Β Ζ Κ Ξ C Χ
Γ Η Λ Ο Τ Ψ
Δ Θ Μ Π Υ Ω

This alphabet was probably meant for use in a school. The column was thrown in quite carelessly in the foundations of the late defence-works, so that its finding-place does not furnish any ground for connecting it with the Theatre.

39. From house of Νικόλαος Παναγιωτόπουλος, Ὁδὸς Λεωνίδου, Sparta: now in Museum. Slab of black stone, ·48 × ·37 × ·06. Letters ·02 high. The inscription is on a panel with ansate ends.

ΤΟΥΤΟCΟΙΝΑΟC	*τοῦτό σοι ναὸς*
ΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙΤΟΥΤΟ	*καλεῖται τοῦτό*
CΟΙΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ	*σοι μυστήριον,*
ΤΟΥΤΟΔΕΙΤΟΝ<	*τοῦτο δεῖ τὸν*
ΖΩΝΤΑΠΟΙΕΙΝΤΕ	*ζῶντα ποιεῖν τέ-*
ΛΟCΟΡΩΝΤΑΤΟΥ	*λος ὁρῶντα τοῦ*
ΒΙΟΥ	*βίου.*

Hoc tibi templum vocatur, hoc tibi mysterium, hoc decet vivum facere finem respicientem vitae.

The two lines have a trochaic rhythm. The inscription seems to be late, and in spite of the lack of Christian symbols, it may have come from a Church.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY FOURMONT.

Along the Byzantine walls and near the Theatre a number of inscriptions came to light that had been read by Fourmont and published from his papers in Boeckh's *Corpus*.

The following have been traced :—

C.I.G. 1254. 'E ruderibus turris ad partem meridionalem Spartae veteris sitae.' Found in the first tower of the Long Wall. The first line of the text no longer shows.

C.I.G. 1288. 'Spartae in muro meridionali. (In septentrionali vero ex alio apographo.)' Found near Theatre. Present state :

A.	*B.*
∪ – – ∪NLII	
ΣΙΟΣΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΥΝΕΙΚ////	ΙΝΔΑΙ
ΑΜΑΚΙΩΝ<ΦΙΛΕΡΩΤΙ-Κ	Υ
ΓΑΤΟΚΤΑΒΙΟΣΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΥΠΓΑΤΙΒΚΛΑΥ∠	

A. - - - σιος Ἐπαγάθου Νεικ - -? [Δ] -
αμακίων (Δαμακίωνος), Φιλέρωτι κ(άσεν)
Γά(ϊος) Τ. Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθίας ὑπ(ατικός?) Γα(ΐου) Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυ(δ)[ίου - - -

B. Non liquet.

C.I.G. 1305. 'Spartae prope ecclesiam D. Nicolai.' Found in trench by the side of the stage-buildings of Theatre. Large architrave block now broken through. Present state (letters in Fourmont's copy, but now lost, are put in round brackets) :

Α](ὐτ)οκράτωρ (Καῖσ)αρ Οὐεσπασ[ιανὸς Σε-
βα](στ)ός, ἀρχιε(ρε)ὺς μέγιστος, δη[μαρχικῆς
ἐ](ξ)ουσίας τὸ Θ̄, Αὐτοκράτωρ (τὸ Ι)[Θ̄],
(ὕπα)τος τὸ Η̄, Λακεδαιμονί([ω]ν τῇ πό)[λει]

C.I.G. 1314. 'Spartae.' Found *ib.* Slab of bluish marble, ·45 × ·30. Above, a small wreath and two palm-branches, below, a palm-branch. Inscription complete, except for the last letter, which is half broken away, the corner of the slab having been lost.

C.I.G. 1326. 'Spartae prope turrim meridionalem.' Large base built into S. wall; letters ·045 h. The stone has weathered slightly since copied by Fourmont. A letter has perished at the beginning of each of ll. 1–4, the ends of these lines are slightly worn, and two letters are lost at the end of l. 10.

C.I.G. 1333. 'Spartae ante Theatrum.' Found in trench by Theatre. Small cap or base of blue marble, ·065 × ·34. This now reads

ΡΤΥΝΙΩΝΔΙΑΧΟΝ
ΕΑΤΑΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ

Boeckh gives at the beginning . . ΡΨ . . Υ κτλ. His last letter of l. 1 is whole, and in l. 2 he gives the form Ξ ; otherwise the readings agree.

C.I.G. 1362. 'Spartae juxta Theatrum.' Found *ib.* Large block of blue marble, inscription bordered by an ornamental cutting. The ends of the lines are slightly more worn than appears from Fourmont's copy.

C.I.G. 1376. 'Spartae ante Theatrum.' Base 1·90 h., found in south end of trench by Theatre. In l. 2 the first two letters have vanished.

C.I.G. 1413. 'Spartae prope Theatrum.' Theatre, in foundations of Byzantine wall. Block of bluish marble, ·86 × ·53 × ·41. Letters ·04 h. In l. 1 the first two letters are now faint and half the first letter of l. 2 has gone; otherwise the readings agree.

C.I.G. 1417. 'Spartae juxta Theatrum.' Large block found in trench by Theatre. Variations of reading negligible.

C.I.G. 1491 (?). 'Σταῦ Βαρσοβᾶ in D. Basilii Magni' (Locus est prope Spartam). Varsova is N.W. of Magoula. Fourmont's inscription reads

ΓΑΝΤΩΝΙ
ΒΙΚΤΩΡΕΙΝΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

The newly-found inscription came from Hagia Soteira, more than two miles from Varsova. It reads

ΓΑΝΤ
ΒΙΚΤ

The rest is broken away. In spite of the distance between the finding-places, the inscriptions may be the same.

Many of these inscriptions were found in the great trench by the Theatre, lying in disorder. It is likely that Fourmont, after copying the inscriptions, had this pit dug and buried them in it; it is also clear that no confirmation is gained from these re-discoveries for the current view that Fourmont purposely destroyed such remains as he found at Sparta. He evidently wrote down the texts with care, and they remain much as he found them; there are certainly in the Byzantine walls inscriptions that have been partially chiselled off, but none of these has been identified with any published by Fourmont, and it would be unfair on our present evidence to hold him responsible.

In Fourmont's own letters there is much talk of his doings at Sparta. His object was to find inscriptions, and he had no qualms about wrecking any building which might contain them, but he seems to have been jesting when he boasted of his wholesale destruction of the ancient city.

Quotations from the letters are given by Dodwell, *Tour through Greece,* ii. 405–408. Judging from these extracts alone a reader would certainly gather that Fourmont was little better than a madman with a mischievous taste for destruction, but the impartial selection of his letters published by H. Omont, *Missions Archéologiques Françaises aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles,* i. 616 ff. does not support such a view. Fourmont was a serious student, and was recognised as such by Louis XV. and by the French Academy; the ruin of late walls was to his mind justified by the hope of finding classical inscriptions, and humorous overstatements of these acts of destruction in private letters ought not to be misconstrued against him. (Cf. Omont, *op. cit.* pp. 616, 617, 622, 625, 632.) In the hope of throwing light on some of these matters Mr. Hasluck and I looked through Fourmont's papers in the National Library at Paris in September, 1906. The most important letters

have already been published by Omont, *op. cit.*, and the remainder contain little or nothing that is new. Fourmont's letters are bound in the MSS. *Suppl. Gr.* 295–297; the letters relating to Sparta are in 295, pp. 1–322. There follow: pp. 323–330, an unsigned life of Fourmont; pp. 354–364, correspondence between Fourmont and Maurepas on the publication of his inscriptions; pp. 366 f., scheme of a book of travels in Greece; pp. 405–406, description of a Tomb at Sclavochori; pp. 525–529, description of Mistra; p. 533, of Maina; p. 542, Gythium; pp. 545–556, of Eurotas Valley, Sparta, Gythium, etc.; p. 600, on a Laconian Inscription; p. 609, on three inscriptions from the Amyclaeum.—*Suppl. Gr.* 301, *Papiers de Fourmont relatifs à ses voyages en Grèce et en Égypte.*—*Suppl. Gr.* 853, *Tabulae Geographicae ad M. Fourmont iter Graecum pertinentes*, 51 sheets all more or less torn; p. 25, Plan of Theatre at Sparta; 50 ? Mistra, no names given.—*Suppl. Gr.* 856, same title as 853, 118 sheets; p. 45, Sparta, pencil; p. 46, Eurotas valley, pencil; pp. 48–49 and 54, ? view of Mistra; p. 95, Sparta, plan in pencil; p. 96, Pencil plan of Sparta like p. 45 (all these plans and views are very roughly drawn, and have little or no value of any kind); pp. 105–118, Greek costumes.—*Suppl. Gr.* 890, *Epistolae viginti a* 1729–1730 *ad iter Fourmontianū spectātes.*—*Suppl. Gr.* 892 contains a letter to Fourmont (these contain nothing of importance).—*Nouvelles Acquisitions*, 1892. *Voyage fait en Grèce par les ordres du Roy et sous les auspices de Mgr. le Comte de Maurepas par les Abbés Étienne et Claud-Louis Fourmont* (1728–1730), written by Cl.-L. Fourmont, account of a journey in Greece, with a few plans. (Others intended for this book under *Fonds Français*, 22878, views of Megara, Argos, Sicyon, Carytena, Mycenae.) This meagre account, which has nothing to do with the greater work outlined by Fourmont himself (*Suppl. Gr.* 295, p. 336, mentioned above), was never published (Omont, *op. cit.* i. 661, n. 1).—*Nouv. Acquis.* 6555–6558 and 8944–8987. *Corresp. et papiers d'Étienne-Michel et Claud-Louis Fourmont.* Vol. iv. contains biographical notes on the Fourmonts.—8985 (fol. 86), *Extrait de la Relation du voyage littéraire que j'ai fait dans la Grèce par ordre du Roy pendant les années* 1729, 1730. None of these throws any light on Fourmont's acts at Sparta.

H. J. W. T.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 30th, 1906, the Right Hon. the EARL OF HALSBURY in the Chair. The following Report on the Session 1905–1906 was submitted by the Secretary (Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE) on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

The King's Visit.—Last year the School had the honour of a visit from H.M. the Queen. This year their Majesties King Edward and Queen Alexandra spent a week in Athens. On April 18th, the day following their arrival, their Majesties visited the School, accompanied by the King and Queen of the Hellenes, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess Victoria, the Duke and Duchess of Sparta, Prince George, Prince and Princess Nicholas, Prince Andrew and Prince Christopher. The Royal party proceeded first to the Director's house and then through the gardens to the Penrose Library, where they inspected drawings, photographs, and plans illustrative of the recent work of the School. The Librarian and most of the students were unavoidably absent, being engaged in excavation or exploration; but two members of the School were presented to the King, and also some of the English, Australian and Canadian competitors in the Olympic games. His Majesty accepted a copy of the newly published catalogue of the Sparta Museum, and the Royal visitors then adjourned to the Finlay Library, where they inscribed their names, and tea was served on the balcony. The Patron of the School showed his practical interest in its welfare by enquiries about our students, methods of work, and financial position. In the following week the Director had the honour of attending the King on his visit to the Museum and to several ancient sites.

Changes in the Management of the School.—Long before this report appears the world of scholarship and letters has paid its tribute to the honoured memory of Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb. The British School at Athens loses by his death one of its original promoters, a member of its Committee, and a Trustee of its funds. Dr. Walter Leaf has been nominated a Trustee in his place, and thereby

is relieved of the office of Hon. Treasurer which he has filled since the foundation of the School. On behalf of the subscribers the Committee desire to place on record their appreciation of his long-continued and valuable services, and to tender him their sincere thanks for the zeal and care he has consistently displayed during his long tenancy of the office of Treasurer to the School. They have pleasure in announcing that Mr. V. W. Yorke, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and formerly Student of the School, has been nominated to succeed Dr. Leaf.

Subscribers to the School are probably aware of the change of Directors that takes place this Session. Mr. Bosanquet has been unable to accept a renewal of the appointment which he has held with such marked success for the past six years. The record of his work is seen, not only in the pages of the School's publications, but in the high position the School has maintained in Athens and in England, and most of all, perhaps, in the circle of young archaeologists of promise whom he has gathered round him. While Mr. Bosanquet's work has of recent years been mainly in the sphere of pre-Hellenic archaeology, the students of every subject and period owe much to the infectious enthusiasm he has brought to bear on their aims. The Committee desire to offer him, in the name of all friends of the School, their best wishes for his new sphere of work as Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool.

The Committee feel that they have reason to congratulate themselves on their choice of Mr. Bosanquet's successor. The new Director, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has a high reputation as archaeologist, as philologist, and as explorer. So unremitting has been his interest in these pursuits that he has hardly been in England since four years ago he was first associated with the School. Much of his time has been spent on the excavations at Palaikastro, for the publication of which he will be mainly responsible, while more recently he has assisted Mr. Bosanquet in the School's work in Laconia. His protracted travels have given him an exceptional knowledge both of modern Greek life and of ancient survivals in the less known parts of the Levant.

The Committee are glad to report that Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, will continue as Assistant Director the excellent work he has done for the School as Librarian in past sessions.

The Olympic Games, celebrated at Athens from April 22nd to May 2nd, involved the School in responsibilities of a somewhat unusual kind. The Director, who had officiated as one of the umpires at the preliminary Pan-Hellenic games, was appointed by the Foreign Office to represent the British Government, his colleague being Lord Desborough. The British athletes and newspaper correspondents were invited to use the Penrose and Finlay Libraries as reading and writing rooms, a privilege which many of them used and appreciated. Parties of them were guided through the Museum and over the Acropolis, and a reception and garden party were given in their honour. Beds in the Hostel were provided for some of the athletes who had failed to find suitable accommodation elsewhere, and special arrangements were made for the runners in the Marathon race.

The Director, after taking part in the Annual Meeting of Subscribers on Oct. 24, reached Athens on Nov. 1, and remained in Greece until July 1. His first task was the construction of a store-shed opposite the north end of the Penrose Library. The site was excavated out of the high bank which shelters this end of the Library, with the result that the building is almost invisible. Some defects in the drainage of the Hostel were also taken in hand. During the winter Mr. Bosanquet devoted nearly a fortnight to collating the numerous and somewhat inaccessible fragments of the Parthenon Sculptures now stored in the Acropolis Museum and its dependencies. Upwards of one hundred fragments which were not represented in the London series have since been moulded at the expense of the Hellenic Government and will shortly reach the national collection. The Director has, as usual, procured casts and photographs and executed other commissions for various correspondents. The Committee desire to express their obligation to the Greek Government, and especially to Dr. Cavvadias and Dr. Stais, for facilities freely accorded to him in such cases.

Having an efficient deputy in Mr. Hasluck, the Director was able to travel more freely than in some previous sessions. In all he was absent from Athens three and a half months, chiefly engaged in preparing the finds from Palaikastro for publication, and in the excavations at Sparta. He paid four visits to the Candia Museum—the work accomplished there is described below—and spent eight days in Egypt. He read papers at two out of the three Open Meetings, and undertook the duties of Librarian during the month of April.

The Librarian and Students.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, arrived in Athens with the Director on Nov. 1, and left for England on June 30. Besides performing arduous duties in the Library, he found time to collect additional material for his forthcoming book on Cyzicus and to prepare two papers which were read at Open Meetings of the School. It was a condition of his appointment that he should be free to devote two months during the session to travel and research. Accordingly he spent April in exploring the district about Cyzicus, and the Mysian Lakes, and was successful in finding a quantity of new material, including an inscription of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and some unpublished local coins. His most notable find was a large Roman bridge, hitherto unrecorded, on the river Aesepus; this, besides affording useful evidence for the Roman road system, is important as being by far the best preserved monument of its class in the district. Between May 24th and June 14th he undertook a second tour in Asia Minor accompanied by Mr. J. M. Dawkins. Starting from Smyrna they visited a number of sites along the railway and then travelled by road from Soma to Balukiser, and on to Brusa and Nicaea.

Mr. R. M. Dawkins, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has spent the whole year in Greek lands, devoting himself with success to research in several different fields. Arriving at Athens on September 8th, he proceeded by way of Constantinople to Mount Athos, where he collated a manuscript of Theocritus in the Monastery of the Iberians for Messrs. Giles and Cook's edition.

During the greater part of November, December, and January he was stationed at Candia, working at the finds from Palaikastro, and writing the report on last year's excavations. At the beginning of February he returned to Athens to equip himself for a journey to Viza in Thrace, where he witnessed and photographed a remarkable carnival-play which appears to preserve direct survivals from the ancient cult of Dionysus. An illustrated paper on the subject is to appear in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Returning to Crete in March he went down to Palaikastro, shipped the necessaries for excavation to Piraeus for use at Sparta, and made the supplementary investigations described below. After some further work at Candia, he crossed to Laconia and rendered valuable services in the excavations at Sparta, particularly in the Artemisium. He concluded his programme for the Session with a journey, in which he was accompanied by Mr. Wace, to Astypalaea, Nisyros and other islands.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Librarian of the British School at Rome, once more spent the spring and summer in Greece. Arriving in March, he assisted in the management of Professor Ernest Gardner's cruise to the islands, and afterwards joined in the excavations at Sparta, where he explored the Roman ruins called Ἀράπισσα, besides discovering and tracing the Hellenic town-wall along the bank of the Eurotas. In July and August he travelled with Mr. Dawkins through a number of the less-known Turkish islands, studying the conditions of modern life as well as the ancient remains, and collecting information about local styles of embroidery.

Mr. Guy Dickins, B.A., of New College, Oxford, Craven Fellow, spent a second season in Greece. After a stay of two months at Rome he reached Athens in December and worked on the report of the excavation at Thalamai. He spent a fortnight at Constantinople in February, studying the collections in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, and after his return made a tour through Arcadia. It was hoped that the new museum at Lycosura might be completed in time to allow Mr. Dickins to complete his study of the remains of the colossal group by Damophon, but this proved impossible. From March to June he took part in the Sparta campaign, devoting himself especially to the topographical problems involved. For a month, from the Director's departure until Mr. Dawkins' arrival, he was in command of the excavations, and deserves much credit for the judgment and energy with which he conducted the early stages of the work in the Artemisium.

Another second-year student, Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, B.A. (Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge), after spending the winter at Rome and in Sicily, came to Athens in March with a studentship given by the Committee of the School, and stayed over three months. He took part in the excavations at Sparta and was entrusted with the task of copying and arranging the inscriptions, in number about two hundred, found in the course of the work. On his return to Athens he spent a month in preparing some of them for publication, and also undertook the duties of Librarian during Mr. Hasluck's absence in Asia Minor. He has since visited Paris in order to examine Fourmont's papers relating to Sparta preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Of the six new students, Mr. J. P. Droop, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, spent eight months in Greece, from October to June. He made a special study of 'Dipylon' and 'Geometric' pottery and the other antiquities of the same age. After preparing for publication the pottery found on the site of the Kynosarges Gymnasium, he visited Chalkis, the Argolid and Corinth, and then proceeded to Crete, where he worked at the Cretan 'Geometric' vases. In March he helped Mr. Dawkins in the supplementary excavation at Palaikastro, and soon afterwards crossed to Sparta, where he devoted himself to cleaning and drawing the archaic bronzes and pottery from the Artemisium. After a second season in Greece he should be in a position to make a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Early Iron Age.

Miss Mary Hamilton, B.A. (St. Andrews University), holder of a Research Scholarship under the Carnegie Trust, spent the first three months of the present year in Greece collecting materials for a dissertation, since published, on the practice of *incubatio*. Her work covers a considerable period, as this custom of sleeping for curative purposes in sacred spots was practised both in pagan temples and Christian churches. She had previously worked at this subject for a year at St. Andrews and for some months in Italy. In Greece she was successful in collecting much information about this and similar practices, both from literary and from oral sources, and gained a practical acquaintance with modern *incubatio* by visiting the Church of Tenos at the Feast of the Annunciation. She has recently been appointed to a Carnegie Fellowship, and proposes to spend the greater part of the coming Session in Greece.

Mr. A. C. Brown, B.A., Scholar of New College, Oxford, came out for four months with a grant from the Craven Fund. He travelled in North Greece and the Peloponnese, and helped for a fortnight in the excavations at Sparta. He was then put in charge of a small excavation at Schimatari, the results of which are summarised below. Most of his time in Athens was devoted to a critical study of Strabo as a geographer. He returned to England in the middle of May.

Mr. Frank Orr, a former member of the British School in Rome, was sent out early in January in response to the Director's application for a draughtsman, and worked in the Candia Museum until April. He executed drawings in colour of Middle Minoan vases and figurines and of bronze shields from the Temple of Dictaean Zeus, and numerous pen-and-ink drawings of bronzes and architectural terracottas from the Temple and of large series of terracotta plaques and figurines from Praesos. His skill and industry thoroughly justified the committee's selection. Before returning home he visited Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Naples.

Mr. Ramsay Traquair, A.R.I.B.A., was appointed to an architectural studentship of £100 on the understanding that he should devote three months to a study of the Byzantine and Frankish remains in Laconia, and three to making plans and drawings of Byzantine Churches in Constantinople under the direction of Prof. A. van Millingen. He reached Athens in March, proceeded to Constantinople towards the end of June, and has only recently returned. He spent the first month of his stay in Greece in investigating the Romano-Byzantine fortifications at Sparta, and afterwards worked at Geráki, Monemvasía, and Passavá. He then visited the

site of Maina, and travelled up the western coast of Laconia to Kalamáta. In a later tour, rendered possible by a donation given for this purpose by Sir Rennell Rodd, K.C.M.G., Mr. Traquair visited most of the Frankish castles in northern and western Peloponnesus, making a complete plan of Castel Tornese, and of the other such photographs, sketches and notes as seemed necessary for comparison with the Laconian fortresses. His work at Constantinople included the measurement and photography of twenty churches for a forthcoming book by Prof. van Millingen, Hon. Student of the School. The roof of St. John Studion had fallen in, making access impossible; while, owing to the Sultan's illness, the special Iradé necessary for the work in St. Irene was unobtainable. With these exceptions, owing to the special facilities kindly procured by Sir Nicholas O'Conor, K.C.M.G., H.B.M. Ambassador at Constantinople, all the work required was completed.

Miss E. B. Abrahams (University College, London) was attached to the School from January to April for the study of Greek dress. She made a study of the drapery of the archaic female figures in the Acropolis Museum, and experimented in this style of draping on a living model. The last month of her stay was spent in visiting ancient sites.

Excavations.—The publication of the Catalogue of the Museum of Sparta, mentioned below; almost coincided with the beginning of excavations at Sparta itself. Early in March a house with accommodation for four or five workers was secured to the north-east of the town. It stands in a quiet situation, overlooking a garden of orange-trees and commanding from its broad balcony a magnificent view of the snow-clad chain of Taygetus. It was fortunately chosen, being within easy reach both of the Acropolis and of the Artemision, and, since the discovery of the latter, has been secured at a moderate rent for two years to come. The campaign began on March 15 and ended on June 9.

The party consisted of the Director, Mr. Guy Dickins, Mr. A. C. Brown, and Mr. Sejk. Later arrivals were Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard and Mr. R. Traquair, architect, who, on the Director's returning to Athens for the Olympic Games, took up and continued his investigation of the fortifications. Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Wace arrived on April 19th, and Mr. Dawkins then took charge of the work in the Artemision, where his experience of complicated stratification was of great value, until the Director's return on May 12th. Mr. Droop joined the expedition for a month and undertook the cleaning and drawing of the bronzes from the precinct of Artemis; as these were much corroded, it is satisfactory that the most minute particulars were thus promptly recorded. Mr. Tillyard kept the register of inscriptions and generally superintended the important work of housing the finds at the museum, replacing Mr. Brown when the latter left to begin excavations at Schimatari. Mr. Sejk rendered valuable services to the expedition as surveyor. Besides planning the excavated areas, he has begun a map of the whole area of ancient Sparta. Throughout the excavations Gregorios Antoniou proved, as before, a highly efficient foreman.

This first season's work has shown the site of ancient Sparta, strangely neglected hitherto by archaeologists, to be one of rare promise. During the first month the fragmentary walls enclosing the ancient Acropolis were traced in their entire circuit and the position of the gates ascertained. These fortifications were begun in late Roman times after the sack of Sparta by the Goths; the materials were drawn from the Agora and adjoining buildings, and many inscriptions were this year found built into the foundations. The front of the Greek theatre was incorporated in the defences, but the lower rows of seats are well preserved and the orchestra floor was reached at a depth of nineteen feet.

The Greek city-wall enclosed a far larger area, with a circuit of six miles. It is known that Sparta was originally a group of unwalled villages, and one such has been explored on the right bank of the Eurotas; its lower strata yielded early geometric pottery, which suggests that this may have been one of the first Dorian settlements. Other Hellenic remains were traced along the river bank for half a mile, including private houses of the simplest kind, a public building of massive masonry, and the famous sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, which enables us to restore the ancient name of Limnai, the Marshes, to this region of gardens and water-meadows. All these were enclosed by the city-wall, dating from the third century B.C., now discovered for the first time. It was nine feet thick, built of sun-dried bricks resting on a substructure of polygonal limestone blocks.

The clue to the discovery of the Artemision was the discovery in the river-bank of some diminutive leaden figures. A trial made on a day of happy augury, the feast of Greek Independence, brought to light some hundreds of these figures and other objects, which left no doubt in the mind of Mr. Dickins, then in charge of the excavations, that this was the site of an important temple. The next day's work yielded an inscription giving the name of Artemis Orthia. The material difficulties to be overcome before the excavation of this rich archaic deposit could be continued were, however, somewhat serious. The seam of productive black soil was but little above the level of the river bed, while the bank, which rose some ten feet above it, was an almost solid mass of Roman rubble concrete. This had to be removed, both because it contained numerous inscriptions and because it prevented access to the Hellenic stratum beneath. At first supposed to be a mere wall, it was later found to extend far inland and to be the enormously deep and thick substructure of a Roman Theatre. The presence of the inscriptions rendered it impossible to blast, and progress with the pick was both slow and costly. Nor did our difficulties end here. On the top of the bank and within a few yards of its brink the proprietor of an important corn-mill situated further down the Eurotas had cut a mill-stream, driving remorselessly right through the temple but fortunately not descending as deep as the stratum of archaic offerings. Before excavating a fresh channel it was necessary to determine by trial-pits the exact extent of the sanctuary. The only possible new course for the channel proved to be considerably further inland, skirting the temenos wall, where it had necessarily to be sunk to the depth of 14 feet. When this engineering task was finished there remained only time for the partial excavation of the

Roman building on the surface. It proved to be identical with the so-called Circus seen and described by Leake in 1830 and planned by the French expedition in 1831. Before work closed for the season, a house was built for a watchman and a wall erected on the river face to break the force of winter floods.

The complete exploration of the precinct of Artemis with its vast accumulation of votive offerings will require at least another season. There are two principal strata: the older, characterised by geometric pottery and exquisitely carved ivories, extends to the seventh century B.C.; the later, which has yielded quantities of lead figurines —the estimated number is over 12,000—and grotesque terra-cotta masks, ranges from the seventh to the fifth century. The ivories, which present interesting affinities with some of those in the Ephesus deposit, were associated with spiral fibulae and other objects in bronze of types already familiar from the earliest levels at Olympia and the Argive Heraeum. The lead figurines in their endless variety of types furnish a most valuable survey of archaic art in the Peloponnese, while the large series of masks reveals the gradual development of a vigorous naturalism. Some of the masks were certainly intended to be worn, others were made only for dedication; their prolonged popularity as *ex-votos* points to the existence of some dramatic performance connected with the temple. It was certainly the scene of musical contests for boys as well as of the better-known ordeal of flogging. Upwards of fifty inscriptions found during the excavations record the names of boy-victors. So important had the festival become in the third century after Christ that a permanent theatre-like building was constructed to seat the spectators. The two wings of the auditorium abut on the sides of the temple, the front and steps of which took the place of a proscenium.

The cost of the season's work has been about £940. Of this total about £100 represents the purchase of the Artemision site, which was carried through under the Greek law for the compulsory expropriation of important ancient sites, with unusual celerity, thanks to the energetic action of Prof. Cavvadias. The Committee takes this opportunity of acknowledging the consistent liberality and courtesy with which the Greek Government through the officials of the Ministry of Education and of the local administration at Sparta have supported the new enterprise of the British School. Dr. Soteriades was present throughout as the representative of the Greek Government, and in a variety of ways rendered effective help.

Remains of the Byzantine and Frankish Periods in Laconia.—An article by Mr. Wace in the last volume of the *Annual* called attention to the little-known Frankish citadel of Geraki and to some sculptures in the churches there. During the past session the study of this interesting site has been continued. Mr. Sejk has planned the fortress and the individual churches, and Mr. Traquair has made careful drawings of the beautiful shrine in the church of St. George, and of some other details. Mr. Traquair has also studied and measured the churches of Monemvasía and the Castles of Passavá, Maina, and Kelefá. He had the advantage of discussing some of them on the spot with Mr. William

Miller, one of the best authorities on the history of the Frankish period. Mr. Miller has been recently elected an Associate of the School.

Excavations in Boeotia.—Early in April Mr. A. C. Brown undertook, at the suggestion of Prof. Ronald Burrows, to examine a site near Schimatari station, where the discovery of a dedication to Apollo, built into a church of St. Demetrius, had led Prof. Burrows to place the temple of the Delian Apollo. (Cf. *B.S.A.* xi. p. 172). The remains at the Chapel proved to be mediaeval, and several adjoining sites were tested without success, but trenches in and about the modern hamlet of Dilísi left no doubt about the importance of this site in antiquity. Dilísi must represent the ancient village of Delion, the port of Tanagra, and the temple cannot be far off. It is hoped that Prof. Burrows may be able himself to continue the search. On the hill of St. Elias about two miles inland from Dilísi, Mr. Brown unearthed a house containing a good deal of pottery of the Mycenaean period and a contemporary rock-cut tomb. The cost of this excavation was defrayed by a grant from the Oxford University Craven Fund.

Supplementary Excavations at Palaikastro.—A small supplementary excavation was undertaken by Mr. Dawkins, accompanied by Mr. Droop, in March. After a few days spent in the sinking of trial trenches and pits, the excavators cleared a cave in the neighbourhood of Roussolákkos. This was entirely filled with earth containing a quantity of bones and sherds, and in the furthest recesses of the cave were found three clay *larnakes* filled with skulls, loose bones, and pottery. These have been removed to the Museum at Candia. The remains belong to the period called by Dr. Evans Late Minoan III., and are the earliest of that period yet discovered, the *Bügel-kanne* type of vase being entirely absent. It seems unlikely that further results of importance are to be obtained from this site, as the complete clearing of the cave was made impossible by the danger of the falling in of the roof.

Crete: Work in the Museum at Candia.—Good progress has been made in preparing the results of our Cretan excavations for exhibition and publication. Mr. Dawkins has spent over three months at Candia, and the Director a month and a half. The large series of drawings made by Mr. Orr has already been mentioned, but these are only a part of the work accomplished in this direction during the past year. The architectural fragments found at Praesos in 1904 were drawn in December by our surveyor, Mr. Sejk. The 'Geometric' vases from Praesos and eastern Crete generally, which had long called for systematic study, have been taken in hand by Mr. Droop, who went to Candia in February and worked on them for more than a month, making drawings of the finer specimens. The services of Mr. Bagge were secured for drawing various objects from Palaikastro which required a draughtsman of mature archaeological experience. Among these were statuettes in ivory and bronze, gems, and an archaic Medusa antefix with traces of colour. Finally, about sixty-five photographic negatives of objects from Palaikastro have been made during the past year by Marayiannis of

Candia. Although the work of drawing and photographing these finds, particularly the vase-fragments, could be carried on almost indefinitely, we now have an adequate record of all that is essential for publication.

Mr. Dawkins, during his long and in some respects irksome residence at Candia, has again made numerous drawings, has catalogued the minor objects, and selected parts of the series of duplicates. The careful cleaning of figurines from Petsofá, undertaken under his supervision in the autumn, has brought out many unsuspected details of colour. In April he re-arranged the Palaikastro collection in the museum; it now fills seven glass cases not including the larnakes and large painted jars which are exhibited separately, or the architectural terra-cottas for which another case is promised.

The Director's time during his first visit was devoted to the objects from the temple of Dictaean Zeus, of which he has published a preliminary account in the *Annual*. During his second and third visits in January and February he finished the classification and cleaning of the large collection of terra-cottas from Praesos, derived from our own excavations and from other sources. This task had been begun by Mr. Forster. A series of drawings, made under his supervision by Mr. Orr, appeared in the *Annual*, accompanying Mr. Forster's paper. During his last visit to Candia in June, he completed the selection of duplicates, catalogued them, and sent in an application to the Cretan Government for their presentation to this country. The objects granted are to be delivered at the British Museum, and, with the kind consent of the Trustees, will be unpacked there and distributed to the Museums interested.

Publications.—The Committee has again to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Mr. Cecil Smith for the time and trouble which he has devoted to the production of the *Annual*. Vol. xi. contains an important group of articles on the work done in Laconia in 1905; a further instalment of reports on discoveries at Knossos and Palaikastro, and a variety of papers on other subjects. Miss C. A. Hutton has again assisted Mr. Cecil Smith as sub-editor, and has borne part of the burden of correspondence and proof-correcting.

The *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* by Messrs. Tod and Wace was issued by the Clarendon Press in March. The full introductions prefixed to the two main divisions, Inscriptions and Sculpture, make it a valuable summary of previous knowledge about the antiquities of Sparta. It has been favourably received both in England and abroad, and has earned cordial commendation from the Greek Ephor-General of Antiquities, who has expressed a hope that the School may undertake further work in the same direction.

Open Meetings.—Three Open Meetings were held. The papers were as follows:—

Friday, Feb.	9.—The Director:	The Year's Work of the School.
,, ,,	Mr. Hasluck:	Poemanenum.

Friday, March 9.—The Director: A Cretan Hymn to Zeus.
„ „ Mr. Dawkins: A modern Carnival in Thrace.
Friday, March 30.—Dr. Pernier: Scavi della Missione Italiana a Phaistos.
„ „ Mr. Hasluck: A Laconian Heroön.

These meetings, held in the spacious Penrose Library, were well attended. All the papers read were illustrated by lantern-slides, the lantern used being lent by the Acting-Director of the American School, Professor Bates. The Committee take this opportunity of expressing to him their thanks for this courtesy. They have also to thank Miss C. A. Hutton, who has generously presented to the School a large series of lantern-slides, which will be of great service both for public meetings and for special courses of teaching.

The Library.—The chief work of the Librarian has been the arrangement of the books in the Penrose Building, whither they were removed last year. After due deliberation it was decided to retain the old subject-classification of books, as being the most practical system, and especially adapted to the needs of younger students. Lack of space had hampered the strict application of this system in the old Library. Every book has now been re-numbered and the catalogue revised to correspond. In the course of this re-arrangement it has been found possible to bring into prominence the large series of topographical books, the richest department of the Library, by grouping them according to the locality of which they treat. The Librarian has carried out this laborious task with zeal and efficiency, and his constant presence and intimate knowledge of the books in his keeping have materially increased the usefulness of the Library both to our students and to visitors.

The accession-list records the receipt during the year of 127 books and 125 pamphlets; 120 volumes have been bound. The Committee are particularly indebted to the French Minister of Public Instruction for the gift of *Les Fouilles de Delphes*, and to the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge for liberal grants of books. They also acknowledge with gratitude gifts from the Archaeological Survey of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, and of the Hunterian Coin Catalogue Fund, and from Messrs. Ampelas, A. S. Arbanitopoullos, R. C. Bosanquet, J. D. Bourchier, M. Bratsanos, J. B. Bury, C. M. Church, G. Dickins, D. Doukakis, J. P. Droop, René Dussand, C. C. Edgar, S. Eitrem, A. J. Evans, M. de Gubernatis, Rendel Harris, F. W. Hasluck, G. N. Hatzidakis, G. F. Hill, D. G. Hogarth, McKenny Hughes, G. Karo, M. P. Kontos, C. Lambakis, Miss M. Moore, Admiral Markham, Sir George Newnes, Ltd., G. Nicolaidis, J. B. Pearson, A. Philios, R. Pohl, Ritter von Premerstein, M. N. Tod, and A. J. B. Wace,

Hostel.—The receipts from students' rents amount to £78 18*s.* 3*d.*, almost exactly the record figure attained last year, but it should be noted that this total really represents longer terms of residence than last year's, the Committee having reduced the rents and made them payable in English money instead of drachmas. Under the tactful management of Mr. Hasluck all has run smoothly. Some

additional furniture has been provided, and the housework has been efficiently performed by the faithful pair of servants, Nicholas and his wife Anna, in spite of the increase involved by the addition of the Penrose Library.

The Committee has elected a new Associate, Mr. H. W. Allen, lecturer in Classics at the University of Melbourne, who stayed at the Hostel for some weeks in March and April, entering with zeal into the life and studies of the place, but was not long enough in Greece to qualify for admission as a regular student. His visit is a fresh proof that the advantages offered by the School are becoming known in the Colonies. Other residents in the Hostel were Mr. H. B. Densmore, of University College, Oxford, an American Rhodes scholar, who devoted his Easter vacation to the study of sculpture in Greece, Mr. R. H. Coon, of Lincoln College, also a Rhodes student, Mr. G. F. Barbour, of Edinburgh University, Mr. A. F. Giles, of Balliol, Mr. J. M. Dawkins, of St. Paul's School, and Mr. R. Storrs, of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Mr. J. D. Bourchier stayed about six weeks in the Hostel in order to enjoy the full benefit of the Library while engaged on special literary work. Mr. W. H. Forbes, late Fellow of Balliol, who spent part of the spring in Athens obtaining material for his edition of Thucydides, has been added to the roll of Honorary Students of the School. Both he and Mr. Allen accompanied the members of the School to Sparta and witnessed the inauguration of the work there.

The School Grounds.—The trees planted during the last five years are doing well, and for the first time no further planting was necessary. The Committee has been approached by the Committee of the American School on the subject of a lawn-tennis court towards which a sum has been offered by a relative of the late Dr. Heermance. The British School has agreed to find a corresponding sum, and has consented to the construction of the court on ground where it would extend into the territory of both schools. A plan for laying out the court and surrounding ground was prepared by Mr. Allen, architect to the American School, but the outgoing Directors decided to leave the execution of it to their successors.

Acknowledgments.—The British School desires to express its obligations to the Greek authorities, in particular to Dr. Cavvadias, the Ephor-General, and to Dr. Soteriades, the Spartan Ephor, for the support given to the excavations carried on by the School in Laconia. The Committee, the Director, and the Students have once more to express their gratitude to Sir Francis Elliot, K.C.M.G., H.B.M. Minister at Athens, for his constant friendly support. In the Hon. Reginald Walsh, now retiring after many years' service from the office of British Consul at Piraeus, the School loses a valued friend. This session has witnessed a further development in social intercourse between the Archaeological Schools. Receptions were given during the winter at each School in turn, and students had opportunities of meeting one another and making the acquaintance of Greek and foreign residents. Our thanks are due to Dr. and Mrs. Dörpfeld, M. and Mme. Holleaux, and Prof. and Mrs. Bates for the cordial hospitality thus extended not only to members

of our School but to British visitors unofficially attached to it. Dr. Karo, the new Second Secretary of the German Institute, has also done much to promote friendly relations among students from different countries. The thanks of the School are also due to Dr. Pernier, of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Crete, for the striking address on the discoveries made at Phaestos, which he was good enough to deliver at one of the open meetings. The good fellowship which has always prevailed between the British and Americans has been deepened during the two past sessions by the weekly meetings of a '*Verein*' for the reading of papers, followed by discussion on particular problems. During the past year Mr. Hasluck has held the office of President.

Plans for the coming Session.—The main work of the Session should be the full excavation of the Shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, begun last year. As this site is limited on the one side by the Eurotas, on the other by the temenos-wall, it should be possible to complete the work within the three months of the summer campaign. It will not occupy less time than this, as, though the area is small, the depth is considerable, and the productive area so rich in small objects that work will be necessarily slow. The work of tracing the ancient walls by means of trial-trenches should also go forward, and more trial-pits should be made on the Acropolis with a view to locating the temple of Athene Chalkioikos. The *heroön* on the river bank discovered last year should be fully excavated, and it will be necessary to expropriate the land on which this stands. If, as seems likely, the erosion of the river at this point is rapid, no time should be lost in beginning work on this site.

Apart from the site of ancient Sparta two places are recommended for trial excavations. The first of these is Helos, an early Achaean city, destroyed and not rebuilt (except for the temple of Poseidon) by the Dorians. Its remains, however scanty, would be of great historical interest. Secondly, there is the Hyperteleatean sanctuary, where inscriptions and terracottas have been found. On both these promising sites trial excavations could be carried out for a small sum.

It is hoped that the School's long connexion with Crete will not be altogether broken. Objects of great interest are continually being found, and the publication of research has made such progress that there is ever-increasing room for a student who would undertake independent work in the museum at Candia. For Byzantine archaeologists, the Director suggests churches in Paros and Chalcis, not yet adequately examined, that would probably repay careful study.

Two important pieces of publication should now be undertaken. Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Dawkins have produced a detailed scheme for a book dealing fully with the site of Palaikastro, and all the necessary material for illustrations has been prepared. Mr. Dawkins proposes to spend a short time in the Museum at Candia this session to finish his section, and it is much to be hoped that this definitive publication be not unduly delayed.

The School has received the high compliment of being asked by the Greek authorities to undertake the Catalogue of the Museum on the Acropolis at Athens.

It is understood that this offer made by Dr. Cavvadias is the direct result of the Catalogue of the Sparta Museum, compiled by Mr. M. N. Tod, late Assistant-Director, and Mr. A. J. B. Wace; and it is suggested that the proposed work be carried out on the same lines.

Finance.—The Revenue account for the past year shows a debit balance of £112 4*s.* 5*d.* as compared with a credit balance of £345 for the preceding year, although the latter year was charged with five quarters of the Director's salary. The excavations in Laconia and Crete are mainly responsible for this unsatisfactory result. The special contributions for these excavations only amount to £645 against an expenditure of £1,161, of which amount £1,016 has been spent in Laconia. The Laconian Fund is therefore very seriously in debt and stands in most urgent need of further contributions. The subscriptions show a slight falling off, being £911 as compared with £919; and the hope expressed in the last report that the amount would be raised to £1,000 within the year has not been realised. A satisfactory feature is the increase in the sales of the *Annual*, but this has been neutralised by the increased cost of publication.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that the investigation of Sparta was a fascinating study, and the Report more full of interest than most books of travel. The explorers seemed to possess the insight and knowledge attributed in popular novels to detectives, and the results attained by their perseverance formed a wonderful tribute to the value of the School.

Sir HORACE RUMBOLD seconded the adoption of the Report, which was carried unanimously.

The DIRECTOR then gave an illustrated account of the work of the Session.

Mr. G. F. HILL moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. TOD and carried unanimously:—

"That Prof. BOSANQUET be appointed member of the Committee.

"That Mr. YORKE be elected Hon. Treasurer.

"That Dr. EVANS, Miss HARRISON, Mr. HOGARTH, and Dr. CECIL SMITH be re-elected on the Committee.

"That Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE be re-elected Secretary."

A vote of thanks to the retiring Director, retiring Treasurer, and to the Auditors, and a vote of welcome to the new Director and to the new Hon. Treasurer, were proposed by Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN, seconded by Sir JOHN EVANS, and carried unanimously.

A unanimous vote of thanks to the Chair, moved by Dr. HODGKIN and seconded by Mr. YORKE, brought the proceedings to a close.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1905–1906.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE AND EXCAVATIONS,

2ND OCTOBER, 1905, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1906.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received or due during the year	911	1	0
Subscriptions received for 1904–1905	2	2	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Interest on Investment to 5th July	59	5	0
Interest on Deposit to 30th September	16	8	0
Sale of Annuals (Nos. I–IX. to June 30, 1905)	170	18	10
Special Donations for Excavations: Crete	52	0	0
Do. Do. Do. Laconia	593	14	0
Return of Income Tax	4	10	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	112	4	5
	£2,422	3	3

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1906				76	4	7
Hostel Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1906	140	15	11			
Less Students' Fees	78	18	3			
				61	17	8
Director's Stipend, 4 quarters to Michaelmas 1906				500	0	0
Salary, Librarian				150	0	0
Secretary's Salary, year to Midsummer 1906				40	0	0
Publication of Annual (vol. xi.)				323	8	11
Printing, Postage, and Stationery				38	6	7
Sundries				20	11	3
Studentship, Mr. Tillyard				50	0	0
Excavations: Crete	144	19	1			
Do. Laconia	1,016	15	2			
				1,161	14	3
				£2,422	3	3

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT,

5TH OCTOBER, 1904, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1905.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, as per list	13	5	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	272	6	8
	£285	11	8

	£	s.	d.
Library	123	12	1
Sparta Museum Catalogue	50	0	0
Hostel Building and Furnishing Acct.	111	19	7
	£285	11	8

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account . .	53	16	8	By Grant to R. Traquair . . .	50	0	0
				Balance carried forward . . .	3	16	8
	53	16	8		53	16	8

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1906.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Byzantine Architecture Fund . .				3	16	8	Investment—India 3% Stock, at par.	2,000	0	0
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				2	2	0				
Amount due to Director for Expenditure on excavations in Laconia .				235	15	9	Balance, as per Pass Book	301	18	11
Balance, representing the funds of the School other than the property in land and building, furniture and library, as per last Account .	2,442	0	10				*Less* Cheque not presented . .	2	14	9
Less Balance of Expenditure and Receipts on Revenue and Excavations Account for the year as above . .	112	4	5					299	4	2
	2,329	16	5							
Less Capital as above	272	6	8							
				2,057	9	9				
				£2,299	4	2		£2,299	4	2

Examined and found correct.

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

26th October, 1906.

DONATIONS—1905-1906.

	£	s.	d.
R. P. Jones	5	0	0
Prof. L. C. Miall	3	0	0
W. H. Forbes	5	5	0
	£13	5	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS.

For Crete—

W. Leaf	25	0	0
G. A. Macmillan	25	0	0
Anonymous per R. C. Bosanquet	2	0	0
	£52	0	0

For Laconia—

Abercromby, Hon. J.	50	0	0
Anderson, J. R.	1	1	0
Society of Antiquaries	10	10	0
Royal Institute of British Architects	10	10	0
Astor, W. W.	100	0	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Balliol College, Oxford	10	0	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bernays, A. E.	2	0	0
Blackburn, Miss	1	1	0
Bodington, Dr.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, R. C.	10	0	0
Brown, J.	1	1	0
Burge, Rev. H. M.	2	2	0
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Campbell, Prof. L.	1	0	0
Carey, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Admiral	1	1	0
Carrington, J. B.	10	0	0
Caton, Dr.	5	0	0
Christchurch College, Oxford	10	0	0
Cockerell, St. Pepys	1	1	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	2	2	0
Connal, W.	5	5	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	2	2	0
Crace, J. F.	1	1	0
Cruikshank, A. H.	1	1	0
Davies, Mrs.	5	5	0
Edgar, C. C.	1	0	0
Egerton, Sir E.	5	0	0
Elliot, Sir F.	10	0	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	10	0	0
E. P.	50	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Farrer, Sir W.	15	0	0
Fowler, W. Warde	1	1	0
Fox, G. H.	1	0	0
'From Rome'	1	0	0
Carried forward	364	9	0

For Laconia (continued)—

Brought forward	364	9	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	1	0
Gardner, P.	5	0	0
Gibson, G.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	5	5	0
Heathcote, W. E.	3	3	0
Hodgin, R. H.	2	0	0
Hodgkin, T.	10	0	0
James, L.	1	1	0
Jesus College, Oxford	5	0	0
Jones, R. P.	5	0	0
Kensington, Miss	1	1	0
King, Miss	5	0	0
King W.	2	2	0
Leaf, W.	25	0	0
Low, Lady	1	0	0
Macan, R. W.	2	2	0
Mackenzie, D.	2	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	25	0	0
Matthews Miss	2	2	0
Miall, Prof. L. C.	2	0	0
Moncrieff, Col. Sir F. Scott	1	1	0
Mylne, Miss	5	0	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Oswald, J. W. Gordon	8	0	0
Page, T. E.	1	1	0
Paul, J. D.	1	1	0
Phelps, Rev. L. R.	1	1	0
Pilcher, G. F.	5	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Raleigh, Miss K.	5	5	0
Reich, Dr. E.	3	3	0
Rodd, Sir R.	10	0	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	5	0	0
Searle, G.	2	0	0
Smith, A. H.	1	0	0
Spooner, Rev. W. A.	1	1	0
S. S. Hermoupolis—balance of expenses and anonymous contributions per E. A. Gardner	6	6	0
Stanton, C. H.	1	1	0
Steele, D.	2	2	0
Struthers, J.	1	0	0
Stucley, Sir L.	10	10	0
Tod, M. N.	2	2	0
Tod, Mrs.	2	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	5	0	0
Wells, J.	2	2	0
Whately, A. P.	5	5	0
Williams, W. C. A.	10	0	0
Woods, Rev. H. G.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
	593	14	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1905-1906.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	10	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
McGill University, Montreal	5	5	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Agnew, Sir W.	2	2	0
Aitchison, G.	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof.	1	1	0
Alma Tadema, Sir L.	2	2	0
Anderson, J. R.	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0
Archer, Rev. W. J.	1	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, R. A.	1	1	0
Awdry, H.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Blackburn, Miss	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bodington, Dr. N.	1	0	0
Bosanquet, R. C.	1	1	0
Boyle, Miss F.	1	0	0
Brinton, H.	1	1	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burnham, Lord	5	0	0
Burrows, R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Butcher, Dr. S. H.	2	2	0
Buxton, H. E.	1	0	0
Campbell, Prof. L.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Carr, H. Wildon	1	1	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Connal, W.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Cowper, H. S.	1	1	0
Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Curtis, Mrs. Omodei	1	0	0
Cust, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Dabis, Miss	1	1	0
Davey, Rt. Hon. Lord	5	0	0
Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Des Graz, Chas.	1	1	0
Devenish, W. H.	1	0	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. A.	1	1	0
Dyer, Louis	1	0	0
Earl, A. G.	1	1	0
Egerton, Rt. Hon. Earl	10	10	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Rev. F. R.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Evans, Sir J.	5	0	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Giveen, Rev. R. L.	1	1	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goolden, R. E.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£507	19	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1905–1906 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	507	19	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffiths, F. M.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Harvey, H. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Henderson, A. E.	1	0	0
Hill, G. F.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	2	2	0
Hodgkin, Miss Violet	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Thomas	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hunt, W. Holman	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	1	1	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
James, Rev. S. R.	2	0	0
Karo, Dr. G.	1	1	0
Kelly, C. A.	1	1	0
Kenyon, F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
L. J. E.	1	0	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
La Touche, C. D.	1	1	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Livesay, W.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Loring, W.	5	0	0
Lucas, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Lyttelton, Canon Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
MacLehose, James J.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss A. M. C.	1	0	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Mond, Ludwig	100	0	0
Morshead, E. D. A.	1	0	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Oppé, A. P.	1	1	0
Palli, Miss F. L.	1	1	0
Paul, J. D.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-Smith	1	1	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Laura	1	0	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	0	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Rawlinson, W. G.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Robb, Mrs.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J.	2	2	0
Sandys, Dr.	5	0	0
Scott-Moncrieff, Sir C.	1	1	0
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, Hugh	1	1	0
Seymour, Prof. T. D.	1	0	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, R. A. H. Bickford	1	1	0
Sole, Rev. S. H.	1	1	0
Stewart, Mrs. H. F.	1	1	0
Stogdon, Rev. E.	1	1	0
Tancock, Rev. C. C.	1	1	0
Thompson, F. E.	1	1	0
Thornely, Miss A. M. M.	1	0	0
Tod, J. N.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	10	0	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Verrall, Dr.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	1	1	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Ward, John	1	0	0
Waldstein, C.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£873	14	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1905-1906 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	873	14	0
Warren, T. H.	1	1	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Welsh, Miss	2	2	0
Wernher, Sir Julius . . .	25	0	0
Whibley, Leonard . . .	1	1	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£911	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	910	2	0
Paid in advance last year	5	3	0
	915	5	0
Less Paid in advance at date 2 2 0			
„ on account of 1904-5 as below 2 2 0			
	4	4	0
	£911	1	0

Received during the year subscriptions for 1904-5—

	£	s.	d.
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	1	0
	£2	2	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

NOTE. Under No. V. of the Rules and Regulations, "the following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription."

In making out the following list, donations of less than £10 have been regarded as aggregate annual subscriptions of £1, and are spread over a corresponding number of years.

The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list, which is made up to May 14th, 1907.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.
THE MCGILL UNIVERSITY, Montreal.
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES, 22, Albemarle Street, W.
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Burlington House, Piccadilly.
THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI (per E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C., 32, Great George Street, S.W.)
BALLIOL COLLEGE, Oxford.
BRASENOSE COLLEGE, Oxford.
CAIUS COLLEGE, Cambridge.
CHRIST CHURCH, Oxford.
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Oxford.
EMMANUEL COLLEGE, Cambridge.
KING'S COLLEGE, Cambridge.
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, Oxford.
NEW COLLEGE, Oxford.
NEWNHAM COLLEGE, Cambridge.
L'ASSOCIATION DE LECTURES PHILOLOGIQUES, Valentin 44, Lausanne.
THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS, 9, Conduit Street, W.
THE GREEK PLAY COMMITTEE (per J. W. Clark, Esq., Scroop House), Cambridge.
THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF CLOTHWORKERS, Mincing Lane, E.C.
THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GOLDSMITHS, Goldsmiths' Hall, E.C.
THE LEEDS LIBRARY, Commercial Street, Leeds.
WESTMINSTER SCHOOL LIBRARY.

Abercrombie, J., Esq., M.D., Angill, Brough, Westmoreland.
Abercromby, The Hon. John, 62, Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.
Acland, Henry Dyke, Esq., Lamorva, Falmouth.
Adam, J., Esq., Litt.D., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Agg-Gardner, J. T., Esq., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Agnew, Sir William, Bart., 11, Great Stanhope Street, Park Lane.
Aitchison, G., Esq., R.A., 150, Harley Street, W.
Alexander, W. C., Esq., 24, Lombard Street, E.C.
Allen, H. W., Esq., Ormond College, Melbourne University, Melbourne.
Alma Tadema, Sir L., R.A., 34, Grove End Road, N.W.
Allbutt, Prof. T. Clifford, F.R.S., St. Rhadegunds, Cambridge.
Anderson, J. R., Esq., Lairbeck, Keswick.
Anson, Sir W. R., Bart., M.P., All Souls' College, Oxford.

Archer, Rev. W. T., The Manse, Helen's Bay, Co. Down.
Ashby, Thos., Esq., British School at Rome, 22, Albemarle Street, W.
Austen-Leigh, E. C., Esq., Eton College.
Avebury, The Right Hon. Lord, High Elms, Farnborough, R.S O.
Awdry, H., Esq., Wellington College, Wokingham.

Bagehot, Mrs. W., 4, Melbury Road, Kensington, W.
Bailey, Cyril, Esq., Balliol College, Oxford.
Bailey, J. C., Esq., 20, Egerton Gardens, S.W.
Baker, Herbert, Esq. Castle Co. Buildings, Capetown.
Balfour, The Right Hon. G. W., Fisher's Hill, Woking.
Barbour, Mrs., Bonskeid, Pitlochry, N.B.
Barlow, Sir T., Bart., M.D., 10, Wimpole St., W.
Barrington, Mrs. Russell, 4, Melbury Road, W.
Bather, Rev. A. G., Sunnyside, Winchester.
Bernays, A. Evan, Esq., 3, Priory Road, Kew,
Bevan, E. R., Rempstone, Corfe Castle, Dorset.
Bickford-Smith, A. H., Esq., 29, Ladbroke Grove, W.
Billson, Charles J. Esq., The Wayside, Oadby, Leicestershire.
Blackburn, Mrs. V. P., Roshven, Lochailort, R.S.O., N.B.
Blomfield, R., Esq., A.R.A., 51, Frognal, Hampstead, N.W.
Bodington, Dr., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds.
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C., 40, Bedford Street N., Liverpool.
Boyle, Miss, 78, Drayton Gardens, S.W.
Branch, C. C. Esq., 67, Chester Square, S.W.
Brassey, The Right Hon. Lord, 4, Great George Street, S.W.
Brinton, Hubert, Esq., Eton College.
Bristol, The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of, The Palace, Bristol.
Brooke, The Rev. Stopford, 1, Manchester Sq., W.
Brooks, E. W., Esq., 28, Great Ormond Street, W.C.
Brown, James, Esq., Netherby, Galashiels.
Brown, Adam, Esq., Netherby, Galashiels.
Burnet, Prof. J. J., 1 Alexander Place, St. Andrews, N.B.
Burnham, The Right Hon. Lord, *Daily Telegraph*, Fleet Street, E.C.
Burrows, Prof. R. M., 131, Habershon Street, East Moors, Cardiff.
Bury, Prof. J. B., King's College, Cambridge.
Butcher, S. H., Esq., Litt.D., M.P., 6, Tavistock Square, W.C.
Buxton, A. F., Esq., 50, Cornhill, E.C.
Buxton, F. W., Esq., 50, Cornhill, E.C.
Bywater, Mrs., 93, Onslow Square, S.W.
Bywater, Prof. Ingram, Litt.D., D.Litt., 93, Onslow Square, S.W.

Campbell, The Rev. Prof. L., 6, Arlington Street, Piccadilly, W.
Carlisle, Miss Helen, Houndhill, Marchington, Stafford.
Carr, H. Wildon, Esq., Bury, Pulborough, Sussex.
Carr, Rear-Admiral, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Carr, The Rev. A., Addington Vicarage, Croydon.
Carrington, J. B., Esq., Laggis, 14, Netherhall Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
Caspari, M. Esq., 183, Lodge Lane, Liverpool.
Caton, R. Esq., M.D., 78, Rodney Street, Liverpool.
Chamberlain, The Right Hon. J., M.P., 40, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
Chamberlain, The Right Hon. J. Austen, M.P., 9, Egerton Place, S.W.
Chawner, W., Esq., Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Clark, C. R., Esq., 10, Cheyne Row, Chelsea, S.W.
Clauson, A. C., Esq., Hawkshead House, Hatfield.
Clissold, H., Esq., Clifton College, Bristol.
Colchester, The Right Hon. Lord, St. Bruno, Sunningdale.
Cole, A. C., Esq., 64, Portland Place. W.
Colvin, Sidney, Esq., British Museum, W.C.
Compton, The Rev. W. C., The School House, Dover.
Connal, William, Esq., 23, Berkeley Sq., W.
Cooke, R., Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.
Corbett, Sir Vincent, K.C.V.O., Ministry of Finance, Cairo.
Cornford, F. M., Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Cowper, The Right Hon. Earl, Panshanger, Hertford.
Cowper, H. S., Esq., High House, Hawkshead, Lancs.
Crowfoot, J. W., Esq., Khartoum, Soudan.
Cruddas, Miss, Haughton Castle, Humshaugh-on-Tyne, Northumberland.
Cust, Miss A. M., 49, Campden Hill Road, W.

Dakyns, H. G., Esq., Higher Coombe, Haslemere, Surrey.
Daniel, A. M. Esq., 14, Royal Crescent, Scarborough.
Darbishire, R. D. Esq., F.S.A., Victoria Park, Manchester.
Darwin, Sir G. H., K.C.B., F.R.S., Cambridge.
Davey, The Right Hon. Lord, 86, Brook Street, W.
Davidson, H. O. D., Esq., Elmfield, Harrow.
Dawkins, R. M., Esq., British School, Athens, Greece.
Dickins, Mrs. A. L., Hopefield, Higher Broughton, Manchester.

Dilke, The Right Hon. Sir C. W., Bart., M.P., 76, Sloane Street, S.W.
Donaldson, The Rev. S. A., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Douglas-Pennant, The Hon. Alice, Mortimer House, Halkin Street, S.W.
Durham, The Right Hon. The Earl of, 4, Cavendish Square, W.
Durnford, Walter, Esq., King's College, Cambridge.
Dyer, Louis, Esq., Sunbury Lodge, Banbury Road, Oxford.

Earl, A. G., Esq., Ferox Hall, Tonbridge.
Egerton, Sir E. H., G.C.B., British Embassy, Rome.
Egerton, The Right Hon. Earl, 7, St. James's Square, S.W.
Elliot, Sir Francis E. H., K.C.M.G., British Legation, Athens.
Elliot, The Rev. F. R., British Legation, Athens.
Eumorfopoulos, N., Esq., 33, Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, W.
Evans, Arthur J., Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., Britwell, Berkhampstead, Herts.
Ewart, Miss, 68, Albert Hall Mansions, S.W.

Farrer, Sir W. J., Sandhurst Lodge, Wellington College Station, Berks.
Fletcher, H. M., Esq., 10, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
Fletcher, John M., Esq., 9, Stanhope Street, Hyde Park, W.
Finlay, Sir R. B., K.C., 31, Phillimore Gardens, W.
Forbes, W. H., Esq., 61, St. John Street, Oxford.
Forster, E. S., Esq., The University, Sheffield.
Fort, J. A., Esq., 69, Kingsgate Street, Winchester.
Fotheringham, J. K., Esq., 12, Holywell, Oxford.
Fowler, W. W., Esq., Lincoln College, Oxford.
Fraser, J. H. P., Esq., M.D., Cumberland House, Southampton.
Freshfield, D. W., Esq., 1, Airlie Gardens, W.
Freshfield, Dr. Edwin, 31, Old Jewry, E.C.
Frisch, Eugene S., Esq., Elmsleigh, Prince's Park, Liverpool.
Fry, The Right Hon. Sir Edward, F.R.S., Failand House, Bristol.
Furneaux, L. R., Esq., Rossall School, Fleetwood.
Fyfe, John, Esq., Beechgrove House, Aberdeen.

Gardner, Prof. Ernest, University College, Gower Street, W.C.
Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D., 12, Canterbury Road, Oxford.
Gardiner, E. Norman, Esq., 2, The College, Epsom.
Giveen, R. L., Esq., 66, Myddelton Square, E.C.
Goldsmith, Harvey, Esq., M.D., Harpur Place, Bedford.
Gow, The Rev. James, Litt.D., Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.
Gooch, G. P., Esq., South Villa, Campden Hill Road, W.
Goodwin, J. A., Esq., Shelley, Blundellsands, Lancs.
Goolden, R. E., Esq., Horton Grange, Maidenhead.
Graham, Alex., Esq., Carlton Chambers, 4, Regent Street, S.W.
Graham, E., Esq., Grove Hill, Harrow.
Grenfell, B. P., Esq., Queen's College, Oxford.
Griffith, F. Ll., Esq., Riversvale, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Handcock, W., Esq., Girlington, Bradford, Yorks.
Hardy, G. F., Esq.
Hardy, Mrs., 1, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Harrison, Miss, LL.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.
Hasluck, F. W., Esq., The Wilderness, Southgate, N.
Hawes, Miss, 13, Sussex Gardens, W.
Haworth, Jesse, Esq., Woodside, Bowdon.
Hay, C. Anderson, Esq., 127, Harley Street, W.
Heath, Mrs. Meyrick, Mortimer House, Clifton, Bristol.
Heathcote, W. E., Esq., 12, Portland Street, York.
Headlam, Walter, Esq., King's College, Cambridge.
Heberden, C. B., Esq., Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.
Henderson, Sir A., Bart., M.P., 18, Arlington Street, W.
Henderson, A. E. Esq., c/o Architectural Association, 58, Great Marlborough Street, W.
Hill, G. F., Esq., British Museum, W.C.
Hodgkin, Thomas, Esq., Litt. D., Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.
Hodgkin, T. Edward, Esq., Old Ridley, Stocksfield, Northumberland.
Hodgkin, Miss Violet, Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.
Hogarth, D. G., Esq., Chapel Meadow, Forest Row, Sussex.
Hooper, G. N. Esq., Elmleigh, Beckenham, Kent.
Hopkinson, J. H., Esq., Hulme Hall, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.
Hornby, The Rev. Dr., Provost of Eton College, Windsor.
Hunt, W. Holman, Esq., O.M., 18, Melbury Road, Kensington, W.
Hutton, Miss C. A., 49, Drayton Gardens, S.W.

Impey, E., Esq., Eton College.
Iveagh, The Right Hon. Lord, 5, Grosvenor Place, S.W.

James, The Rev. S. R., School House, Malvern.
James, The Rev. H. A., D.D., School House, Rugby.
Jenner, Miss, 25, Warwick Gardens, W.
Johnston, C. E., Esq., Swinley Birches, South Ascot.
Jones, Ronald P., Esq., 208, Coleherne Court, S. Kensington, S.W.
Jones, H. Stuart, Esq., Glan-y-Mor, Saundersfoot, Pembrokeshire.

Karo, Dr. G., Kaiserliches Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Athens.
Kelly, Charles Arthur, Esq., 30, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.
Kenyon, F. G., Esq., Litt.D., British Museum, W.C.
Keser, J., Esq., M.D., Colatel, Chemin Vinet, Lausanne, Switzerland.
King, Miss Catherine, Oxton, Birkenhead.
Knowles, Sir James, K.C.V.O., Queen Anne's Lodge, St James's Park, S.W.

La Touche, C. D., Esq., 53, Raglan Road, Dublin.
Lambert, Dr. E. J., c/o the Secretary of the B.S.A., 22, Albemarle Street, W.
Lascelles, B. P., Esq., Harrow.
Lawrence, Aubrey, Esq., 13, Norfolk Crescent, Hyde Park, W.
Lawrence, Sir Edwin Durning, Bart., 13, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
Lawrence, The Misses, 4, Princes Gate, S.W.
Leaf, Herbert, Esq., The Green, Marlborough.
Leaf, Mrs. Herbert, ,, ,,
Leaf, Walter, Esq., Litt.D., 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
Lewis, Mrs. S. S., LL.D., Castle-brae, Cambridge.
Lindley, Miss Julia, 74, Shooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.
Lister, The Right Hon. Lord, F.R.S., 12, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W.
Livesay, William, Esq. M.D., Sudbury, Derby.
Llangattock, The Right Hon. Lord, The Hendre, Monmouth.
Lloyd, Miss A. M., Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.
Lorimer, Miss H. L., Somerville College, Oxford.
Loring, W., Esq., Goldsmiths' College, New Cross, S.E.
Lucas, Rev. A., Parkside, Tonbridge,
Lunn, W. Houldsworth, Esq., 10, Alexandra Grove, North Finchley, N.
Lynch, H. F., Esq., 33, Pont Street, S.W.
Lyttelton, Hon. and Rev. Canon E., The Cloisters, Eton College.

Macan, R. W., Esq., Master of University College, Oxford.
McIver, D. R., Esq., Wolverton House, Clifton, Bristol.
MacLehose, James J., Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
Macmillan, G. A., Esq., D. Litt., St. Martin's Street, W.C.
Macmillan, & Co., Ltd., Messrs., St. Martin's Street, W.C.
Marindin, G. E., Esq., Hammondswood, Frensham, Farnham.
Marshall, Miss A. M. C., Far Cross, Woore, Newcastle, Staffs.
Matthews, Mrs., 15, Stanley Gardens, Bayswater, W.
Mayor, R. J. G., Esq., Board of Education, Whitehall, S.W.
Miall, Prof. L. C., The University, Leeds.
Miller, The Rev. Alex., South United Free Church Manse, Buckie, N.B.
Minturn, Miss E. T., 14, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
Mitchell, Mrs., Jesmond Towers, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Mond, Dr. Ludwig, F.R.S., 20, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
Monk, The Misses, 4, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Monson, The Right Hon. Sir E., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Richmond Park, S.W
Montagu, Sir S., Bart., 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, S.W.
Montefiore, C. G., Esq., 12, Portman Square, W.
Morrison, Walter, Esq., 77, Cromwell Road, S.W.
Morshead, E. D. A., Esq., 29, Trinity Square, Southwark, S.E.
Murray, Messrs. J. & H., 50, Albemarle Street, W.
Murray, Prof. G. G. A., 131, Banbury Road, Oxford.
Myers, Ernest, Esq., Brackenside, Chislehurst.
Mylne, Mrs., 145, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
Myres, J. L., Esq., Christ Church, Oxford.

Newman, W. L., Esq., Litt.D., D.Litt., 1, Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore-, 1, Devonshire Place, W.

Omodei-Curtis, Mrs., 13, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
Oppé, A. P., Esq., Board of Education, Whitehall.
Oswald, J. W. Gordon, Esq. (of Aigas), Beauly, Inverness-shire, N.B.

Palli, Mrs. F. L., c/o London & Westminster Bank, St. James's Square, S.W.
Paton, W. R., Esq., Maison Camus, Place Marc, Viroflay, Seine-et-Oise, France.
Paul, J. D., Esq., 23, Piazza di Spagna, Rome.
Pears, E., Esq., 2, Rue de la Banque, Constantinople.

Pease, Mrs. J. W., Pendower, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Penoyre, J. B., Esq., 22, Albemarle Street, W.
Penrose, Miss E., Somerville College, Oxford.
Perry, W. C., Esq., 5, Manchester Square, W.
Pesel, Miss Laura, Oak House, Bradford, Yorks.
Pesel, Miss Louisa, Oak House, Bradford, Yorks.
Phillimore, Prof. J. S., 5, The University, Glasgow.
Phillips, Mrs. H., Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield.
Piddington, J. G., Esq., 53, Gracechurch-street, E.C.
Pilkington, A. C., Esq., Rocklands, Rainhill, Lancashire.
Pilkington, R. A., Esq., Ecclestone Grange, Prescot, Lancs.
Plumbe, Rowland, Esq., 13, Fitzroy Square, W.
Pollock, Sir F., Bart., 21, Hyde Park Place, W.
Powell, Miss E., 9, Norfolk St., Park Lane, W.
Poynter, Sir E. J., Bart., P.R.A., 70, Addison Road, S.W.
Pryor, Marlborough R, Esq., Weston Park, Stevenage, Herts.

Rackham, H. Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Ralli, Mrs. S., St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.
Ralli, P., Esq., 17, Belgrave Square, S.W.
Randall-McIver, D., Esq., Wolverton House, Clifton, Bristol.
Rawlinson, W. G., Esq., Hill Lodge, New Road, Campden Hill, W.
Reid, Prof. J. S., Litt.D., Caius College, Cambridge.
Rendall, The Rev. G. H., Litt.D., Charterhouse, Godalming.
Richards, H. S., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Richmond, The Right Rev. The Bishop of, the Rectory, Stanhope R.S.O., Co. Durham.
Robb, Mrs., 46, Rutland Gate, S.W.
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys, The University, Leeds.
Rodd, Sir Rennell, K.C.M.G., British Legation, Stockholm.
Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., The Durdans, Epsom.
Rothschild, The Right Hon. Lord, 148, Piccadilly, W.
Rothschild, Messrs. N. M., and Sons, New Court, E.C.
Rothschild, The Hon. Walter, 148, Piccadilly, W.
Rotton, Sir J., Lockwood, Frith Hill, Godalming.
Rumbold, Right Hon. Sir H., Bart., G.C.B., 127, Sloane Street, W.

Sandys, J. E., Esq., Litt.D., Merton House, Cambridge.
Saumarez, The Right Hon. Lord de, Shrubland Park, Coddenham, Suffolk.
Scott, C. P., Esq., The Firs, Fallowfield, Manchester.
Scott-Moncrieff, Colonel Sir Colin, K.C.S.I., 11, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
Scouloudi, Etienne, Esq., Athens, Greece.
Seaman, Owen, Esq., Tower House, Putney, S.W.
Searle, G. von U., Esq., 30, Edith Road, West Kensington, W.
Seebohm, Hugh, Esq., Poynders End, Hitchin.
Seymour, Prof. T. D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Sharkey, J. A., Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Sharpe, Miss C., Stoneycroft, Elstree.
Shove, Miss E., 25, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.
Simpson, W. W., Esq., Winkley, Whalley.
Sloane, Miss E. J., 13, Welford Road, Leicester.
Smith, Cecil H., Esq., LL.D., British Museum, W.C.
Smith, Mrs. C. H., 18, Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.
Smith-Pearse, Rev. T. N., The College, Epsom.
Sole, The Rev. S. H., Trinity Rectory, Chipping Norton.
Stewart, Mrs. H. F., The Malting House, Cambridge.
Stucley, Sir Lewis, Bart., Hartland Abbey, Bideford.
Sullivan, John, Esq., 32, Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin.

Tancock, The Rev. C. C., D.D., The School, Tonbridge.
Taylor, The Rev. Dr., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.
Teale, J. Pridgin, Esq., F.R.S., 38, Cookridge Street, Leeds.
Thompson, Sir E. M., K.C.B., British Museum, W.C.
Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 19, Portman Square, W.
Thompson, F. E., Esq., 16, Primrose Hill Road, N.W.
Thornely, Miss A. M., Oaklands, Bowden, Cheshire.
Tod, Mrs. Hedwig, Denham Green, Trinity, Edinburgh.
Tod, M. N., Esq., Oriel College, Oxford.
Tod, T. N. Esq., Carr Hill, Shawclough, Rochdale.
Townshend, Brian, Esq., 29, Oakwood Court, W.
Tozer, The Rev. H. F., 18, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
Tuckett, F. F., Esq., Frenchay, Bristol.
Tuke, Miss Margaret, 1, Prince's Buildings, Clifton, Bristol.

Vaughan, H., Esq.
Vaughan, E. L., Esq., Eton College.
Verrall, A. W., Esq., Litt.D., Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
Vince, J. H. Esq., Bradfield College, Berkshire.

Wace, Mrs., Calverton House, Stoney Stratford.
Wagner, H., Esq., 13, Half Moon Street, W.
Waldstein, Prof. Charles, Litt.D., King's College, Cambridge.
Wandsworth, The Right Hon. Lord, 10, Great Stanhope Street, W.
Wantage, The Lady, 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
Ward, Dr. A. W., Peterhouse College, Cambridge.
Ward, John, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Beesfield, Farningham, Kent.
Warren, T. H., Esq., President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Waterhouse, Edwin, Esq., Feldemore, near Dorking.
Weber, Sir. H., M.D., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.
Welsh, Miss Silvia M., c/o R. E. Emson, Esq., Hillside Road, Tulse Hill Park, S.W.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wernher, Sir Julius, Bart., 82, Piccadilly, W.
West, H. H., Esq., c/o R. W. West, Esq., Casa Bianca, Alassio, N. Italy.
Whateley, A. P., Esq., 4, Southwick Crescent, W.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Pembroke College, Cambridge.
Williams, W. C. A., Esq., Garden House, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.
Wilson, R. D., Esq., 38, Upper Brook Street, W.
Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington Street, S.W.
Winkworth, Mrs., Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W.
Wroth, Warwick, Esq., British Museum, W.C.

Yorke, V. W., Esq., The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
Yule, Miss A., Tarradale House, Ross-shire.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1906

F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.
ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.
CECIL H. SMITH, LL.D., 1895—1897.
DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., 1897—1900.
R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.
R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906— .

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1906

Prof. J. B. Bury, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Arthur J. Evans, Esq., LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum Oxford. Elected 1895.
J. Linton Myres, Esq., M.A.	A former Student of the School. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner, M.A.	Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897.
Prof. A. van Millingen, M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
W. H. Forbes, M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1906.

rnest A. Gardner. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Yates Professor of Archaeology at University College, London. Admitted 1886—87. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks. Admitted 1886—87.
H. H. Guillemard M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost and late Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
Robert Weir Schultz.	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
J. G. Frazer. M.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.[1]
William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of the Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90 Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow. 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
O. H. Parry. B.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
J. F. R. Stainer M.A., B.C.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92. on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart Jones. M.A.	Formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).	Girton College, Cambridge. Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Curate of Cranleigh, Guildford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93. on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
. G. Piddington M.A. (J. G. Smith)	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
J. L. Myres. M.A.	Student and Tutor of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford. Admitted 1892—93. as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94, and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.
R. J. G. Mayor. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.

R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95, Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96, and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
T. Duncan.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894 -95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894 -95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
Charles R. R. Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect to Arab Monuments Committee, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Formerly in the Education Department, Cairo. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis.	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.

A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
J. H. Marshall. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student 1900—01
Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson.	Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Literature at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
S. C. Kaines-Smith.	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Formerly Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth, Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904—05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. B.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.
J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Lecturer in Archaeology at Liverpool University, 1906. Admitted 1900—01.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901–02.

F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Formerly Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrew's University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. B.A.	Victoria College, Toronto. Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1903-04,. Re-admitted 1904—05. Appointed Director 1906.
E. S. Forster. M.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Readmitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04, 1904—05, 1905—06.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. F. Fulton.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Lecturer in Greek at the Birmingham University. Admitted 1903-04.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Scholarship. Admitted 1903-04.
G. Dickins. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05. Readmitted as School Student 1905—06.
C. C. T. Doll. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. B.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Readmitted 1905—06, on appointment to Studentship.

Miss G. M. A. Richter.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop, B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1905—06.
Miss M. Hamilton, B.A.	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Scholarship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06.
A. C. B. Brown, B.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair, A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06, on appointment to an Architectural Studentship.
Miss E. B. Abrahams.	University College, London. Admitted 1905—06.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	„	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	„	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	„	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	„	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	„	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	„	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	„	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	„	1903.
T. W. Allen, Esq.	„	1906.
W. A. Miller, Esq.	„	1906.

METHODS OF WORK AND TEACHING.

Extracted from a recent report of the present Director to the Managing Committee

UNDER an ideal system most students would spend two, some three, seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year a man need not lose sight of his special subject, but in most cases it would pay him to adopt something like the following programme:

[August and] *September.* In Berlin (Munich, Dresden) to become familiar with spoken German and so be able to profit by some of the 3 or 4 courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of German and Austrian Institutes.

October. Arrive in Greece. Face the difficulties of language and travelling. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Heraeum near Argos, before the rains begin in November.

About *November* 15. Settle down in Hostel for 3 or 4 months of steady work on sites and in Museums, attending some of the half-dozen available courses of lectures, and making frequent short excursions into the country, by train, bicycle, carriage, or on mule-back. A bicycle is invaluable.

This residence in the Hostel, with occasional absences for a few nights in the country, should last until the beginning or middle of March according to the season.

March, April. Travel, study ancient sites.

If possible join one of the island-cruises to which Professor Gardner and Professor Dörpfeld have hospitably admitted students in the past.

May, June. Begin to concentrate attention on special work: *e.g.* a man may assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control or independence in his second summer: or he may explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or group of islands: or he may work his way homewards through a number of Museums in Italy, Austria and Germany: or attend Mau's summer course of lectures at Pompeii and afterwards spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In the latter case he will do well to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), where a library is being formed and advice and information may be obtained.

For the *second year* it is impossible to formulate a definite scheme. It should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified in different ways to suit each case. There will always be men who, like most of the French students, are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. On the other hand there will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life, to visit sites and battle fields, illuminating and colouring their past reading and fitting themselves for general classical teaching, but have no time for minute archaeological studies.

It is evident that in each year the methods and matter of the teaching at the School must be adapted to the requirements of the students. Students from English universities will never have the love of formal lectures which distinguishes those from America, and where the numbers are small it will often be better to teach, as Dr. Wolters has been in the habit of doing, by means of informal visits to sites and Museums.

RULES AND REGULATIONS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archæology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archæology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archæological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors, may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1906.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1906—1907.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D. Litt., *Chairman.*
} *Trustees.*

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.
J. E. SANDYS, ESQ., Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
SIDNEY COLVIN, ESQ., D.Litt. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD, ESQ., A.R.A., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A.
ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., D.Litt., LL.D.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D.
D. G. HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A.
W. LORING, ESQ., M.A.
R. J. G. MAYOR, ESQ., M.A.
J. LYNTON MYRES, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR J. S. REID, Litt.D.
CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.
} *Appointed by the Subscribers.*

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 22, Albemarle Street, W.

DIRECTOR, 1906—1907.

R. M. DAWKINS, ESQ., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Assistant Director:—F. W. HASLUCK, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of numerous and most important discoveries which have taken place on Greek soil in the last few years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. Firstly, the command of an adequate library; and secondly, the advice of a trained archaeologist, residing on the spot, and following the rapid advances of the science, due partly to new discovery and partly to the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and British archaeologists, through the Schools which their nationalities have established. It is also by means of these Schools that many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos and in Crete by the British School during the past twenty Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported.

Students are admitted free of charge. The principal conditions imposed are that they shall pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands, and that they shall at the end of the Session write a report of the work which they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, Esq., 22, Albemarle Street, W., who will also be happy to supply any further information.

Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are greatly needed, and will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.

June, 1907.

INDEX.

ACHAEAN LEAGUE, 444
'Aegaean,' race, 230 f. ; dress, 233 ff.
'Αγνίτας, Asclepios, 332
Agnus castus, 304, 330, 332
Agora, 432, 439
Altar, of Lycurgus, 302 ; of Artemis Orthia, 312, 314, 316
Amber, 64 ; beads, 95
Amphitheatre, Roman, 278
Anytus, 129
Aphrodite Morpho, 302
Apollo, shrine of, 153
Arapissa, 279, 283, 406 f., 435
Armorial bearings, 263, 265 f., 268, 272
Artemis, Agrotera, 129, 282, 313, 333, 335 ; Alpheaea, 339 ; Brauronia, 334 ; Gygaea, 330 ; Hegemone, 129 ; Kordax, 339 ; Korythalia, 339 ; Orthia, 278, 282, 352, 391 ; Orthosia, 332 ; Parthenos, 333, 335, 353 ; Scythian, 314 f.
Artemisium, 279, 281, 284, 303 ff., 310 f., 318 f.
Asclepios, 332 ; statue of, 435
Athena, Alea, 335, 347 ; Chalkioikos, 431, 439 ; Cranaea, 349

BAGPIPE, 248
Baths, Roman, 409 f., 413
Bees, as vase-decoration, 30
Birds, 'geometric,' 57, 58
'Blossom' bowl, 5
Βοαγός, 377, 387, 390, 473
Boats, 190 ff.
Bridge, Roman, 184 f. ; construction of, 185, 187, 189 ; date of, 189
Bronze, bowl-handle, 293 ; earring, 4 ; fibulae, 33, 64, 321 ; fragments, 66, 299 ; mirrors, 5 ; necklace, 67 ; pins, 321, 327 ; reliefs, 33, 64 ; sheet, 327 ; statuettes, 337 ; vessel, 4, 27
Βρυλλίχας, 338
Bucrania, 397 f., 423

'CARIAN,' language, 219 ; migrations, 220, 222 ; race, 217, 221 ; religion, 222 ; thalassocracy, date of, 217, 219, 221 f.
Chemin de ronde, 264
Clay, beads, 5, 27 ; cover of kernos, 7 ; lamps, 5 ; sealings, 241
Coin, 294
Corinthian, capitals, 400, 432 ; pottery, 77, 288, 291, 293, 329, 330
Corona Spinea, 204
'Cretan' Geometric style, date of, 57 ; peculiarities of, 60 f.
Crystal pendant, 65
'Cycladic' culture, 218, 224 f.
Cylinders, wooden, 73

DAMOPHON of Messene, date of, 111, 120, 127, 130, 136 ; pedigree of, 133 ; works of, 109
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 287
Despoina, temple of, 112 f. ; construction of, 113 f. ; date of, 115
Dhow, 195
Dialect in Spartan inscriptions, 392 f.
Δικηλιστής, 343
Dionysos, Orthos, 334 ; temple of 'in the Marshes,' 308
Dipylon pottery, 34, 36, 50, 80 .
Dish with ornament in relief, 38
Dogs, Spartan, 336
Dolicho-cephalic skulls, 230 f.
Double Axe, 5 ; God of, 219, 222
Double-flutes, 249
Δρεπάνην, 367, 385 f.
Dress, Aegean, 233, 239, 240, 242 f., 246 ; Aryan, 239 ; Minoan, 236, 237, 240, 242 f. ; Neolithic, 227, 238, 247 ; Northern, 235, 247 ; Roman, 237 ; influence of climate on, 235

EARRINGS, bronze, 4; silver, 68 f.
Eikonostasis, 265, 271
Εἰρενες, 313, 387
Ἐκδοτήρ, 443, 444
Eponymus, 359, 371, 376, 377 f.
Eteocretan, language, 219 f.; race, 218, 219
Eurotas, 278, 281, 295, 309, 310

FEMALE IMAGES, clay, 226; of 'Cycladic' type, 227; as vases, 57
Fibulae, 33, 64, 321
Figurines, ivory, 320 f., 327; lead, 318, 321, 322 f., 330; types of, 322
Fortifications, mediaeval, 259 ff.; of Sparta, 287 f., 428
Frescoes, mediaeval, 266, 267; Minoan, 233, 237, 266

GATES, of Sparta, 428
'Geometric' Age, 282; deposits, 321; designs, 74 ff.; pottery, 24, 26, 59, 288, 291; tradition in Crete, 79
Gold diadem, 91; ornaments, 64, 65
Gorgon masks, 340 f.
'Great Goddesses,' 128 f.
Gymnopaidiai, 395

HARP, 249
Hearth, movable, 253; central, 250 f., 254
Heracles herm, 412
Heroön, 288 f.
Hero reliefs, 289, 292
House, Mycenaean, 94
Horse, head of, on vase lid, 56 f., 58; on relief, 324, 333 f.
Huchettes, 259, 264

Ἱεροθύτης, 468
Inscribed, blocks, 433, 435; bullets, 140; libation table, 7, 13; reliefs, 330, 335, 353; seat, 401, 459; tiles, 119, 436
Inscriptions, 130 f., 137 f., 153, 167, 175, 179, 314, 351 f., 413, 422; forged, 139; painted, 141
Iron, disk, 92; knife, 92; nail, 95; sickle-blade, 354, 386
Isolarii, 197 f.
Italo-Byzantine architecture, 268, 272
Ivory figurines, 320 f., 327; knuckle-bones, 237; seals, 327; tortoise, 329

Καθηρατόριν, 313, 315, 382 f., 391.
Καρτερίας ἀγών, 314, 316, 368
Κάσεν, 364, 388, 391
Κελῆα, 313, 354, 381, 382, 391
Kernos, 9 ff.; cover of, 7; 'Cycladic,' 10 f.; Greek, 19 f.; Minoan, 15 f.; modern, 20 f.
Killick, 193
Knives, iron, 92
Knuckle-bones, 327
Kufa, 194

LAMPS, 8, 286, 291; Christian, 98; Messapian, 141
Larnax, 2 ff., 76
Lead bullets, 140; figurines, 318, 321, 332 f.
Leonidas, tomb of, 405, 435, 449, 455, 467
Leonidea, 445 f., 455
Letter-forms, 130, 133, 141, 43, 456, 476
Libation table, inscribed, 7 f., 13 f.
Limestone, reliefs, 333, 335; statuettes, 333, 336
Lion, archaic stone, 405
Lycosura, temple of, 112 f., 129; history of, 122 f.; inscriptions from, 130 ff.
Lyre, 8, 249

MASKS, terracotta, 321, 324, 330, 339 f.; from Carthage, 326; from Samos, 326; types of, 324, 341; wooden, 339
Masonry, Byzantine, 261; Turkish, 261, 275, 276; Venetian, 261, 270, 273, 274
Masons' marks, 403
Mediaeval castles, 152, 158, 160, 164, 170, 264 ff.; churches, 264 ff., 271 ff.; fortifications, 261 f., 429
Megalopolis, 120 f.; shrine of Great Goddesses at, 128 f.; inscriptions from, 134
Megaron, Mycenaean, 250 f.
Menelaum, 329, 437
Messene, inscription from, 131 f.
Μικιχιζόμενος, 314, 354, 386
Minoan II, burial, 3; pottery, 3, 5: III, designs, 6, 41; gems, 65; pottery, 5; technique in Geometric vases, 26, 39, 44, 57, 60; links between II and III, 6 f.
Μῶα, 313, 354, 379, 381f., 387, 391
Mycenaean, hearth, 250 f.; house, 94; survivals in Dipylon ware, 84 f., 90

NABIS, 285, 287, 302, 349, 350
Neolithic dress, 227, 238, 247; era, 218, 224 f., characteristics of, 226; pottery, 229, in Bosnia, 257, on Danube, 258, in Hungary, 256

OBSIDIAN BLADES, 12, 27, 33
Orchestra, 304, 311, 312, 316, 402 f.
Orthia, Artemis, derivation of, 332
Orthos, Dionysos, 334

PALETTES, slate, 7, 27; stone, 12
Παρδαλᾶς, 454
Parthenion, 333, 339
Pausanias, king, 431
Pins, 68, 327
Pithos, 42, 72, 281, 292, 293, 300
Pliers, 331
Πρατοπάμπαις, 364, 390

RELIEFS, limestone, 333, 335; terracotta, 289, 292
Ring-dance, 8, 248 f.
Rings, bronze, 67; gold, 64, 65; silver, 64
Roman theatre, 394 f., 422 f.
Roof-tiles, 321
Roundels, silver-gilt, 68

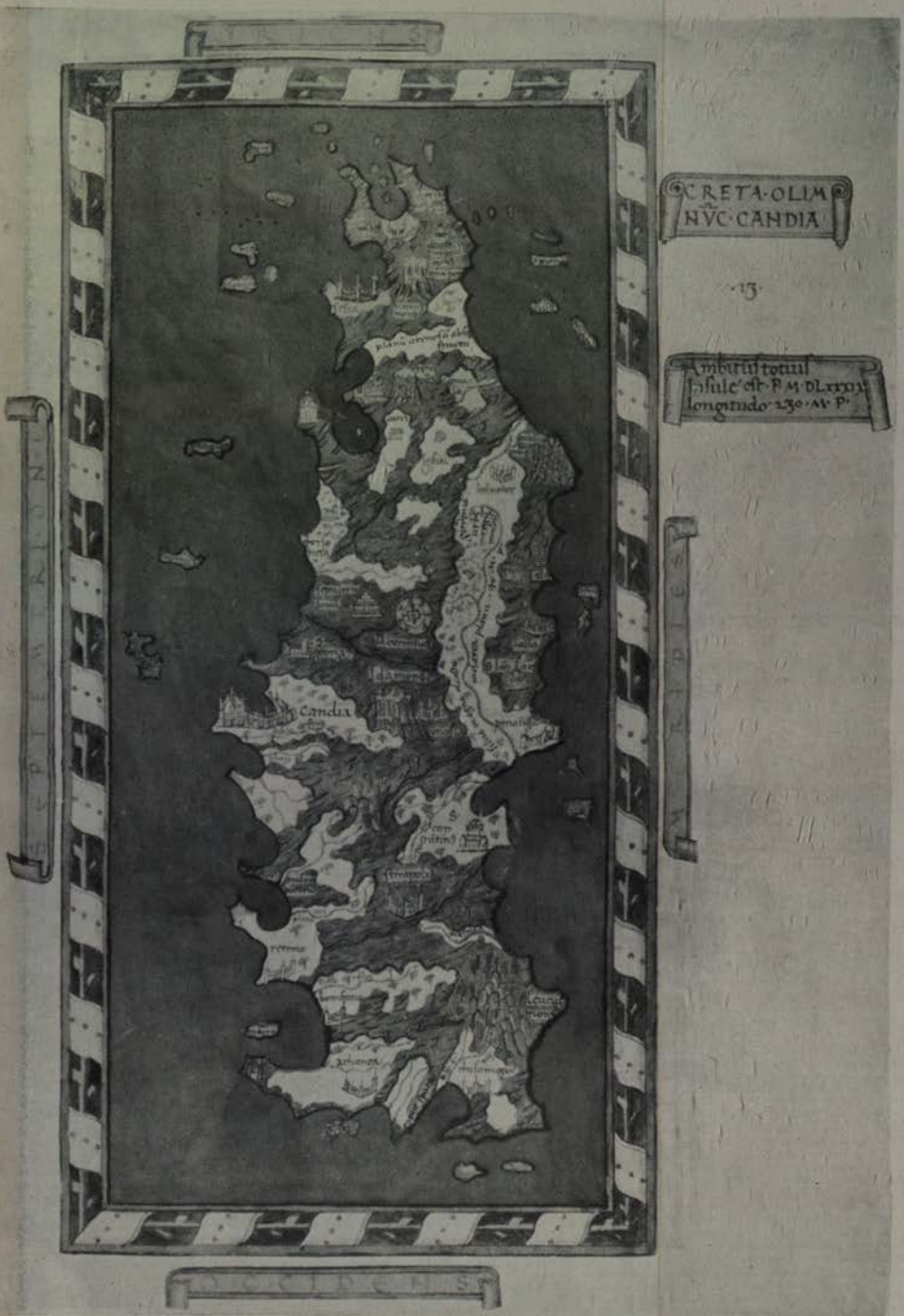
SEALS, clay, 241; ivory, 327
Shahtoor, 191
Sickle-blade, 354, 386
Silver, earrings, 68 f.
Siren on Geometric vase, 42
Sistrum, 249
Skanotheke, 346
Slate palettes, 7, 27
Σφαιρεῖς, 387
Sphinx, 65
Sporades, Hellenic remains in, 154, 155, 160, 162, 163, 165, 172; Roman, 170
Stamped bricks, 299, 301, 404, 414; tiles, 285, 287, 299, 345 ff.
Stoa, Roman at Sparta, 278, 283, 414 f., 432, 433; Persiké, 433
Stone palette, 12
Strainer, 11
Συνέφηβος, 387 f., 391
Συναρχίαι, 444, 445
Sword-blade, 28, 64

TATU markings, 341
Terracotta, figures, 8, 100, 227, 290; plaques, 438; reliefs, 288; architectural reliefs, 293
Theatre, 305 f., 311, 394 f., 422 f., 433
Θεματικοὶ ἀγῶνες, 466
Tile-works, 347
Tiles, inscribed, 119, 436; roof, 321; stamped, 285, 287, 299, 345 ff.
Τὸ παιδικόν, 380, 387, 391
Tomb of Leonidas, 405, 435, 449, 455, 467
Tortoise, ivory, 329
Towers, 101 f., 105, 109, 155, 156, 163, 166, 172, 417, 420, 425, 426

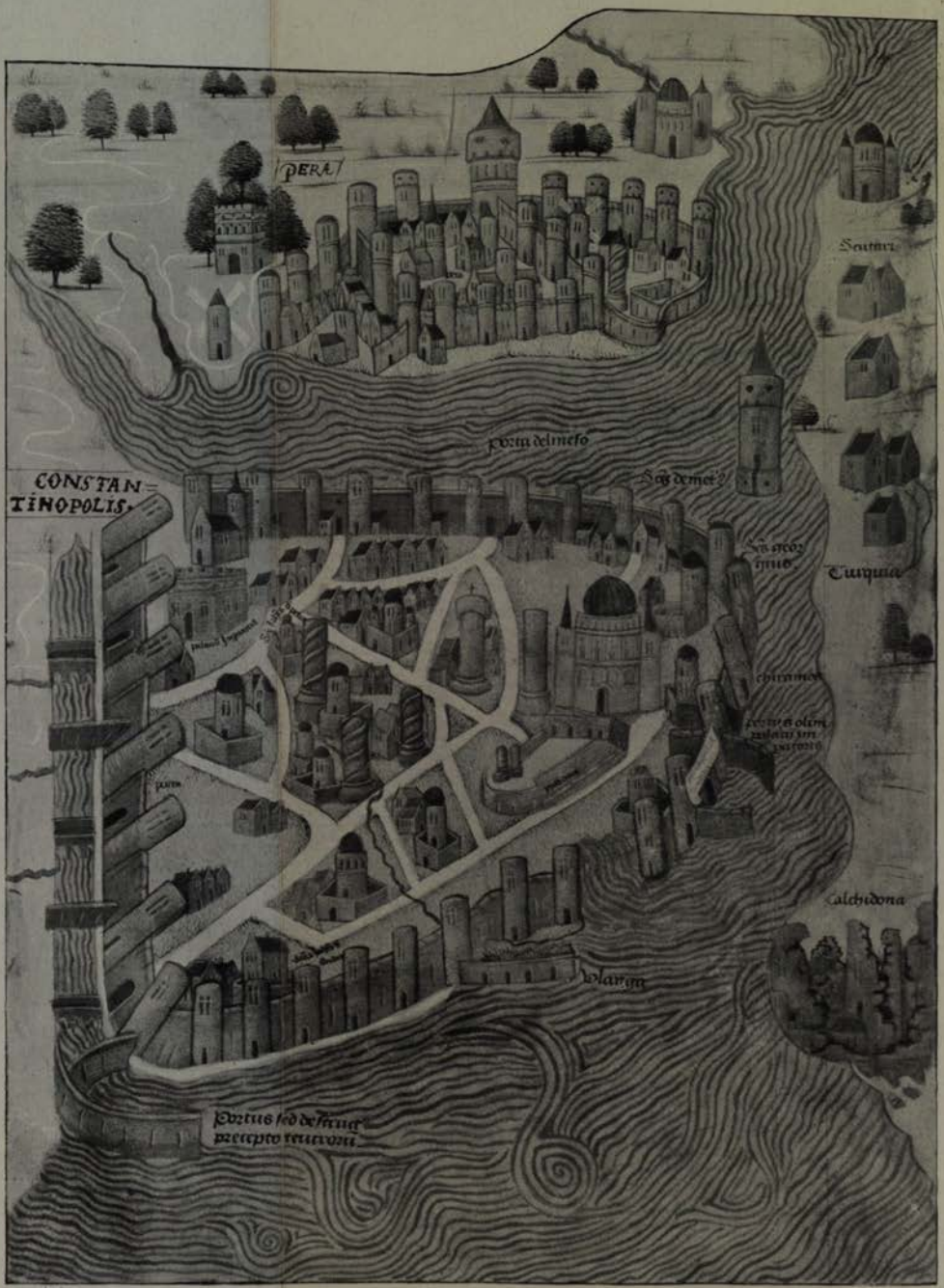
VASES, Corinthian, 35, 63, 64, 77, 288, 291, 293, 329, 330; Dipylon, 34, 50, 80 f.; Geometric, 24 ff., of Eastern Crete, 26, 59; Neolithic, 229, 256, 257; Proto-Attic, 89, 281; Trojan, 232
Vase decoration, Mycenaean in Dipylon ware 84, 90 f.; at Sparta, 291, 294
Vase shapes, 57, 59 f.; miniature, 291, 292
Vasilopoula, 269, 430

WATER-PIPES, 398, 411
Wooden cylinders, 73; façade, 115; masks 339; stamps, 344

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C., AND
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.



1. Map of Crete. Reproduced from XV. Century MSS. in British Museum (*Add.* 15,760, *f.* 11).



MAP OF CONSTANTINOPLE. REPRODUCED FROM XV. CENTURY MSS. IN BRITISH MUSEUM (*Arundel* 93, *f.* 155).

GERAKI:—PAINTING IN CHURCH NO. 4.

CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH.

DOOR OF CHURCH NO. 4.

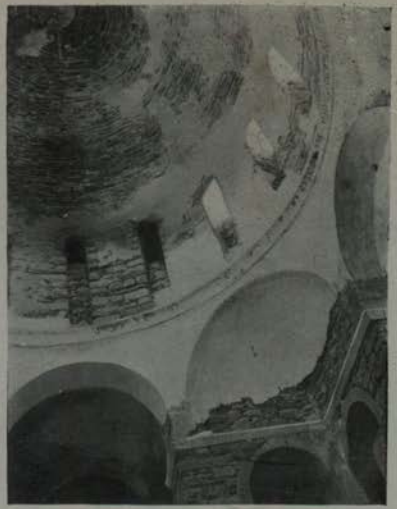
MONEMVASIA:—THE WEST TOWN WALL

CASTLE FROM THE WEST.

ENTRANCE TO THE CASTLE.

Monemvasia:—East End of Church of St. Nicholas.

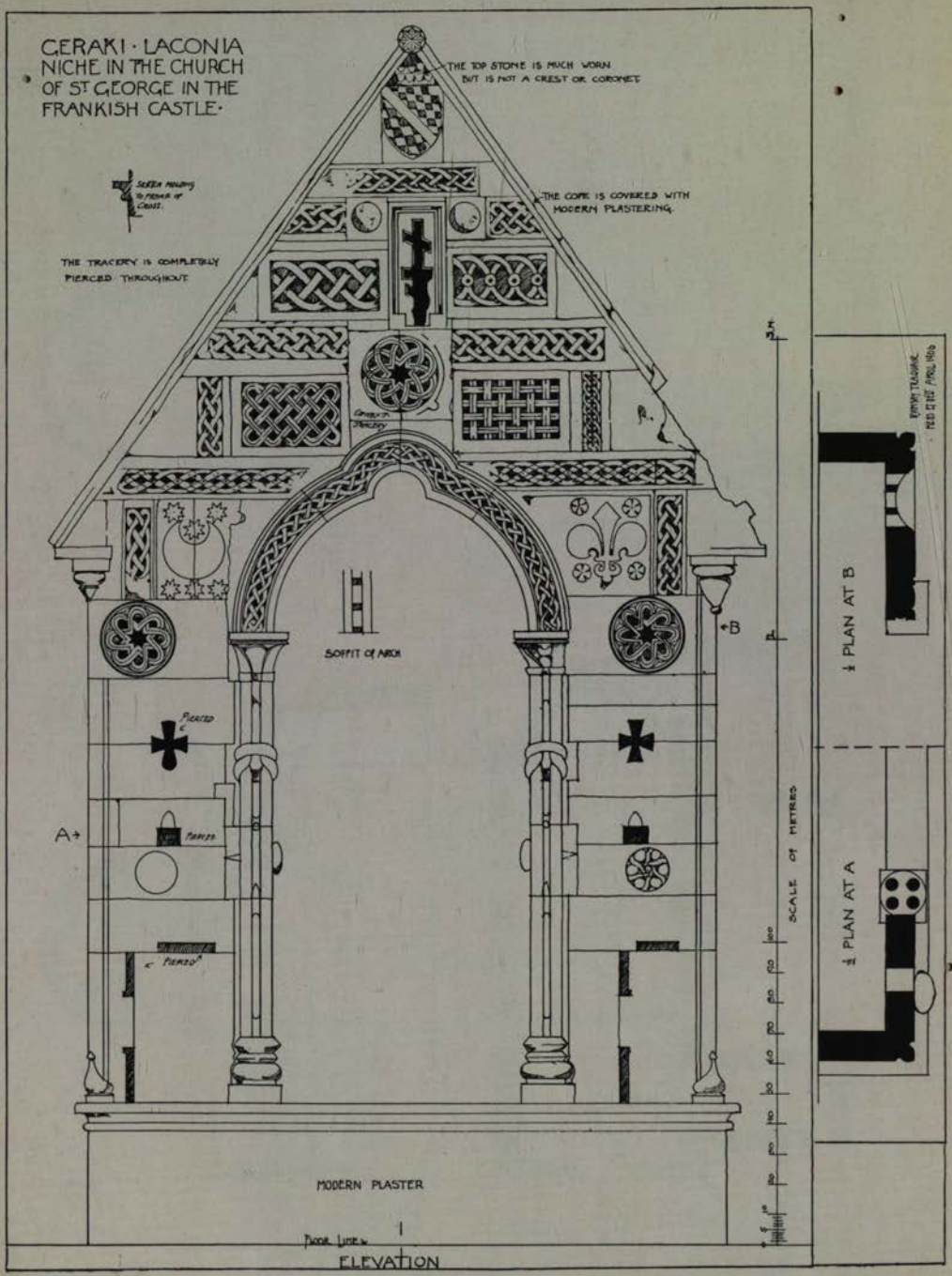
West End of Church of Our Lady of Crete.



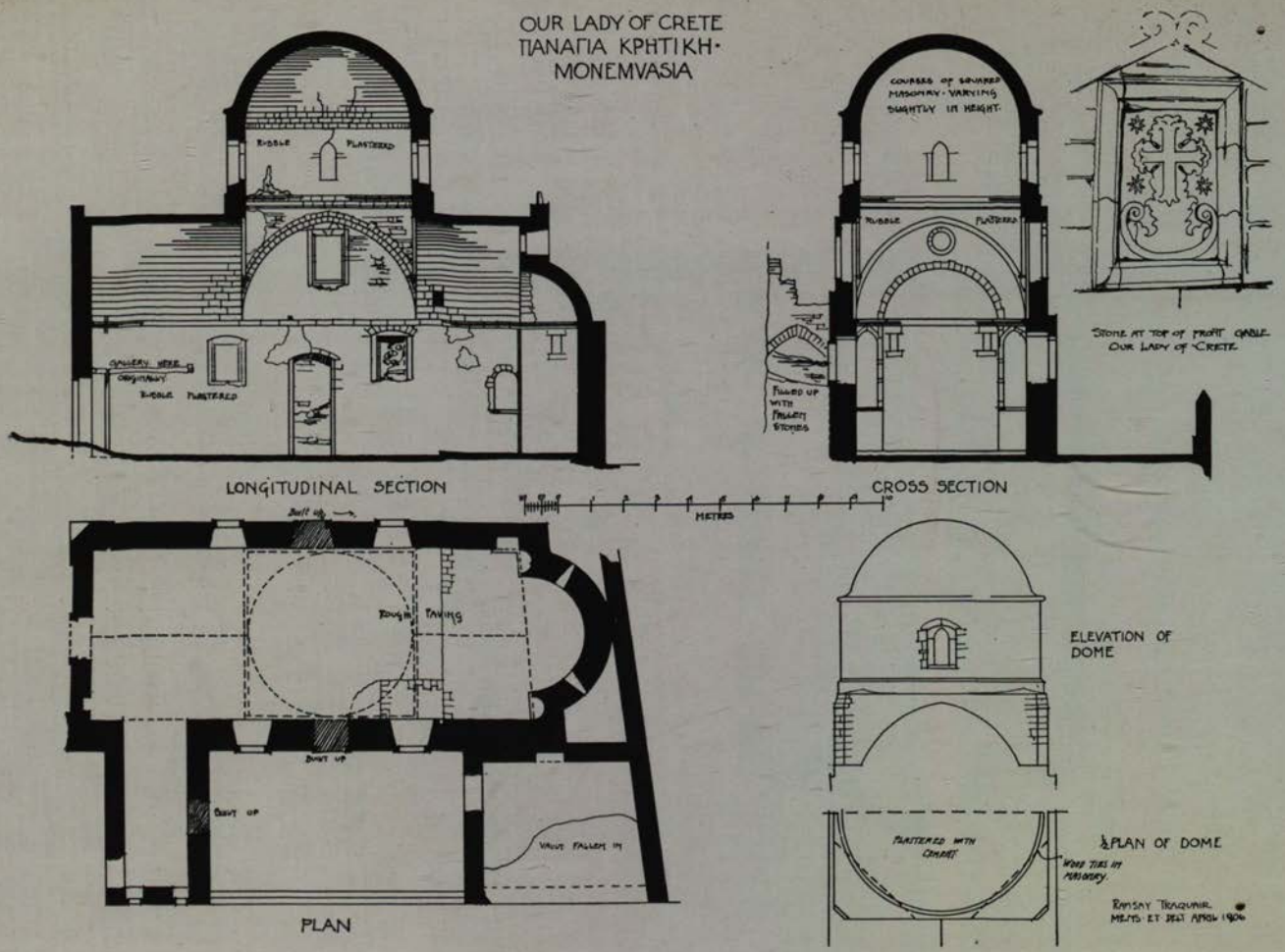
Interior of Dome, Church of St. Sophia.

Castle of Passava from the East.

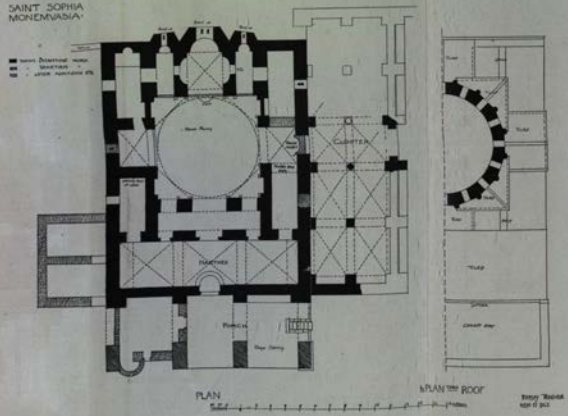
Maina and Portoquaglio.



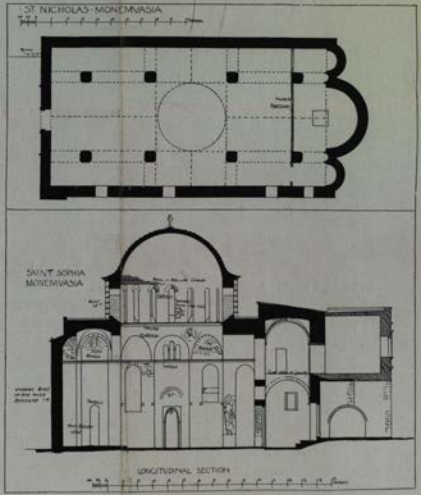
NICHE IN THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE, GERAKI.



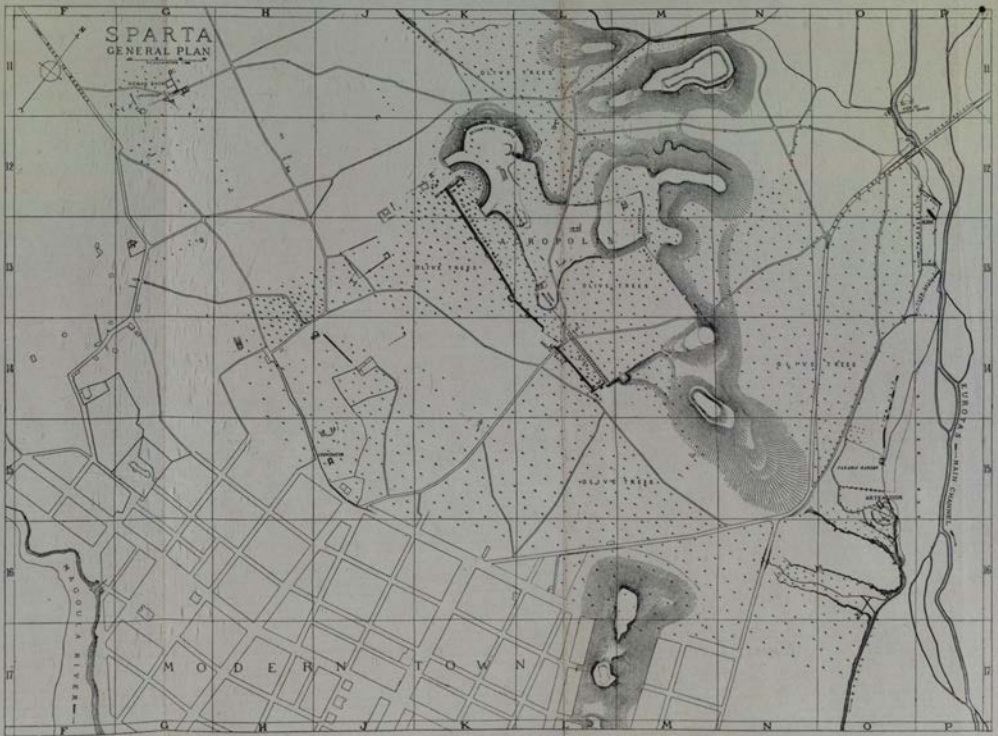
PLAN, LONGITUDINAL SECTION, GROUND SECTION, PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE DOME; STONE IN RIGHT GABLE OF CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF CRETE. MONEMVASIA.



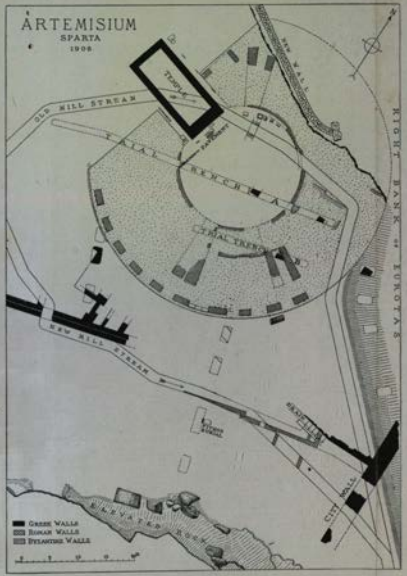
PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, MONEMVASIA.



PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS. SECTION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, MONEMVASIA.



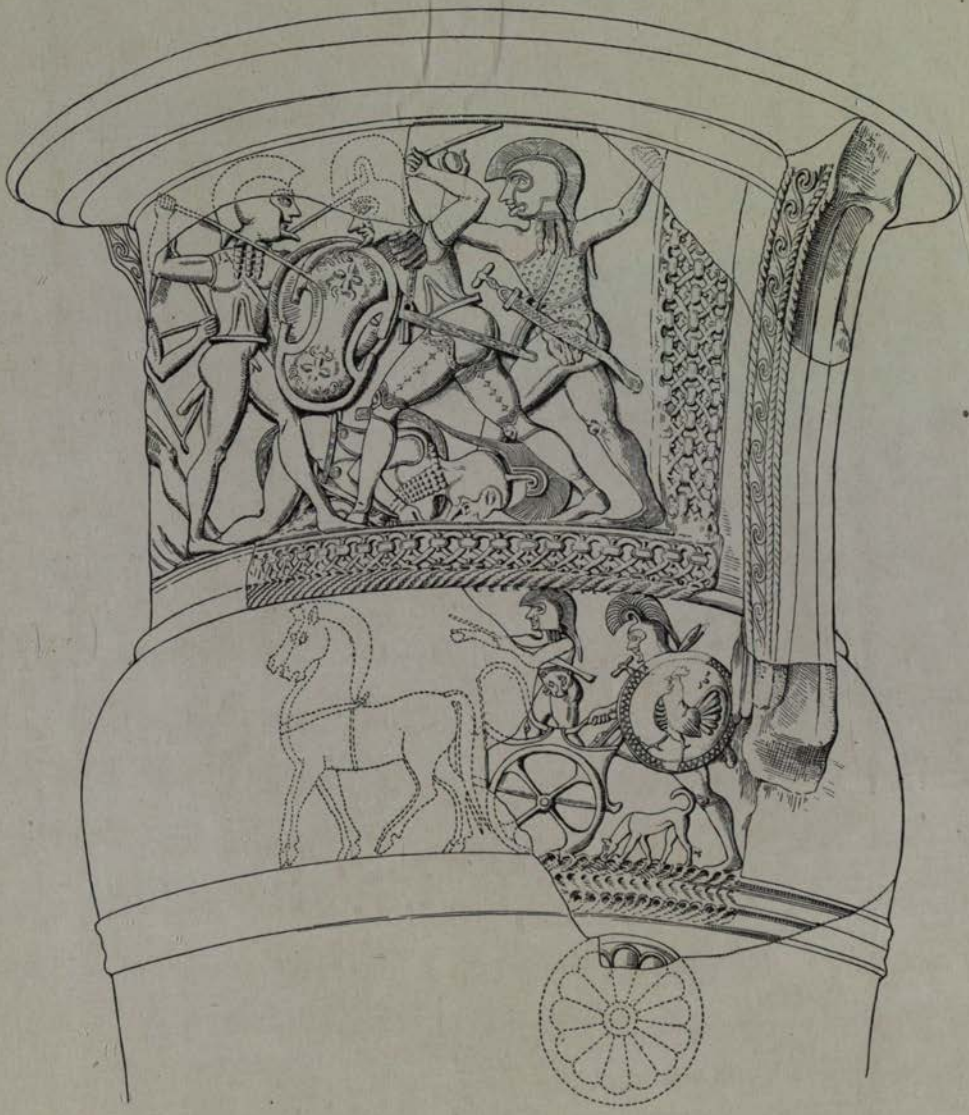
SPARTA.—GENERAL PLAN.



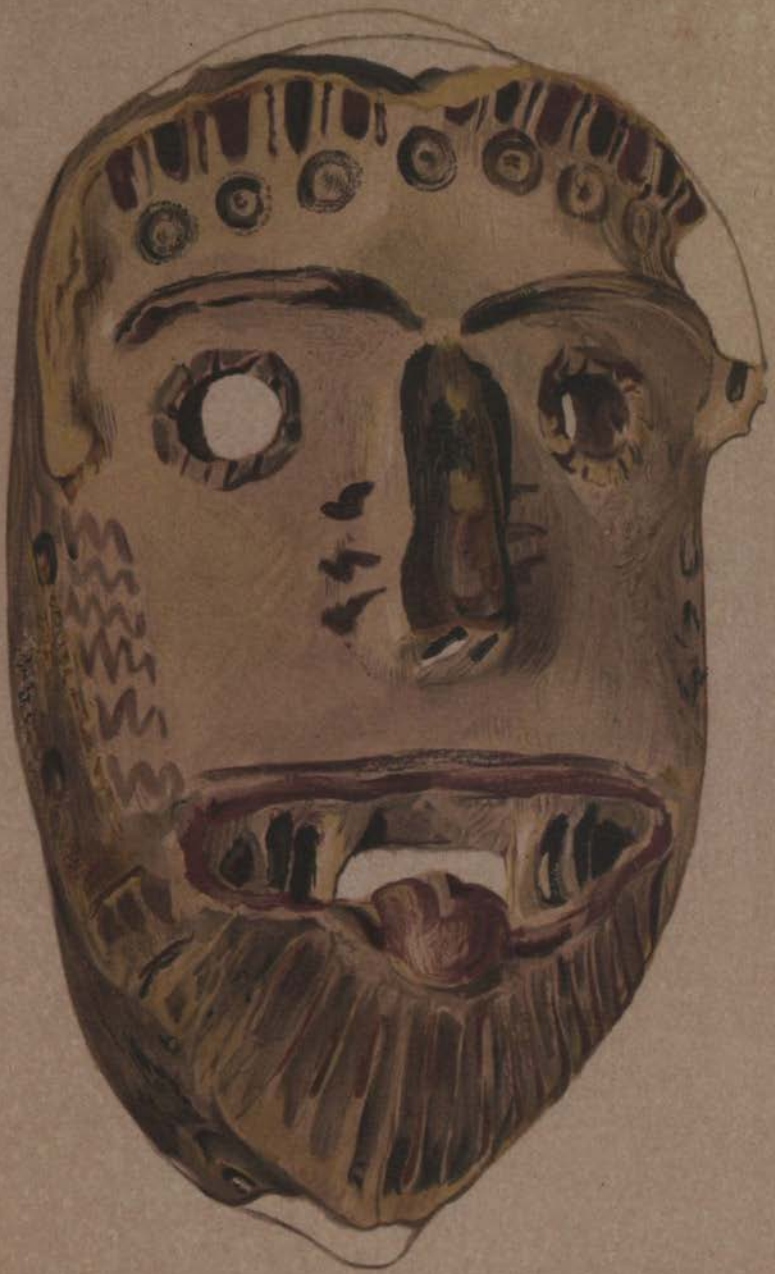
1. The Artemisium.

3. Enlarged Plan of Acropolis.

2. The Artemisium.—Section along Trench A, North Side.

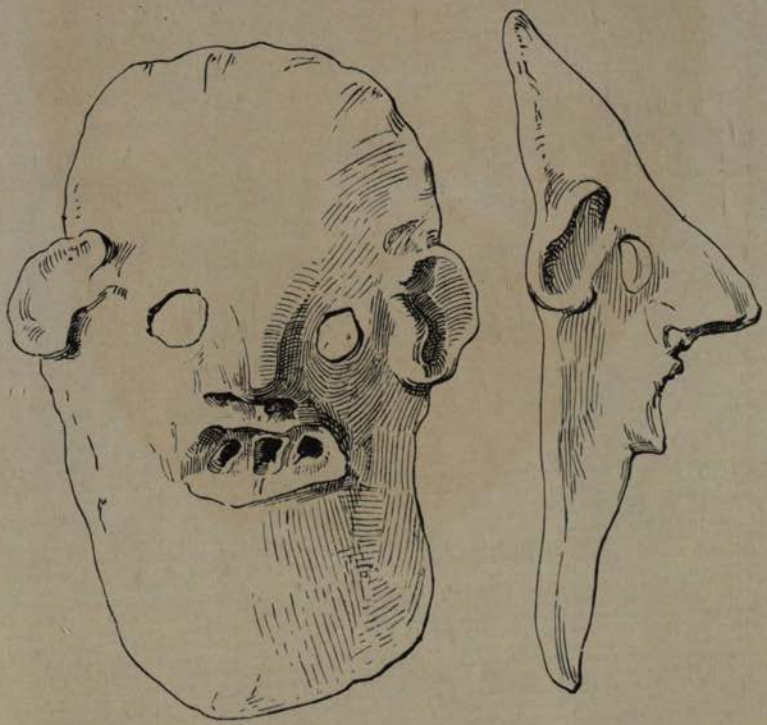


MOULDED PITHOS FROM SPARTA.



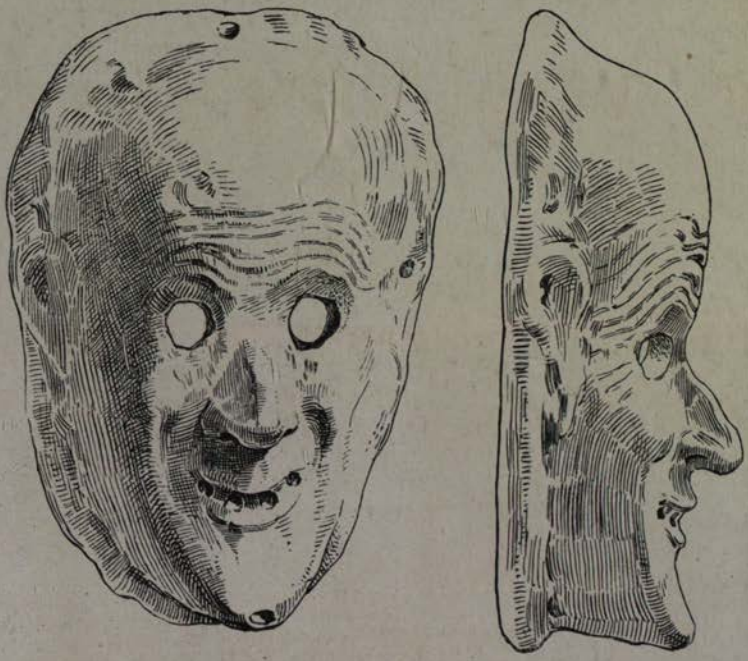
Terracotta Mask from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, at Sparta.

a (2 : 3)

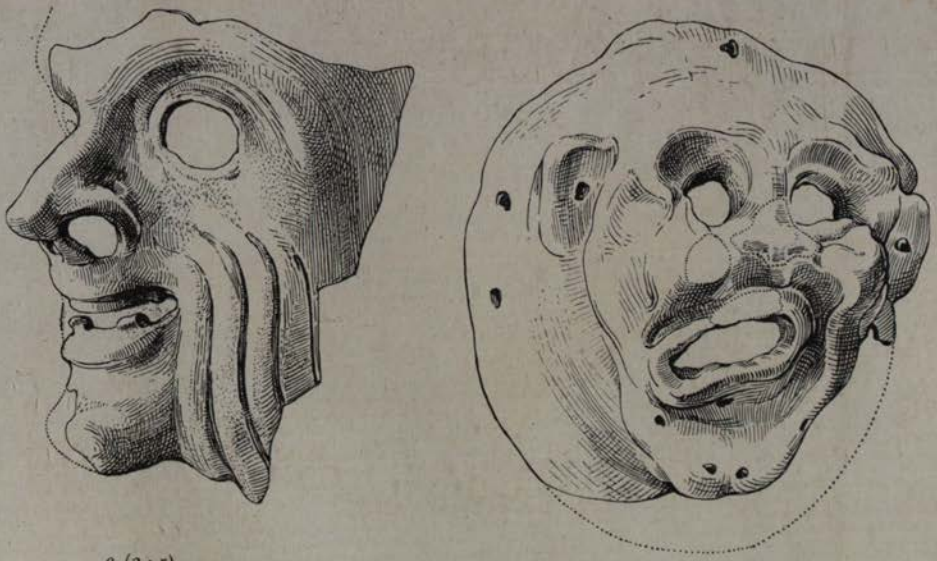


b (1 : 2).

TERRACOTTA MASKS FROM SPARTA.



c (1 : 2).



a (2 : 5). *e* (2 : 5).

TERRACOTTA MASKS FROM SPARTA.

00082912

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 10 August, 2018